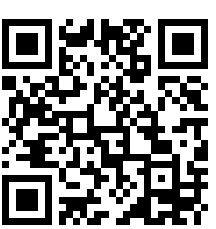
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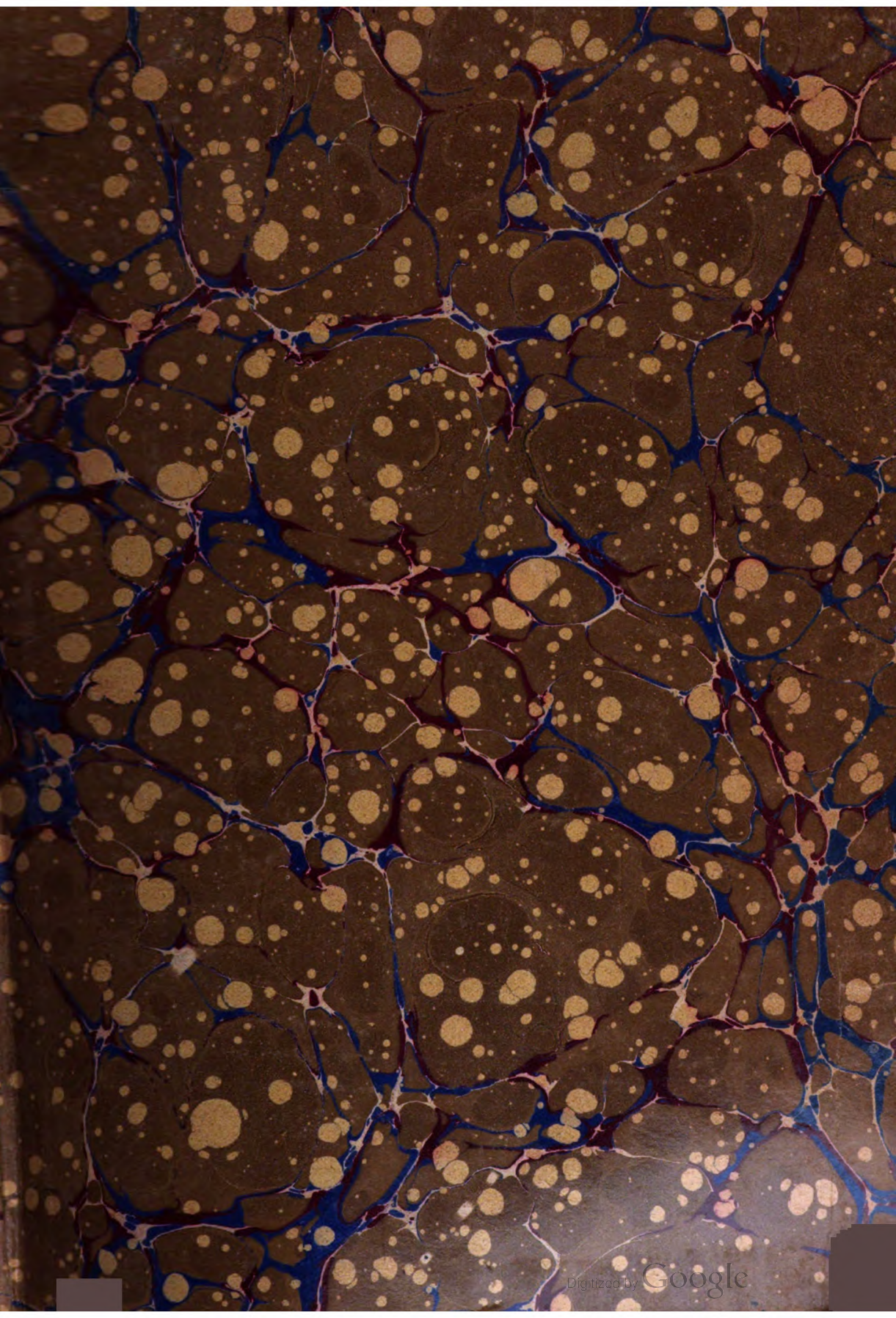
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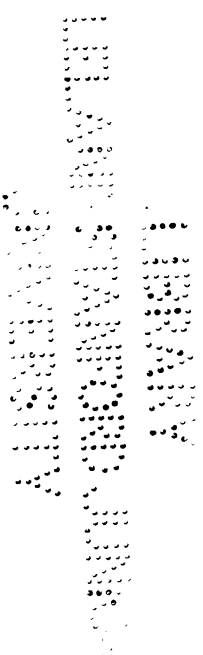
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ERRATA

P. 26, l. 19, read: descendants.
P. 36, ll. 12, 13, read: τοὺς.
P. 37, ll. 5, 6 from bottom, read: τοὺς καινοὺς and τοὺς.
P. 41, l. 4, read: sanctuaries.
P. 159, n. 3, read: Mercurius brings.
P. 161, n. 2, read: sapientium.
P. 228, l. 3, read: the for tho.
P. 345, l. 2, read: *Processes von M. H. E. Meier*, etc.

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Classical Philology

Vol. II *January, 1907* No. 1

TRAVEL IN ANCIENT TIMES AS SEEN IN PLAUTUS AND TERENCE.[1] I

By Charles Knapp

The purpose of this paper is to gather together all that the plays of Plautus and Terence can teach us concerning travel in ancient times, particularly in the time of Menander, Philemon, and Diphilos, that is, the time of the originals on which the plays of Plautus and Terence were based. It is hoped that the paper will itself be ample justification of its existence. If, however, further warranty is needed, we may find it in the words of a weighty authority:

> Was uns gleichfalls noch immer fehlt, ist eine Geschichte des Reisens im Altertum (für die Kaiserzeit liegt da freilich die treffliche Behandlung in Friedländers Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte vor) und im Zusammenhang damit eine neue Arbeit über die Fuhrwerke der Alten: denn seit dem längst antiquierten Buche von Ginzrot (vom Jahre 1817!) ist dieser Gegenstand ausführlich nicht mehr behandelt worden, so sehr sich das bildliche Quellenmaterial dafür seither vermehrt hat.[2]

I shall begin by discussing Plautine and Terentian geography, its extent, its accuracy or inaccuracy; I shall then consider all references to travel from point to point, assembling them into a few clearly defined groups; lastly, I shall take up a number of

[1] This paper was presented at a meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, at St. Louis, May 4, 1906.

[2] So H. Blümner in Kroll's *Die Altertumswissenschaft im letzten Vierteljahrhundert*, p. 370, in his review of the progress made between 1875 and 1900 in our knowledge of the private life of the Greeks and the Romans.

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related topics, such as the reception accorded to travelers on their return home, their costume, baggage, etc.

Much is to be learned by determining the places at which the plays are supposed to be laid. All of Terence's plays are laid at Athens. Athens is the scene in twelve plays of Plautus; the others (I exclude the fragmentary *Vidularia*) are laid at Thebes, Aetolia (no city is named), Sicyon, Epidaurus, Epidamnus, Ephesus, Calydon, Cyrene. Here we have allusions to all quarters of the ancient world, Europe, Asia, and Africa. That Athens was thought of as the natural scene of the comedies is clear from the prologue to the *Menaechmi* 7–12.[1] For certain well-known reasons the *fabulae palliatae* must bear plainly the marks of their Greek origin: what place was more Greek than Athens?[2]

We may pass now to details and assemble the evidence by which we fix the sites of the individual plays. We shall consider first all plays whose action is supposed to take place at Athens.

For the *Asinaria* we have decisive evidence in 491, 492. In 792, 793, Diabolus desires that Philaenium nec ulla lingua sciat loqui nisi Attica. Since in the *Poenulus* a Carthaginian talks *Punice* at Calydon (930–49, 982, 995, 112), these verses would not *per se* prove that the *Asinaria* is laid at Athens, but they must be interpreted in the light of 491, 492. For the *Aulularia* see 808–10. In *Bacchides* 235, 236 Nicobulus says: ibo in Piraeum, visam ecquaen advenerit in portum . . . . navis. For the *Casina* the direct evidence is not strong. Verses 80–83 of the prologue (manifestly post-Plautine) run thus: quam servi summa vi sibi uxorem expetunt, ea invenietur et pudica et libera, ingenua Atheniensis. By themselves these verses give little help; in the *Miles* an ingenua Atheniensis is resident at Ephesus, in the *Rudens* another is at Cyrene. In the *Rudens*, again, Daemones and Plesidippus are Athenians, though now residents of Cyrene (35, 42). Still, there is point to *Cas.* 651, 652 only if the play is laid at Athens. Arg. 6, not in itself illuminat-

[1] Considerations of space make it impossible to cite all passages *in extenso;* readers of this paper will of course have a copy of Plautus at hand. For convenience I have followed Lindsay's text (1904, 1905).

[2] In *Poe.* 372 an *Attic* citizen is to be made of a woman freed at Calydon (but the tone is that of burlesque).

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ing, derives light from Terence's practice.[1] For the *Epidicus* see 306, 307, 501, 502, 602, 26. In 448 some see in *Platenius* a reference to an Attic deme. For the *Mercator* we have sure indications in 836, 837, 944, 945. The fine narrative in 46–91 contains allusions to youthful visits by the Mercator's father (to Athens) to see the peplus at the Panathenaic festival. It contains also the technical Athenian word *ephebus*.[2] Verses 635–38, not clear in themselves, are illuminated by those named above. For the *Mostellaria* see 66, 67: ego ire in Piraeum volo, 30, 1072. For the *Persa* see 151. In 549–54 Sagaristio asks the *virgo*, who is supposed to be newly come from Persia, what she thinks of Athens. Verses 474, 475, 390–96 are now of value for us; in 390 ff. Saturio tells his daughter that he has a fine *dos* to give her, a librorum plenum soracum, containing sescenti logei atque Attici omnes. For the *Pseudolus* see 201, 202, 270, 339, 415–17, 620, 730, 731 (here Charinus offers to put at Pseudolus' disposal a slave, qui a patre advenit Carysto necdum exit ex aedibus quoquam neque Athenas advenit umquam ante hesternum diem). For the *Stichus* see 446–48, 649, 650, 669, 670. For the *Trinummus* see 1103, 1104: curre in Piraeum . . . . videbis iam illic navem qua advecti sumus. For the *Truculentus* see 497: nunc . . . . Athenas Atticas viso, 91, prologue 1–3, 10, 11.

For the *Andria* cf. 906, 907: Andrium ego Critonem video? . . . . quid tu Athenas insolens? For the *Eunuchus* see 107–10, 114, 115 (the girl was stolen ex Attica hinc, e Sunio). At 289, 290 Parmeno says: video erilem filium minorem huc advenire. miror quid ex Piraeo abierit, nam ibi custos publice est nunc; cf. also 539, 540. In 519 Chremes explains that Thais had asked him whether he had rus . . . . ecquod Suni et quam longe a mari. Vs. 1093, in itself not conclusive, now becomes pertinent. In 824 Chaerea is called *ephebus:* vss. 289, 290, cited above, show

[1] Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*, pp. 198, 199, notes that the Greek writers took no pains to indicate the site of their plays when that site was Athens. But when the play was laid elsewhere care is taken early in the play to make its location clear. In Plautus, however, aside from the prologues, the evidence in general comes rather late in the play. Terence's practice (see below, p. 4, n. 1) is, as might be expected, thoroughly Greek.

[2] See below, p. 14.

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that we must take this term in its technical Athenian sense.[1] For the *Hecyra* see 86 ff.

We may consider now plays laid in places other than Athens. For varying sites of plays cf. *Men.* 72–76: haec urbs Epidamnus est dum haec agitur fabula: quando alia agetur aliud fiet oppidum, etc. The *Amphitruo* is laid at Thebes: cf. 190, 194, 259, 363, 365, 376, 676–78, 1046, frag. xvi, 97, 101. The *Captivi* is set in Aetolia (no town is named); at 93 ff., in a prologue-like speech, Ergasilus says: ita nunc belligerant Aetoli cum Aleis: nam Aetolia haec est; cf. 24, 59, 824. The *Cistellaria* is laid at Sicyon; cf. 156 fuere Sicyoni iam diu Dionysia. mercator venit huc ad ludos Lemnius (spoken by Auxilium, in a prologue-like passage), 125–30, 190, 176, 177. The *Curculio* is laid at Epidaurus: 561, 562 are clear. In 429 the banker Lyco reads a letter just handed to him by Curculio, which purports to come from a soldier in (at[2]) Caria: miles Lyconi in Epidauro hospiti . . . . salutem dicit (cf. 341). A fanum Aesculapi is part of the stage-setting (14, 62; cf. also 70, 204, 216, 217, 261, 270, 389,

[1] For the other Terentian plays there is no direct evidence. It is clear that to Terence Athens is the only site for a play; cf. Leo, as cited above, p. 8, n. 1. Indirect evidence is supplied by the passages in which a puella is declared to be or is proven to be a civis Attica: *And.* 221, 780, 859, *Eun.* 805, *Ph.* 114. With the same force civis is used alone: *Ad.* 725, *And.* 833, 875, 892. The *Periochae*, though not by Terence himself, may not be disregarded here; they show the interpretation of the plays current in the second century A. D. Cf., then, civis Attica, *Eun. Per.* 3; Atticus civis, *ibid.* 10, 11; relicto Athenis Antiphone filio, *Ph. Per.* 2 (*ibid.* 4, 6); civem Atticam, *Ad. Per.* 8. Cf. *Cas.* arg. 6.

What has been said will throw light on Terence's use of hic, hinc, huc, etc., of the place in which the play is laid or of motion to and from that place. For hic cf. *Ad.* 279, *Eun.* 759, 760: peregrinus est . . . . minus amicorum hic habens, *Ph.* 406, 450 (sometimes, however, hic merely=ruri, in the suburbs, as against in urbe: cf. *Ad.* 408, *Heaut.* 97, 162, 601, 629, *Hec.* 216 [contrast ruri, 215], 230, 597); for huc cf. *Ad.* 649: neque enim diu huc migrarunt, 673, *And.* 70: ex Andro commigravit huc viciniam (for huc, 'to the city,' see *Ad.* 435, 526); for hinc see *Ad.* 225, 384, 661, *And.* 221 (inserted by Dz), 833: illam hinc civem esse aiunt, *Eun.* 156, 952, *Heaut.* 165 (Dz), 446, *Hec.* 86–88: Corinthum hinc sum profecta . . . . edepol te desiderium Athenarum arbitror . . . . cepisse (for hinc of progress from city to country see *Ad.* 433, 435, 561, 841, 843, *Hec.* 586, 610, 613, 629). Cf. also hac urbe, *Ph.* 517; e patria, *Ad.* 275. More illuminating is *Eun.* 110: ex Attica hinc; cf. *Epid.* 602: hinc Athenis civis eam emit Atticus, *Mer.* 945: de amica se indaudivisse autumat hic Athenis esse. In *Cist.* 125–30, if with A we omit 126–29, we get adulescens quidam hic est adprime nobilis Sicyone.

We may note now that the *Heaut.* is laid in the suburbs (of Athens); cf. 63–74, 239, 732, etc. The reference to the Dionysia in 161, 162 is not *per se* decisive: see *Cis.* 156: fuere Sicyoni iam diu Dionysia.

[2] See below, p. 6, *s. v.* Caria.

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527–32, 558, 699). The leno, Cappadox, is in the temple to be cured (61, 62, 216–22, 235–38). He has a dream (245–50, 253–59), which he recounts (260–63) for its interpretation (270–73). The *Menaechmi* is laid at Epidamnus (cf. 230, 258–67, 306, 380, 1000, 1004, arg. 6, prol. 33, 49, 51, 57, 70, 72). The *Miles* is laid at Ephesus (cf. 88, 111–13, 411, 412, 439, 440). Hence 777, 778: isque . . . . omnis se ultro sectari in Epheso memorat mulieres, in itself not conclusive, becomes pertinent. See also arg. i. 1–7, arg. ii. 1–4, arg. ii. 7–12. The *Poenulus* is set at Calydon in Aetolia (cf. 1179*a*–81). This passage lights up 1056, 1057, 621, prologue 72–78, 93–95. Lastly, the *Rudens* is laid at Cyrene (615–17, 712–16, 740, 741, 1338, prologue 33, 41).[1]

I pass now to give a complete list of the places mentioned in the plays. I shall group these places by continents. Further, an attempt will be made to divide the places in Europe into two classes, the first comprising those which belong to the Greek rather than to the Roman world, the second including places which seem specifically parts rather of the Roman world. For convenience the arrangement within the individual groups will be alphabetical.[2]

I. Places in Africa.

AEGYPTUS. See *Most.* 440, 994; *Mer.* 139: resinam ex melle Aegyptiam vorato (as a cure for the spitting of blood); *Mer.* 414, 415: ancilla Aegyptia; *Poe.* 1290, 1291: Aegyptini qui cortinam ludis per circum ferunt.

AETHIOPIA: *Eun.* 165: ex Aethiopia ancillulam, 471 ex Aethiopia usque haec.

AFRICA. In *Poe.* 1304 Antamoenides, seeing his amica embrace her father, of whose identity he is not aware, says: adire certum est hanc amatricem Africam. Cf. *Poe.* 1011: mures Africanos praedicat in pompam ludis dare se velle aedilibus.

[1] In fact the play is laid in the suburbs of Cyrene, near the shore; cf. the references to the villa, 34, 85, 101, etc.

[2] Terence mentions relatively few places: Asia, Babylon, Caria, Cilicia, India, Miletus, Aethiopia, Andros, Athenae, Attica, Corinthus, Cyprus, (Delphi? cf. *And.* 698: non Apollinis magis verum atque hoc responsumst), Imbros, Lemnos, Myconos, Rhamnus, Rhodos, Samos, Sunium. Of these Andros, Imbros, Myconos, Rhamnus, Sunium, Aethiopia are not mentioned in Plautus. Further, all the places belong to the Greek world.

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ALEXANDRIA: *Pseud.* 147: Alexandrina beluata tonsilia tappetia.

ARABIA: *Per.* 506, 522, 541, *Trin.* 845, 933–35 (see below, p. 11, n. 1), *Tru.* 539: ex Arabia tibi attuli tus (cf. *Miles* 412, frag. 67, *Poe.* 1179), *Cur.* 443: Arabes, *Ba.* frag. xx: Arabus.

CARTHAGO: *Poe.* arg. 1, 66, 79, 900, 987, 989, 996, 1038, 1054, 1056, 1101 (1419, in the exitus alter), *Cas.* 71. Magara, a part of Carthage, is named in *Poe.* 86. Carthaginiensis is adjective in *Poe.* 59, 963, 1124, noun in *Poe.* 84, 987, 1377. Cf. also *Poe.* 53: Καρχηδόνος vocatur haec comoedia. poenus is adjective in *Poe.* 991: nullus me est hodie Poenus Poenior, noun in *Cas.* 76, *Cis.* 202, *Poe.* arg. 7, 104, 113, 120, 991, 1125. Cf. also *Aul.* 566: lanterna Punica, *Poe.* 977: Punica (facies), 982 hosce . . . . appellabo Punice, 990 vin appellem hunc Punice? 983 Punice pergam loqui, 985 ecquid commeministi Punice? 1000 saluta . . . . Punice verbis meis.

CYRENAE: *Ru.* 33, 41. Cyrenensis is adjective in *Ru.* 713, 1338, noun in *Ru.* 615, 740. In *Pseud.* 816, *Ru.* 630 the reference to laserpicium points to Cyrene (see below p. 14).

MAGARA: see CARTHAGO above.

POENUS, PUNICUS. see CARTHAGO above.

II. Places in Asia.

ASIA. In the *Stichus* the brothers went on a trading trip to Asia (see 152, 367). So in *Trin.* 845 the sycophanta, posing as a messenger from Charmides (see below *s. v.* SELEUCIA), says: advenio ex Seleucia, Macedonia, Asia, atque Arabia. In *And.* 935, 936 we read that a man went in Asiam in part to escape war at Athens, in part to join his brother. In *Trin.* 598, 599, *Heaut.* 111, 117, 181 Asia (Minor) is mentioned in connection with campaigning. How loosely the name is used appears from *Trin. loc. cit.:* ibit . . . . latrocinatum, aut in Asiam aut in Ciliciam.

BABYLON: *Tru.* 84: Babyloniensis miles (cf. 202, 392), 472: militi Babylonio, *Stich.* 378: Babylonica (peristromata), *Ad.* 915: ille Babulo ('nabob').

CAPPADOCIA: *Miles* 52 (in the soldier's bragging).

CARIA: *Eun.* 126, *Heaut.* 608. In the *Curculio* a parasite goes from Epidaurus to some place called Caria: cf. arg. 1: it Cariam, 206 misi . . . . Cariam, 225 quia non rediit Caria, 339 rogat quid veniam Cariam, 67 in Cariam, 265 missust in Cariam, 329 perveni in Cariam.[1]

[1] Leo (*Pl. Forsch.*, p. 200, n. 2) finds a difficulty because the templum Aesculapi is set by Plautus within the town of Epidaurus; in fact, it lay miles to the west on the road to Argos. He holds, then, that Caria in this play is a town not far from Epidaurus. He concludes thus: "Wilamowitz vermuthet, dass der Schauplatz des Originals die Ansiedlung um das ἱερόν war und dass der Parasit nach Epidaurus geschickt wurde, um das Geld zu holen; dass Plautus dies für sein Publicum verwirrende Verhältniss umgeändert und die Stadt Caria hinzu erfunden hat." I feel sure, however, that to

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CILICIA: *Mi.* 42, *Tr.* 599: ibit . . . . latrocinatum . . . . in Ciliciam, *Ph.* 66 (Demipho was lured thither by promises of montes auri).

EPHESUS in *Ba.* 171, 231, 236, 249, 309, 336, 354, 388, 389, 561, 776, 1047 is the destination of a trading trip. In the *Miles* a soldier carries a meretrix ingenua against her will to Ephesus: arg. i. 1, arg. ii. 4, arg. ii. 7, 88, 113. See also *Mi.* 384, 439, 441, 975, 976, 648, 778. Ephesii is noun in *Ba.* 309; cf. also *Mi.* 411: Ephesiae Dianae, *Ba.* 307: Dianai Ephesiae.

INDIA: *Mi.* 25, *Cur.* 439, *Eun.* 413: elephantis quem Indicis (rex) praefecerat (all three passages give a soldier's or a parasite's lies).

IONIA: *St.* 769: Ionicus aut cinaedust, *Ps.* 1275 Ionica (dances); in *Pe.* 826, which involves the phrase *in Ionia*, there is another reference to dancing (see 824, 825).

MILETUS: *Cap.* 274: Thalem . . . . Milesium, *Ad.* 654, 655 (Mileti . . . . Miletum), 702 ille ubist Milesius?

PERSIA: *Pe.* 461, 498. For the noun *Persa* see *Cur.* 442, *Pe.* 506, 513, 676, 707, 718, 740, 783, 796, 828, 829 (the very name of this play is significant), *St.* 24–25: Persarum montis, qui esse aurei perhibentur. For the portus Persicus see below, p. 14, n. 1, middle paragraph.

PHRYGIA: *Tru.* 536: attuli eccam pallulam ex Phrygia tibi. Cf. phrygio, 'embroiderer,' *Aul.* 508, *Men.* 426, 469, 563, 618, 681. Add portae Phrygiae, of Troy, *Ba.* 955.

PONTUS: *Tr.* 933, 934 (see ARABIA, above, p. 6), *Tru.* 539, 540: attuli . . . . Ponto amomum.

the Romans of Plautus' time *Caria*, unqualified, would have suggested only Asia Minor, not an unknown city near Epidaurus. König (*Quaestiones Plautinae*, Patschkau, 1883, pp. 6, 7), shows that with names of countries Plautus seldom omits prepositions (*Most.* 440: Aegypto, on which see Quint. i. 5. 38, *Cap.* 573: Alide, *Cap.* 330: Alide (so 94), *Tru.* 540: Ponto seem the only exceptions. König criticizes Brix on *Cap.* 573, but approves Lorenz on *Most.* 440); hence he holds, p. 8, that Caria here is a town, not a country. Görbig (*Nominum quibus loca significantur usus Plautinus exponitur*, Halle, 1883, pp. 40, 41), agrees with König concerning the facts of Plautine usage, but argues that Plautus treated Aegyptus, Caria, and Pontus "simili ratione atque nomina singularia urbium," and so concludes that Caria is the country, not a town. Soltau (*Curculionis Plauti Actus III Interpretatio*, p. 27), takes the same view. Hüffner (*De Plauti exemplis Atticis*, p. 18), holds that Caria cannot be the country. He gives five reasons, of which the most important is that we read (206, 207, 143) that Curculio started *Cariam* but four days ago and yet is expected back today; the distance, he solemnly argues, could not be covered in that time. Further, no mention is made of a ship in the play. Yet, inasmuch as Plautus makes Philocrates in the *Captivi* go from Aetolia to Elis, effect there an exchange of prisoners, find a slave who disappeared twenty years before, and return to Aetolia all in one day, we need not distress ourselves because he talks of going from Epidaurus to Asia Minor and return in four days. For my own part, then, I incline to take Caria of the country (in Pl. the *soldier* is in Caria; in the Terentian passages, too, Caria is named in connection with soldiering: venimus in Cariam ex India, *Cur.* 438, points strongly to Caria in Asia); it would not be difficult to emend the passages which show *Cariam* or *Caria* without a preposition.

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SELEUCIA. Charmides, bent on strengthening his fortunes by trade, goes to Seleucia, *Tr.* 112, 771, 845, 901.[1]

SINOPE: *Cur.* 443.

SURIA (SYRIA): *Tru.* 530: ancillas . . . . ex Suria, 541 hasce . . . . Suras, *Mer.* 414, 415: ancillam . . . . Syram, *Tr.* 542: Surorum, genus quod patientissumumst hominum, *Cur.* 443. For *Surus*, *Sura* as slave names see below, p. 12, n. 4.

III A. Places in Europe belonging to Greek geography.

AETNA: *Mi.* 1065: tum argenti montes, non massas (habes), habet Aetina non aeque altos.

AETOLIA: *Cap.* 94. Aetolus is adjective in *Poe.* 621, 1057, noun in *Cap.* 24, 59, 93, 824. (Cf. also *Pe.* 3, where Aetolicus aper is named among the Herculis aerumnae.)

AGRIGENTUM: *Ru.* 50: Siculus senex, ... Agrigentinus.

ALIS (Elis): *Cap.* 9, 26, 94, 330, 379, 509, 544, 547, 573, 588, 590, 638, 973, 979, 1005, 1014. Aleus is adjective in *Cap.* arg. 3, 27, 31, 169, 875, noun in *Cap.* 24, 59, 93, 280. Alidensis is adjective *Cap.* 880.

AMBRACIA: *St.* 491.

ANACTORIUM: *Poe.* 87, 93, 896.

ANDROS: *And.* 70, 222, 923, 931. Andrius is adjective in *And. Per.* 2, 906, noun (in fem.) in *And.* 73, 85, 215, 461, 756.

ARCADIA: Arcadian asses are sold in Athens to a merchant from Pella, *As.* 333. For such asses cf. Persius iii. 9, Ausonius lxxvi. 3, Varro *R. R.* ii. 1, 14.

ARGIVI: so the Thebans are called in *Am.* 208 (the play belongs to the heroic age).

ATHENAE: *As.* 492, *Aul.* 810, *Ba.* 563, *Ep.* 26, 502, 602, *Men.* prol. 8, *Mer.* 945, *Mi.* arg. i. 1, arg. i. 5, 99, 100, 104, 114, 122, 126, 127, 132, 239, 384, 439, 451, 489, 938, 1146, 1186, 1193, *Mo.* 1072, *Pe.* 151, 549, *Ps.* 270, 339, 416, 620, 731, *Ru.* 35, 738, 739, 741, 746, 1105, 1111, *St.* 448, 649 (salvete, Athenae, quae nutrices Graeciae: cf. Pericles in Thuc. ii. 41. 1), 670, *Tru.* 3, 10, 91, 497, *And.* 907, *Hec.* 88, *Ph.* (thrice in the Periocha 2, 4, 6). Atheniensis is adjective in *Mi.* arg. ii. 2, 440, noun, perhaps, in *Cas.* 82, *Ru.* 1198. Attica is named in *Eun.* 110. Atticus is adjective often: (*a*) Athenae Atticae, *Ep.* 502, *Mi.* 100, *Ps.* 416, *Ru.* 741, *Tru.* 497; (*b*) civis Atticus, *Ep.* 602, *Mer.* 635 (in reverse order, Atticus civis, *Eun.* Per. 10, 11), civis Attica, *Poe.* 372, *And.* 221, 780, 859, *Ad.* Per. 8, *Eun.* Per. 3, 805, *Ph.* 114 (cf. Attica civitas *Pe.* 474); (*c*) in miscellaneous phrases: *As.* 793: lingua Attica, *Cas.* 652: Attica . . . . disciplina, *Ep.* 306: agro Attico, *Mer.* 837: ab Atticis abhorreo (sc. deis, Penatibus, Lare, urbe, civitate), *Mo.* 30: iuventute . . . . Attica, *Pe.* 395: logei . . . . Attici, *Ps.*

[1] Cf. the mention of Seleucus, *Mi.* 75, 949, 951, 948.

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202*a*: iuventutem Atticam, *Ru.* 42: adulescens . . . . Atticus, 604 Philomela Attica (Leo), *Eun.* 1093: Atticam elegantiam. Atticus is noun in *Mi.* arg. ii. 4, *And.* 923, 927.

For references to the *Piraeus* see *Ba.* 235, *Mo.* 66, *Tr.* 1103, *Eun.* 290 539. Cf. also RHAMNUS, below.

BOEOTIA: *Mer.* 647.

CALYDON: *Poe.* 72, 94; 1181 Calydoniam Venerem.

CAPUA: *Ru.* 629–31: si speras tibi hoc anno multum futurum sirpe et laserpicium eamque eventuram exagogam Capuam salvam et sospitem.

CHALCIS: *Mer.* 646, 939.

CHIOS: vinum Chium, *Cur.* 78, *Poe.* 699.

CNIDUS: *Mer.* 647.

CORINTHUS: *Mer.* 646, *Heaut.* 96, *Hec.* 86, *Heaut.* 600 and 629: Corinthia anus, *Aul.* 559: Corinthiensis fons Pirena.

CRETA: *Mer.* 646, *Cur.* 443: Arabes, Caras, Cretanos, etc.

CYPRUS: *Mer.* 646, 933, 937, *Ad.* 224, 230, 278.

DELPHI: *Ps.* 480: quod scibo Delphis tibi responsum dicito.[1]

ELATIA (in Phocis): *Ba.* 591.

EPIDAMNUS: *Men.* arg. 6, 49, 51, 70, 230, 263, 267, 306, 380 (bis). Epidamniensis is adjective *Men.* 32; Epidamnius is adjective *Men.* 1004, noun in 33, 258.

EPIDAURUS: *Cur.* 429, 562, *Ep.* 540 *a*, 541 *a*, 636.

ERETRIA: *Mer.* 646, *Pe.* 259, 322, 323.

EUBOEA: *Ep.* 153: Euboicus (miles).

GRAECIA: *Ru.* 737: ex germana Graecia, *Men.* 236: Graeciam . . . . exoticam (=Magna Graecia); see also *Cas.* 71, *St.* 649. For Graecus as adjective see *Cur.* 288: isti Graeci palliati capite operto qui ambulant, *Mer.* 525, *Ru.* 588: vina Graeca, *St.* 226: unctiones Graecas sudatorias vendo, 707,[2] *As.* 199: Graeca fide, *Men.* 9, *Tru.* 55.

HILURII: *Men.* 235, *Tr.* 852: Hilurica facies videtur hominis.

HISTRI: *Men.* 235.

IMBROS: an Athenian goes thither to settle an estate, *Hec.* Per. 5, 171.

LACONIA: *Cap.* 471: Lacones . . . . viros (parasites), *Ep.* 234: (canis) Laconicus, *Mo.* 404: clavis Laconicus. See SPARTA, below.

LEMNOS: *Cis.* arg. 6, arg. 7, 161, *Tru.* 91, 355, *Ph.* Per. 3, Per. 5, 66, 567, 680, 873, 943, 1004, 1013; *Cis.* 100: sua cognata Lemniensis, 157 mercator . . . . Lemnius. For Lemnius, Lemnia as noun see *Cis.* 173, 492, 530.

[1] Cf. perhaps *And.* 698 non Apollinis magis verum atque hoc responsumst. Cf., too, the slave name *Delphium*, p. 12, n. 4.

[2] The passages in which pergraecari occurs are also pertinent here: *Ba.* 813, *Mo.* 980, 22, 64, *Poe.* 608, *Tru.* 87; so congraecare *Ba.* 743. Graece occurs *As.* prol. 10, *Mer.* prol. 9, *Mi.* 86, *Cas.* prol. 33, *Tr.* prol. 18, always in accounts of the Greek originals of Plautus' plays.

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LESBOS: *Mer.* 647: Lesbiam (terram), *Poe.* 699: vinum Lesbium, *Mi.* 1247.

LEUCAS: *Poe.* 699: vinum Leucadium.

MACEDONIA: *Tr.* 845. Cf. Macedones, *Mi.* 44, Macedonius (as adjective), *Ps.* 51, 346, 616, 1090, 1152, 1162, 1210: virum Macedoniensem *Ps.* 1041.

MEGARA: *Mer.* 646 Megares (acc. pl.), *Pe.* 137 Megaribus . . . . commigravit.

MOLOSSIA: *Cap.* 86 Molossici (canes).

MYCONOS: *Hec.* 433, 801 Myconius hospes, 803 es tu Myconius?

NAUPACTUS: *Mi.* arg. ii. 2, 102, 116.

NEMEA: games at, *Cas.* 759–62.

OLYMPIA: games at, *Cas.* 759–62.

PIRAEUS: see ATHENAE.

RHAMNUS: *And.* 930: Rhamnusium se aiebat esse.

RHODOS: *Cur.* 444 Rhodiam (terram), *Mer.* 11, 93, 257, 390, *Eun.* 107, 420, 498, 423: Rhodius adulescentulus.

SAMOS: *Ba.* 472, 574, 200: Samiam quidem (Bacchidem), *Men.* 178: fores Samiae, *St.* 694: Samiolo poterio, *Ba.* 202: Samium vas, *Cap.* 291: Samiis vasis, *Eun.* 107: Samia mihi mater fuit.

SICILIA: *Men.* 1096, *Ru.* 54, 357, 495, *Men.* arg. 1: mercator Siculus, *Pe.* 395 (logum) . . . . Siculum, *Ru.* 49, *Poe.* 897: praedo Siculus, *Ru.* 451, *Men.* 1068, *Cap.* 888 (bis). The verb sicilicissito, *Men.* 12, is pertinent here: cf. also AGRIGENTUM and SYRACUSAE.

SICYON: *Cis.* 130, 156, 190, *Cur.* 395, *Mer.* 647. *Ps.* 995, 998, 1098 1174, *Cis.* arg. 1, arg 3.

SPARTA: *Poe.* 663, 666. For the adjective we have Spartanus, *Poe.* 770, Spartiaticus, *Poe.* 719, for the noun Spartiatem, *Poe.* 780. In *Pe.* 553, 554: ut munitum muro tibi visum oppidumst? si incolae bene sunt morati, id pulchre moenitum arbitror, there may well be a reference to Sparta. See also LACONIA.

STYMPHALIS: the aves Stymphales are named among the aerumnae Herculis, *Pe.* 4.

SUNIUM: *Eun.* 115, 519, *Ph.* 837 (site of a *mercatus*, 'fair').

SUPERUM MARE: *Men.* 236.

SYRACUSAE: *Men.* 17, 37, 69, 408, 1097 (a merchant goes thence to Tarentum *ad mercatum*). For Syracusanus, adjective, cf. *Men.* 1068, 1109.

TARENTUM: *Men.* 27, 29, 36, 39, 1112. In *Tru.* 649 there is a reference to the sale of Tarentinae oves, though the play is laid at Athens. Cf., perhaps, *Mer.* 525, with Naudet's note.

TELOBOAE: *Am.* arg. i. 2, 101, 205, 211, 217, 251, 414, 418, 734. See Palmer on arg. i. 2.

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THASOS: *Poe.* 699: vinum Thasium.

THEBAE: *Am.* 97, 677, 1046, *Ep.* 53, 206, 252, 416, 636, *Ru.* 746. For Thebanus as adjective, see *Am.* 101, 190, 194, 259, 363, 376, 678, frag. xvi; as noun, *Am.* 365. See ARGIVI above.

THESSALIA: *Am.* 1043: Thessalum veneficum. In *Am.* 770 Thessala is the name of an ancilla.

THRAECIA: *Poe.* 1168.

ZACYNTHUS: *Mer.* 647, 940, 943, 945.

III B. Places in Europe belonging to Roman geography.

ALATRIUM: *Cap.* 883: *ναὶ τὸν* Ἀλάτριον.

APULIA: *Cas.* 72 in ⟨terra⟩ Apulia. There is a slighting reference to Apulians in *Mi.* 648: post Ephesi sum natus, non enim in Apulis. *Cas.* 77 is, perhaps, likewise disparaging (cf. 67–77). The prologuist declares that in Graecia et Carthagini serviles nuptiae are celebrated more elaborately than the marriages of free-born men and women; he undertakes to prove this before a Poenus iudex . . . . vel Graecus adeo vel mea caussa Apulus.

BOII: *Cap.* 888: nunc Siculus non est, Boius est, boiam terit.

CAMPANIA: *Ps.* 146: peristromata . . . . Campanica, *Tr.* 545: Campans genus multo Surorum iam antidit patientia, *Tru.* 942 (corrupt): Campas.

CORA: *Cap.* 881: *ναὶ τὰν* Κόραν.

ETRURIA: *Cis.* 562: ex Tusco modo. See SUTRIUM, below.

FRUSINO: *Cap.* 883: *ναὶ τὰν* Φρουσινῶνα.

GALLIA: *Aul.* 495: Gallicis cantheriis, frag. 176 (?).

HISPANI: *Men.* 235.

ITALIA: *Men.* 237: orae Italicae omnes.

MONS MASSICUS: *Ps.* 1303: Massici montis uberrimos quattuor fructus.

MASSILIA: *Men.* 235: Massilienses, *Cas.* 963: ubi tu es qui colere mores Massiliensis postulas?

PISTORENSES: *Cap.* 160.

PLACENTIA: *Cap.* 172: opus Placentinis quoque.

PRAENESTE: *Ba.* frag. viii.: Praenestinum opino esse, ita erat gloriosus, *Tr.* 608, 609: ilico hic ante ostium, 'tam modo,' inquit Praenestinus, *Tru.* 691 (cf. 688 ff.): Praenestinis 'conea' est ciconea. All three references are slighting. So, when in *Cap.* 882 Ergasilus swears *ναὶ τὰν* Πραινέστην, etc., Hegio asks (884): quid tu per barbaras urbis iuras?

ROMA: Romae was read by Schoell in *Tru.* 966, a corrupt verse. Cf. *Poe.* 1313, 1314: plenior ali ulpicique quam Romani remiges. Cf., too, perhaps, frag. 109, from Festus 45: catulinam carnem esitavisse Romanos Plautus in Saturione refert.

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Various places in Rome are mentioned. Cf. *Cap.* 489: omnes de compecto rem agunt, quasi in Velabro olearii,[1] *Cur.* 483: in Velabro. Cf. *Cur.* 269: locus non praeberi (*sc.* periuris) potis est in Capitolio. In *Cur.* 467–85 the *choragus* enumerates places in the forum Romanum, e. g., the Cloacinae sacrum, the basilica, the forum piscarium, the lacus, the veteres (tabernae), the aedes Castoris, the vicus Tuscus, the Velabrum.[2]

SARDI: *Mi.* 44.

SARSINA (in Umbria): *Mo.* 770: Sarsinatis ecqua est, si Umbram non habes?

SIGNEA: *Cap.* 882: *καὶ τὰν Σιγνέαν.*

SUTRIUM: *Cas.* 524.

UMBRIA: see SARSINA.

TURDETANI: *Cap.* 163.[3]

From the foregoing pages (5–12) one sees how vast is the array of places to which Plautus and Terence, especially the former, make reference.[4] Allusion is made to all quarters of the Greek world of Menander's time and to some places of the Roman world of Plautus' days.

[1] The *Captivi* is laid in Aetolia! Corners in grain were common enough in Athens: witness Lysias xxii, *κατὰ τῶν σιτοπωλῶν.* Probably in the original of the *Captivi* there was a reference to such corners at Athens; for this Plautus substituted the more telling reference to similar operations at home.

[2] See below, p. 14, n. 1, last paragraph.

[3] At times Plautus plays with geography, as Swift played with geography. In *Cur.* 442 ff. the parasite declares that within twenty days the miles, single-handed, conquered Persas . . . . Rhodiam atque Lyciam, Perediam et Perbibesiam, Centauromachiam et Classiam Unomammiam, Libyamque . . . . omnem Conterebromniam . . . . *Peredia* and *Perbibesia* seem anticipations of Dickens' town of *Eatanswill.* In a similar passage, *Mi.* 13–15, 42–45, a parasite refers to the campi Curculionei, and to Scytholatronia. In *Tr.* 928–35 the sycophanta declares that he left Charmides ad Rhadamantem in Cercopio, and that Charmides had visited Pontus in Arabia, not, says the sycophanta, the Arabia where incense is produced, but the Arabia where one gets absinthe and cunila gallinacea! See also 936–44, *Poe.* 471–73, 663–66 (cf. 718, 790).

[4] This array is lengthened if we give heed to the names of slaves; we must remember that slaves were largely named after the countries from which they came. Instructive here is *Ph.* 35, 36 where Davus says: amicus summus et popularis Geta heri ad me venit. See the editors. Davus thinks of himself as a Dacian and so as virtually fellow-countryman of the Getae. It is clear, then, that to Terence's mind slave names had geographical suggestion. Cf. such passages as *Mer.* 414, 415: ancillam . . . . aut Syram aut Aegyptiam, *Eun.* 165, 166: ex Aethiopia ancillulam (cf. 471).

Cf. now the following slave names, ethnic in origin: Cario, *Mi.* 1397, 1427; Davus, *Am.* 365, 614, frag. 146, and passim, *Ph.* 51–151 passim (see Schmidt "Griechische Personennamen bei Plautus" *Hermes* XXXVII, p. 185); Cilix, frag. 149 (Schmidt, p. 184); Delphium, *Mo.* 320–47, 372, 393, 397 (Schmidt, p. 185); Dorus, name of a eunuch, *Eun.* 594; Dorias, name of an ancilla, *Eun.* 538; Dorio, name of a leno, *Ph.* 485–533; Eleusium, *Aul.* 333 (Schmidt, p. 187); Geta, *Ph.* passim, *Ad.* 299 ff. (Lindsay emends *Tru.* 577 in such fashion that the slave Cyamus is made to hail from the Getae); Lesbia, *And.* 228, 459–88; Lurcio, *Mi.* 812–65, Lucris, name of the supposed captive woman in *Ps.* 624 (Schmidt, pp. 193, 194, refuses to connect these names

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In Terence the geography is at once more restricted and more wholly Greek; Plautus at times introduces places purely Italian or even wholly Roman.[1]

It is important now to consider the character of these references to various places. Are they accurate or inaccurate? Are they vague and intangible or is there an air of reality about them? In a word, is the local color good or bad?

Let us deal first with the plays laid at Athens. Here the representation of things Athenian, so far as that representation is at all definite (i. e., so far as the portrayal is metropolitan rather than cosmopolitan) is correct always. This is what we should expect in plays based on dramas written by citizens or residents of Athens.

In every passage containing reference to coming to Athens *peregre* the harbor (called either Piraeus or simply portus) is mentioned; it seems needless to give the references. The city is described as well-walled, *Pe.* 553; in *Pe.* 549 it is fortunatae atque opiparae (it may not be too fanciful to see here a rendering of Ἀθῆναι λιπαραί). Allusions to the acropolis occur: *Ba.* 900: in arcem abivit aedem visere. nunc apertast; *Hec.* 431: in arcem transcurso opus est (see also 801). In *And.* 930 an Athenian is described as a Rhamnusian; in *Eun.* 110, 115 Attica covers Sunium.[2]

with *lucrum;* he derives them from Λοκρίων, Λοκρίς); Lydus, name of paedagogus in *Ba.;* Messenio, *Men.;* Mysis, *And.;* Olympio, Olympiscus, *Cas.;* Olympicus, *Tr.* 425; Phrygia, *Aul.* 333, *Heaut.* 731, etc., *Ad.* 973 (Schmidt, p. 201); Phoenicium, *Tru.* passim (Schmidt, p. 201); Syra, *Mer.* 670 ff., etc., *Tru.* 405, *Hec.* 71 ff., etc.; Syrus, *Ba.* 649, *Ps.*, *Ad.*, *Heaut.*, *St.* 433 (Schmidt, p. 210); Syriscus, *Eun.* 772, 775; Thessala, *Am.* 770 (Schmidt, p. 210). We may add Cappadox, the name of the leno in *Cur.;* Schmidt (p. 181) declares that the name occurs nowhere else. See also Berard *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* I, pp. 405, 406.

[1] For specially incongruous injection of places wholly Italian or Roman see *Cap.* 160–63, 880–85, *Cur.* 466–85. It is worth while to remember that the authenticity of such passages has been called in question.

[2] Some minor points may be noted. Cf. *As.* 598–600: esse negotiosum interdius videlicet Solonem, leges ut conscribat quibus se populus teneat. In *Aul.* 36 the Cereris vigiliae are the Thesmophoria; see Wagner's note. In *Mer.* 61–68 we get a good view of the Dionysia, doubtless at Athens: cf. *Cur.* 644–47. In *Heaut.* 162, 170, 183 ff., 211, 733 we have references to the Dionysia, as kept in some country seat near Athens. For one other very important bit of local color in connection with Athens see the discussion below, pp. 16–18, of the meaning of rus. In *Aul.* 559 Corinthiensem fontem Pirenam may be noted.

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In *And.* 51 there is a reference to *ephebi.* That we must interpret this in the technical sense familiar to the Athenians is clear from *Eun.* 824: iste ephebus frater Phaedriae, as explained by 290: miror quid ex Piraeo abierit, nam ibi custos publice nunc est (cf. the Periocha 7, 12). Hence in 987: an in astu venit (*sc.* ex Piraeo)? asked about this *ephebus*, is absolutely correct. Cf. now *Mer.* 40, 61.

Turning now to plays not laid at Athens, we note that in the *Bacchides*, set at Ephesus, references are made to the temple of Diana there (307–41). In the *Miles*, also set at Ephesus, we have mention of the ara Ephesiae Dianae (411). The *Menaechmi* too gives a correct touch; for the boy lost at Tarentum his brother has been searching through Histros, Hispanos, Massiliensis, Hilurios, mare superum omne Graeciamque exoticam orasque Italicas omnis, qua adgreditur mare (235–37). In *Poe.* 86 reference is made to Magara, part of Carthage; one thinks of Vergil's magalia, *Aen.* i. 421, iv. 259, *Georg.* iii. 340 (see Conington's notes).

The *Rudens* is laid at Cyrene. At 630–33 an elaborate reference is made to laserpicium or silphium, well known as the special product of Cyrene and as such figured on its coins.

Some miscellaneous points deserve notice. The perfumes of Arabia are mentioned in *Mi.* 412, *Tr.* 934, 935, *Tru.* 539, 540; amomum from Pontus is named in *Tru. ibid.* In *Tru.* 536 Phrygian cloaks are mentioned; cf. the noun phrygio. In *Tru.* 649 there is mention of a sale of oves Tarentinae; we think of Horace *Carm.* ii. 6. 10–11: dulce pellitis ovibus Galaesi flumen et reguata petam Laconi rura Phalantho. Cf. also Varro *R. R.* ii. 2. 18, cited by editors on Horace *loc. cit.* The *Stichus* involves a trading voyage from Athens to Asia; the things brought back include Babulonica et peristroma tonsilia et tappetia, 378, sambucae, 381, unguenta, 383. In *Men.* 409–12 it is possible to pick flaws in the list of Syracusan kings (see Brix), but since it occurs in a comedy, not in a history, it is reasonably accurate. In the *Curculio* we have already noted (see p. 4) the references to the templum Aesculapi.[1]

[1] Many more details might be brought together, e.g., the references to wines of various sorts, such as Chian, Lesbian, famous still in later times, and known all over the

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Thus far we have been concerned with the geography of the comedies, its extent and its nature. We must pass now to our main theme, the evidences of movement from point to point.[1] A general twofold division of the passages suggests itself; one set will deal with land travel, the other, far the larger, with travel beyond seas.

Greek world through commerce; the references to Samian ware, to Alexandrian and Campanian tapestries, etc. The reader who examines with care the geographical data given above, pp. 5–12, or reads thoughtfully the accounts of travel given below, will be struck more and more forcibly with the accuracy of the allusions. Of a more general character are the references to luxurious living at Athens, Epidamnus, Sicily, (i. e., Syracuse), all centers of trade, wealth, and its attendant luxury. For Sicily cf. *Ru.* 51–57, 540–42; for Epidamnus, *Men.* 258–64, 339–43; for Athens, *Ep.* 212–63. In *Ru.* 49, 50 Charmides is described as Siculus senex, ... Agrigentinus, urbis proditor: we think at once of the disturbed political conditions in Sicily. Lastly, even in the *Amphitruo*, a play which contains, perhaps, much relatively independent work (see Palmer's edition, pp. xiv–xviii), the treatment is reasonably accurate. The play is laid at Thebes: Creon is king (194, 351), Tiresias is seer (1128, 1145, 1132).

Yet there are weaknesses. In *Am.* 149, 164 *a*, 195, 460, 602, 701, 731 ff. reference is made to a portus (of Thebes!); cf. Palmer on 404. Now the *Amphitruo* is unique among Latin comedies, especially in its wonder-working element (in the prolongation of the night and the deus ex machina close); what wonder if in a play which lies close to the magic world Thebes develops a harbor? Where Plautus set the Teloboae we do not know (see Palmer's note on arg. i. 2), but he repeatedly makes Amphitruo go to and fro by sea (329, 404, etc.). Hence there must be a portus at the home end of the journey. Plautus' real sin, then, lies in putting this portus within easy walking distance of Thebes. Similarly in the *Poenulus* Calydon has a harbor (114, 115, 649, 650). In *Am.* 404, 823 Plautus refers to a portus Persicus; from this Amphitruo arrived on the night on which the play opens. Festus (217 M.) suggested that Plautus gave this name to some harbor on the mare Euboicum because once a Persian fleet maneuvered in these waters, an odd anachronism, surely, and a curious misapplication of a bit of learning, yet modern editors have no better comment to offer.

Errors of another sort are somewhat marked. Though all the plays are laid on Greek soil, Plautus not infrequently introduces geographical details which are purely Italian. See above, pp. 11, 12; p. 13, n. 1. The *Captivi* is laid in Aetolia; yet in 88–90, there is allusion to the porta trigemina at Rome. In *Ps.* 331 ff., Professor Morris sees a reference to the Porta Esquilina at Rome. Another instance of his forgetfulness is his employment of pergraecari, with the sense of 'to lead a riotous, extravagant life;' cf. p. 9, n. 2. Cf. also *Cur.* 288: isti Graeci palliati, *Tru.* 55: armariola Graeca. A captious critic might object to the statement in *Men.* 7–12 that this play non atticissat, verum siciliciss*i*tat, on the ground that the scene is laid at Epidamnus. Yet since the more important characters all hail from Syracuse and return thither at the close of the play the inaccuracy is a trifle. It is to be noted that after all the allusions to things distinctly Italian or Roman are, for our purposes, of little consequence. Here especially Plautus talks with fullest knowledge and accuracy; the passages discredit his judgment (or that of the interpolators), not his geographical knowledge.

[1] A careful examination of pp. 5–12 will furnish many suggestions of communication between distant points, e. g., in the allusions to objects of commerce, such as wines, tapestries, perfumes, slaves.

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TRAVEL BY LAND

Specific references[1] to journeying by land are confined to the innumerable allusions to movement in the streets of some city, or to travel between a city and its harbor, or to movement between some city, especially Athens, and its suburbs. Of movement in city streets we need take no notice. Nor shall I take time to gather the references to progress between a city and its harbor, though under the conditions which determined the location of cities in ancient Greece such progress often involved distances of moment; witness the case of Athens and the Piraeus. Yet after all this movement, like that in city streets, is purely local.

Journeys between some city and its *rus* stand, in part at least, on a somewhat different footing. In the *Eunuchus* (110, 115) the term *rus* covers Sunium, which is a goodly distance from Athens for one who must walk or drive thither. References to travel between Athens and its suburbs are very numerous.[2] In the *Casina* a vilicus is in Athens (see 98–142, 437, 438, etc.). In 781 the senex says: ego ruri cenavero (cf. 783–86), a proof that the *rus* was at no great distance.[3] In *Mer.* 61–68 Demipho talks of the trips he made as a boy with his father (to Athens) to see the peplus. Lysimachus, senex, has a villa *ruri* (*Mer.* 272–82). His wife is there (280 ff., 543, 586, 686, etc.), but on receipt of a message that he is not coming *rus* (279, 280, 667), she comes to town to join him (667–80, 686, 807–14). Presently she sends a servant to her father, but the servant finds that the father had gone *rus* (803, 804). In 656 Eutychus advises Charinus

[1] Land travel is often enough implied, especially in the references to the exploits of the miles: see *Cur.* 438, 442–48, 438–39, *Mi.* 13–15, 42–44, 52, 53, *Poe.* 663–66. We may suppose that Harpax (*Ps.* 1173–75) came from Sicyon to Athens by land; such a supposition gives most point to Ballio's comment, strenue mehercle iisti, when he hears that Harpax had left Sicyon but two days before (the distance by land is about 75 miles). We shall see presently that land conveyances are but seldom named, and that they are never mentioned in connection with actual travel.

[2] In *Cis.* 225, 226 Alcesimarchus, now in town (Sicyon) says: pater apud villam detinuit me hos sex dies ruri continuos. In *Men.* prol. 63–66 we read that the mercator who had carried off the boy, going out rus from Epidamnus, was drowned while trying to ford a rain-swollen stream. In *Poe.* 170 a vilicus is in town (Calydon). In *Cap.* 78 the parasite, who is supposed to be in Aetolia, says: ubi res prolatae sunt, quom homines rus eunt, simul prolatae res sunt nostris dentibus. Cf. 84, 85.

[3] In 420, in his desire to hasten the 'marriage,' he had said, scin tu rus hinc esse ad villam longe quo ducat?

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not to go *peregre* into exile, but *rus aliquo*. See also *Ba.* 899, *As.* 341, 342.

From *Mo.* 1–83 we see that a country slave, Grumio, is in town. For other movements *rus* see 928, 1043, 1076, 1077. In *Ps.* 549 Callipho explains that he cannot help Simo: rus ut irem iam heri constitueram. It was while Callicles was unos sex dies ruri that Lesbonicus put up his father's house for sale (*Tr.* 163–72).[1] According to *Tru.* 645, 646 Strabax has gone rus for his father; some one there owed money to his father for oves Tarentinae. Cf. further 647–50, 669–71, 692–94. One of Phronesium's lovers is an adulescens agrestis (246–49, 269, arg. 1–2). In 682, 683 Truculentus, a servus rusticus, refers to his frequent trips to the city. At 915 Strabax says: nec ruri nec hic operis quicquam facio. See also 245–54, 277–82.[2]

In Terence references of this sort are even more numerous. The *Heauton* is laid in the suburbs of Athens, at some distance from the city (239, 63–74, 88–92, etc.); for movement between city and suburbs see 53, 54, 142–46, 731, 732, 175, 176, 191, 230 ff., 375, 381–408. In the *Hecyra* Laches lives ruri, his wife in town (174, 175, 215–18, 224–26). He comes to town, 189, 190. His wife, baffled in her efforts to establish better relations between herself and her daughter-in-law, says to her son (586): ego rus abituram hinc cum tuo me esse certo decrevi patre. Cf. 589, 619, 629.

In *Eun.* 187 Phaedria, who has agreed to surrender Thais for two days to the miles, says: rus ibo. Cf. 216, 220, Per. 5–6. Vss. 629–41 tell what happened when he set out rus. In 971–73

[1] A field (ager) which Lesbonicus still owns sub urbe hic, 508 ff., figures largely in the discussion whether his sister shall or shall not be married to Lysiteles sine dote (506–561, 593–99, 652, 687, 695, 700). In *Tru.* 174 Diniarchus, who has been nearly ruined by his gifts to Phronesium, says: sunt mi etiam fundi et aedis. Cf. 177, 186, 214. See also *Aul.* 13, 14. In *Ph.* 361–66 Phormio declares that the (supposed) father of the girl whom the court had compelled Antipho to marry had spent most of his time ruri: ibi agrum de nostro patre colendum habebat. In 661 Geta asserts that Phormio has an ager, mortgaged for ten minae. In *Ad.* 949, 950 Demea urges Micio to give to Hegio agelli hic sub urbe paullum, which at present he rents out. Cf. also *Ep.* 226, *Mo.* 80, *Pe.* 566.

[2] In *Tr.* 944 travel rus is burlesqued. The sycophant had said, 940–43, that he had sailed ad caput amnis, quod de caelo exoritur sub solio Iovis; nay, he had gone straight up to heaven, but he had not seen Jupiter: alii di isse ad villam aiebant servis depromptum cibum.

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his father says: ex meo propinquo rure hoc capio commodi: neque agri neque urbis odium me umquam percipit. ubi satietas coepit fieri, commuto locum.[1] See also 611, 967. Chremes has an estate at Sunium (519–25). From this estate years before his sister had been carried off by pirates (cf. 519–27 with 107–15).[2]

Of the older brothers in the *Adelphoe* one, Demea, has spent his life in the country (45, 866, 867). He comes to town sorely distressed by the pranks of one of his sons, Aeschines, whom his brother Micio had adopted (77–81, 92); his other son, Ctesipho, is, he thinks, safely in the country (94–96). He starts back *rus* to find Ctesipho (401, 433–36, 517–20). On his way he meets one of his *mercennarii*, en route for town, who tells him that Ctesipho is not *ruri* (541, 542). See also 560–62, 842.[3]

An excellent commentary on these passages is afforded by Thucydides' remarks (ii. 13. 2, ii. 14, ii. 15. 1, 2) on the advice given by Pericles to the Athenians at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. The Athenians, he said, "must prepare for war and bring their property from the country into the city; they must defend their walls but not go out to battle . . . ." They brought their property into the city, with sorrowing hearts, "for the Athenians had always been accustomed to reside in the country. Such a life had been characteristic of them, more than of any other Hellenic people, from very early times." "Theseus . . . . united all the inhabitants of Attica in the present city, establishing one council and town hall. They continued to live on their own lands, but he compelled them to resort to Athens as their metropolis, and henceforth they were all inscribed in the roll of her citizens."[4]

[1] Cf. *Ad.* 523: et illud rus nulla alia causa tam male odi, nisi quia propest; quod si abesset longius, prius nox oppressisset illi eum (=patrem) quam huc revorti posset iterum. Nunc ubi me illic non videbit, iam huc recurret.

[2] The uncle of Glycerium, shipwrecked on Andros, was a Rhamnusian (*And.* 923–30).

[3] References to the pistrinum as a means of punishment are probably pertinent here; that the pistrinum was ruri appears from *Mo.* 16–19, *Ph.* 249, 250. Less clear are *Ba.* 781, *Ep.* 121, 145, *Pe.* 420, *Poe.* 827, *Ps.* 490, 494, 499, 500, 534, 1060, 1100, *And.* 600, 199, 200.

[4] The quotations are from Jowett's translation. See Miss Harrison *Primitive Athens* (1906), pp. 4, 5. Pollux viii. 116 explains that the Athenians called a special session of the ἐκκλησία a κατάκλητος ἐκκλησία, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν κατεκάλουν

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The passages brought together from Plautus and Terence show that in Menander's day conditions at Athens were much the same as they had been before the Athenians took Pericles' advice and moved from the country into the city.

Only once, I think, is there allusion to travel by land by night. In the *Amphitruo* Sosia is sent forward by night by his impatient master to carry news of Theban victory and of Amphitruo's home-coming (153–55, 163–68, 292–310, 602, 620–22, 737, 743). He travels solus (154), carrying a lantern (149, 341). He fears arrest by the tresviri as a suspicious character, and flogging next day (155–60).[1]

TRAVEL BEYOND SEAS

Let us turn now to consider travel by sea. The material is abundant, but the passages involved may be grouped under a few clearly marked divisions. We shall see that journeys beyond seas were undertaken largely for business; we shall note much travel, too, in connection with war. The travels of meretrices, or of their lovers, or of those lovers' messengers, will call for special attention. It will be necessary, finally, to devote a separate section to the travels of persons who in their tender years were kidnaped or carried off by pirates and to the journeys of the kinsmen who spend long years and cover great distances in their search for the loved and lost.

Business travel.—According to the *Asinaria* a merchant of Pella in Macedonia has been buying Arcadici asini at Athens (333 ff., 347 ff., 397, 398, prol. 12). Whether the merchant was present in person to make the purchase does not appear. Presently a messenger from him enters, prepared to pay the purchase money, twenty minae (335, 336, 343–49, 852, 734, 369, 590, arg. 3). He comes peregre (449, 464, 582). He is attended by a puer (382). He is at first cautious and resists all attempts of Leonidas to get the money from him. As part of his plea Leonidas

(i. e., down to the *δστυ*). It is clear that in most of the passages in Plautus and Terence the term *rus* covers no great distance; it is also plain from the *Eunuchus* (110, 115) that the term may cover all Attica.

[1] *Ad.* 523–26, cited p. 18, n. 1, might be taken to imply that journeying by night was unusual; it may, however, merely imply that Ctesipho thinks that his father would regard it as hopeless to search for him in town in the darkness.

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says (499–501): Rhodo mercator dives apsente ero solus mihi talentum argenti soli adnumeravit et credidit mihi neque deceptust in eo.

In *Ba.* 170, 171 Chrysalus declares that he and his master's son have been away from Athens for two years, at Ephesus, to collect 1,200 Philippi due to the youth's father, Nicobulus (230–36, 249–78, 306–36, 352–54, 388, 389, 561, 1047). The money had been in the hands of a hospes. Chrysalus asserts that they have not brought the money; they had after much trouble secured it, but as they were putting out from the harbor of Ephesus homeward bound a pirate ship started after them, whereupon they had put back and had deposited the money publicly with the priest of Diana (278–347). Later the son had secured a portion of the money and had bought this home (316–24). At 325 Chrysalus urges Nicobulus to go to Ephesus for the balance; the old man assents (342 ff., 354 ff., 776).[1] Chrysalus warns him that he must take with him his son's anulus, as the symbolus by which the money was to be got from the priest (265, 327–30).[2]

In the *Cistellaria* we read that a mercator came from Lemnos to Sicyon to attend the games (157, 161, 162); there he wronged a woman (158, 159, arg. 1, 2). He had gone back to Lemnos and had married there (161, 162, 173–75, arg. 2). When his wife died he went again to Sicyon and married the woman he had wronged years before (100, 177–79, arg. 6). His first journey, then, was solely for business; the second also may be said to have been made for business, in a broad sense: at least it was not undertaken animi tantum causa.

In the *Curculio* Phaedromus sends his parasite from Epidaurus to Caria (see p. 6) to get a loan from a sodalis there (67 ff., 143, 144, 252, 253, 275–78, arg. 1, 2). The parasite had been sent nudius quartus (206, 207) and is expected back hodie (143; in 143, 225, 324, 325, it is implied that a letter or messenger had come from the parasite fixing the time of his return). In Caria he makes the acquaintance of the very soldier who had contracted

[1] Vss. 342 ff. imply that Nicobulus had been a *mercator*, i. e., a merchant who engaged in transmarine commerce, in his own ship.

[2] The whole story of the depositum and of the supposed treachery of the hospes reminds one of the story of Glaucus in Herodotus vi. 86.

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with the leno for Phaedromus' amica (337 ff.); the soldier asks him whether he knows the banker Lyco and the leno Cappadox at Epidaurus. The parasite robs the soldier of his ring, which was to serve as symbolus to the banker (340–60). The soldier had been in Epidaurus and had bargained in person for the girl; he had paid part of the money and had made arrangements to complete the payment and the transfer.[1] He calls Lyco his hospes (429), tarpezita meus (618). The soldier arrives from Caria (533 ff.).

In *Mer.* 1–110 Charinus speaks what amounts to a prologue. He had been engaged in an intrigue with a meretrix (40–45), for which his father had sternly reproached him (46–73), pointing out that in his youth he himself had made much money as a mercator (73–78). This talk drove Charinus forth to seek his fortune (11, 12, 79–97, 357, 358, arg. i. 1, 2, arg. ii. 1, 2). His father had built for him a navis cercurus, had bought merces, had put all on board the ship, and had given him also talentum argenti (86–91). Charinus had gone to Rhodes on a trading trip; he has just returned, after two years (11, 12, 92–97, 256, 257, 533–35), successful beyond his expectations (93–96). At Rhodes he loved an ancilla of a certain hospes, bought her, and brought her home (97–117); about her the play turns.[2]

The *Mostellaria* is laid at Athens. Theopropides, senex, has been away three years on business (78–81, 440, 971), which took him to Egypt (439, 994). See also 11, 12, 25, 26, 57, 957–62, 971–77, arg. 2, 3.

In the *Persa* money is needed. At 260–65, 323–26 Sagaristio explains that he can supply this: "my master has sent me to Eretria to buy some well-broken oxen; he gave me money, telling

[1] See 341–48, 432–36, 535–53.

[2] Plautus nearly always uses mercator of one who engages in transmarine commerce: see *As.* 333, 369, 397, 499, *Cis.* 157, *Men.* arg. 1, 17, *Mer.* arg. ii. 13, *Poe.* 1040. Cf. *And.* 222. In *Men.* 32, *Mi.* 131, *Poe.* 340, *Eun.* 109, 114, this sense is probable, though there is no direct proof. In *Epid.* 395 mercator is used, in a playful passage, of one who has been buying something within Athens itself. In *Ba.* 236 we have navis mercatoria. Cf. also *Ru.* 931, where Gripus, elated by the catch of the vidulus, builds castles in Spain: navibus magnis mercaturam faciam; *Tr.* 332: publicisne adfinis fuit an maritumis negotiis? mercaturan, an venalis habuit ubi rem perdidit? (cf. p. 24, n. 1). Yet, in *Mo.* 639, when Theopropides learns that his son has bought a house, he cries: eugae! Philolaches patrissat: iam homo in mercatura vortitur.

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me that six days hence a fair will be held there. I'll use the money for our purposes and I'll tell him that there were no oxen to be bought." Another scheme is, however, in fact used. A letter is prepared, purporting to be from Toxilus' master, now in Persia (460, 451, 497 ff.); it is opened (497), and read (501–12, 520–27). The master is well and making money; business will detain him for eight months still in Persia, in connection with the auction of the praeda carried off by the Persians from the town Chrysopolis in Arabia (503–9).

In the *Stichus* two brothers, to repair their fortunes (404, 405, 628–31, arg. ii. 1–3), have been away from Athens for more than two years (29–31, 137, 212–14, 1–6, 99, 100, 131–36, 523) in Asia (152, 366, 367). They return at last, each in his own ship, laden with wealth (404–14, 505 ff., 374–83, 435).[1] In the *Trinummus* Charmides goes on business to Seleucia (109 ff., 149, 838, 839, 112, 771, 845, 901); he is gone two years. For his return see 820 ff.[2]

[1] It will be noted that trading trips regularly occupy two years or more. Yet in the *Mercator* the merchant had gone only to Rhodes. There is little in the plays to explain the length of the trips. In *Persa* 504, 505, in the fictitious letter, the writer is made to say that the auction will detain him for eight months in Persia. If we may lay any weight on such a passage, we shall infer that ancient business methods were rather leisurely. The prominence given to fairs (see below, p. 23, n. 2) seems to point in the same direction; if we suppose that at such fairs and elsewhere business was done in part at least by barter we shall be less surprised at the length of business trips. In *Od.* xv. 415, 416, 455, 456, we read of Phoenician ships tarrying for a year at Surie, amassing much substance. See Merry and Merriam on *Od.* viii. 161–64, Whibley *Companion to Greek Studies*, p. 426. We may recall, too, the fact that in the winter months transmarine travel was suspended. It is possible, however, that the period of two or three years postulated by the plays is merely arbitrary and conventional, meaning no more than 'long continued.' In *Miles* 350, 351 we have the strange statement that Palaestrio had been slave of the miles at Ephesus for three years; this means that it is more than three years since the soldier carried the meretrix off by force from Athens. To take all this literally is difficult; the young man, to be faithful to the meretrix all this time, must have been a monstrum fidelitatis! In *Hec.* 85–87 a meretrix declares that she had been with a soldier at Corinth perpetuom biennium, pining the while for Athens (so near at hand!). In *Hec.* 420–23 Parmeno dwells on the horrors of the deep; for thirty days, he claims, or even more he was in constant expectation of death. Yet he had merely come from Imbros to Athens!

[2] Callicles, anxious to provide a dowry for Charmides' daughter, hires a sycophanta, who is to pretend that Charmides had sent him to Athens with money. The sycophanta, thinking himself unheard, seeks to perfect himself in his lesson: advenio ex Seleucia, Macedonia, Asia atque Arabia (845). This passage sounds the keynote of the nonsense geography that follows (928–44). See above, p. 12, n. 3.

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In *And.* 796 Crito, an Andrian, arrives in Athens, to claim the property left by Chrysis, his sobrinus (796–801, 807–17). Through him the identity of Glycerium is established (859, 923–46). Chremes, her father, was once in Asia. Thither his brother Phania, a Rhamnusian (930), followed him (935), taking the young child with him (936). A subsidiary motive was his desire to escape a war at home (935: cf. the Glaucus story, Herod. vi. 86). He was shipwrecked at Andros (923, 924, 220–24), and died there, leaving the child to the care of Chrysis' family. Later the child had come to Athens with Chrysis, who hoped to mend her fortunes there (69–72).

According to *Ph.* 65–69, Demipho, though a man of wealth, had been lured from Athens to Cilicia by glittering inducements held out to him by a hospes there. Of the outcome of his trip we hear nothing, naturally, since the play is concerned rather with his brother Chremes. For years Chremes has been journeying to Lemnos, to collect the revenues of some estates owned there by his wife (679–81, 787–92). On one of these trips, fifteen years before (1017), he had an intrigue with a woman in Lemnos, and had had a daughter by her. Chremes is even now in Lemnos, to bring this daughter to Athens, that she may be married to Antipho, Demipho's son (65, 66, 567 ff., 728–65, *Pe.* 3–8); he had been gone a long time (572–75, 1012). When his wife learns the truth she cries (1012, 1013): haecine erant itiones crebrae et mansiones diutinae Lemni? haecine erat ea quae nostros minuit fructus vilitas?[1]

In the *Hecyra* Pamphilus goes to Imbros, to look after an inheritance there (171–75, 76, 77, 415–25, 359, 360, 458–65). If vss. 393, 394, which Dziatsko brackets, are retained, his absence lasted five months. In *Ad.* 224, 225 Syrus declares that he knows that the leno coemisse hinc quae illuc (=Cyprum) veheres multa, navem conductam (cf. 278). In 229–31 the leno admits that he is taking women to a fair;[2] he hopes to gain rich profits

[1] The Lemnian woman, finding that Chremes was away from Lemnos longer than usual, and noting that her daughter was of marriageable years, comes to Athens to find Chremes (569–76, 749 ff.).

[2] References to fairs, mercatus, occur elsewhere. In *Ph.* 837–39 Phormio talks of going to Sunium, ad mercatum, to buy an ancilla there. In *Men.* 27 a Syracusan

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(231, 232, 226) and to return to Athens. In 647–52 Micio, to tease his son Aeschines, tells a story about the girl whom Aeschines loves and her mother; they have lately moved to Athens, he says, and the girl's nearest kinsman is come from Miletus to marry her, and take her away (653–55, 661, 662, 672–74, 702, 703).[1]

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[*To be continued*]

merchant goes to Tarentum ad mercatum (cf. 1112). Cf. *Pe.* 259, 260: erus meus me Eretriam misit, domitos boves uti sibi mercarer, dedit argentum, nam ibi mercatum dixit esse dieseptumei (cf. 313–26); *Poe.* 339, 340: apud aedem Veneris (in Calydon) hodie est mercatus meretricius: eo conveniunt mercatores, ibi ego me ostendi volo. We may assume, then, that there was a fair in connection with the *ludi* mentioned in *Cis.* 157 (cf. *Men.* 27 ff.); this will account for the mercator's coming to Sicyon at that time. Add *As.* 398: asinos vendidit (sc. Demaenetus, a vir Atheniensis) Pellaeo mercatori mercatu; the location of this fair is not given.

[1]Some more general references to business involving travel may be noted here. In *As.* 134 Argyrippus, addressing the lena and her daughter, cries: mare haud est mare, vos mare acerrumum; nam in mari repperi, hic elavi bonis. *Ru.* 631 contains a reference to regular exports (exagoga) from Cyrene to Capua. In *Tr.* 331, 332, Philto, seeking to learn how Lesbonicus lost his property, asks: qui eam perdidit? publicisne adfinis fuit an maritumis negotiis? mercaturan, an venalis habuit ubi rem perdidit? The passage reminds us of the statement in Gellius iii. 3. 14 that Plautus lost all his money in a trading expedition; it may involve a personal reminiscence. Plautus' references to the monkey (*Mi.* 162, 179, 261, 284, 285, 505, 989, *Poe.* 1072–75, *Ru.* 598–612, *Tru.* 269) are important for us, since the monkey was not found in Greece or Asia Minor (cf. Whibley, p. 23). The names of slaves, which had for us geographical significance above (p. 12, n. 4), have for us now mercantile significance; such slaves became known to the Athenians only through transmarine commerce. A glance at the list of non-Greek products to which reference is made in the plays will reinforce and supplement the impressions made by pp. 19–24, by suggesting movement across seas from Athens to many points other than those mentioned in these pages. The list includes resina Aegyptia, *Mer.* 139, mures Africani, *Poe.* 1011, Alexandrina beluata tonsilia tappetia, *Ps.* 147, perfume from Arabia (see Arabia, p. 6), lanterna Punica, *Aul.* 566, the laserpicium of Cyrene, *Ru.* 629, 630, Babylonica (peristromata), *St.* 378, cloaks from Phrygia (cf. Phrygia, p. 7), amomum from Pontus, *Tru.* 539, 540 (the term *myropola*, *Cas.* 226, 238, *Tr.* 408 is now seen to be significant; cf. myropolium, *Am.* 1011, *Ep.* 199), Chian wine, *Poe.* 699, Lesbian wine, *Poe.* 699, wine from Leucas, *Poe.* 699, vina Graeca, *Ru.* 588, Molossic hounds, *Cap.* 86, Samian wares (see Samos, p. 10) Thasian wine, *Poe.* 699, Tarentine sheep, *Tru.* 649. Cf. also *Am.* 1–5, and note the references below to removals for business reasons.

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THE "MORE ANCIENT DIONYSIA" AT ATHENS—THUCYDIDES II. 15

By Edward Capps

It is not my purpose to add to the already bewildering mass of interpretations of this famous chapter in Thucydides, nor to discuss, except incidentally, the topographical problems associated with it, but rather again to draw attention to a single phrase, the correct understanding of which is of importance for the history of the festivals of Dionysus at Athens.[1] This phrase is *τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια*, used with reference to the Anthesteria. So far as I am aware it has always been taken by those who have discussed the Athenian festivals of Dionysus[2] to mean simply "the older (or even the oldest)[3] Dionysia," and has been so interpreted in the belief that Thucydides had in mind, by way of contrast, a festival (or festivals) generally assumed to be the City Dionysia (or the City Dionysia and one other),[4] which was established later than the Anthesteria. I hope to show, however, that Thucydides has chosen both the adjective *ἀρχαῖος* and its com-

[1] A brief abstract of the main argument of this paper was presented at the meeting of the Archaeological Institute in December, 1900, and printed in *Am. Jour. Arch.* V (1901), p. 31.

[2] Frazer (*Paus.* II, p. 212), incidentally speaks of "the more ancient Dionysia." Miss Harrison, whose book, *Primitive Athens as Described by Thucydides*, came to hand after this article was in type, also translates the words by "the more ancient," but with the meaning of 'the earlier,' see p. 85.

[3] E. g., Spanheim in Küster's ed. of Aristoph. (1710), *Notae*, p. 298 ("antiquissima Liberalia"), and many since his time.

[4] The modern discussion of the Athenian festivals of Dionysus began with Jos. Scaliger *De emend. temp.*, 1583, and is very extensive and confusing; an unusually large part of it consists of repetitions of the collections of previous writers, especially of Böckh "Vom Unterschiede d. att. Len. Anth. u. länd. Dionysien," *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1817=*Kl. Schr.* V, pp. 65 ff., with rearrangement of his material and a shifting of emphasis. The literature before 1817 is listed by Böckh. Between 1817 and 1872, the date of Gilbert *Festzeit d. att. Dion.*, the most important discussions are Fritzsche's *De Len. Att.* (Rostock, 1837) and Mommsen's *Heortologie* (1864). The question was brought into fresh prominence by Dörpfeld, rev. of Haigh *Att. Theat.* in *Berl. phil. Woch.* 1890, cols. 461 ff., whose views were developed by Pickard *Am. Jour. Arch.* VIII (1893), pp. 56 ff., and by Bodensteiner *Blätt. f. Gymn.-Schulw.* XXXI (1895) pp. 209 ff. The views of these and other scholars will be referred to as occasion arises.

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parative with scrupulous regard to the nice distinction which the Greeks felt between *παλαιός* 'old' and *ἀρχαῖος* 'ancient'—a distinction which might be blurred or less significant in the positive or superlative forms, but is necessarily felt and consciously expressed in the comparative.

Thucydides in this chapter advances an argument in which it is highly important for him to choose his words, and especially the adjectives denoting age and antiquity, with the greatest precision. He has just entered upon a digression (chaps. 15, 16) the purpose of which is to justify the statement made at the end of chap. 14 that the people of Attica found it exceptionally painful at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War to be obliged to shut themselves up within the narrow confines of the city walls, accustomed as they had been of yore (*ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου*) to the free life of the country. For although Theseus had centralized the administration of Attica, abolishing the various self-governing communes that had exercised almost independent powers under the early kings, and had made Athens the capital of government, yet most of the original inhabitants and their descendents (*οἱ πλείους τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ τῶν ὕστερον* 16. 1) still continued to live as before on their farms (15. 2). They therefore found it hard to adapt themselves to the crowded life of the city. In the course of these observations Thucydides undertakes to demonstrate that the city before Theseus was not a crowded capital, but a small affair, the limits of which he defines, and he does this by drawing inferences from the relative situation of various foundations to this small *πόλις*. It is of course fundamental to his argument that these foundations should be unquestionably ancient; and accordingly, although doubtless all well-informed Athenians would have recognized instantly the antiquity of the sites the historian mentions, he takes nothing for granted, but repeatedly insists upon the fact of their antiquity. In two instances he advances special proofs of this, once by showing the great age of the festival celebrated at the site mentioned—the subject of this paper —and again by adducing the Enneacrounus, a recent foundation of the tyrants, but before their time (*τὸ πάλαι*) associated with certain rites still observed because of their antiquity (*ἀπὸ τοῦ*

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ἀρχαίου). Again, the very term πόλις as currently applied to the acropolis is proof of the former settlement there (διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτῃ κατοίκησιν.) Finally, having thus shown that the ancient Athenians and their descendants were not city dwellers, the historian depicts their feelings when forced to leave their country homes and the shrines which they regarded, in view of their ancient form of government (ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολιτείας), as the very memorials of their race.

As this summary shows, Thucydides uses ἀρχαῖος six times, and παλαιός and πάλαι each once. In all these cases, omitting for the moment the one involved in the present discussion, the distinction which is regularly maintained in Greek between παλαιός and ἀρχαῖος is observed with the finest precision. ἀρχαῖος means 'ancient,' 'antiquus,' 'priscus,' while παλαιός, like 'old,' 'vetus,' implies only priority in time.

We take up now the passage with which we are immediately concerned. Thucydides enumerates in 15.4 four ἱερά which are situated "toward this portion of the ancient πόλις." The fourth is τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου. As evidence of its antiquity he adds: ᾧ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ποιεῖται ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι, and again, as independent evidence of the antiquity of this festival in turn, he adds that the Ionian descendants of the Athenians still continue to observe this festival on the same date: ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν.

The identity of the festival to which Thucydides refers as τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια, held in Anthesterion, has never been a matter of dispute; it was the Anthesteria. But opinions have been widely divided as to the other festival or festivals implied by the comparative. One party, whose chief representatives since Böckh's predecessors have been Gilbert and Dörpfeld, have made the comparative, as implying two and only two objects, the pivotal point of their argument in favor of the view that there were only two festivals of Dionysus at Athens.[1] The comparative

[1] I intentionally eliminate from consideration the so-called 'Rural Dionysia,' which should no more be classed with 'Athenian' festivals than the 'provincial' theaters of England with the London theaters. Its inclusion has only bred additional confusion; and yet Farnell *Class. Rev.* XIV (1900), p. 375 *a*, seems to be the only writer who has protested against this practice.

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ἀρχαιότερα has in truth been their strongest argument,[1] and has never been successfully met; nor, strange to say, has it even been frankly acknowledged by the other side to be a serious obstacle to their own theory of three festivals.[2] The first-mentioned scholars, therefore, believing that Thucydides knew of only two festivals of Dionysus in Athens, one of which was the Anthesteria, and possessing abundant testimony to the independent existence of the City Dionysia, have sought to identify with the dramatic part of the Anthesteria the third festival, the Lenaea, which is often mentioned by name in documents contemporary with Thucydides.

This theory received its death-blow in 1897, when A. Körte and Wachsmuth,[3] independently of each other, deduced from an Eleusinian inscription of the year 329/8 (*CIA.* II 834 *b* ii. 46) the fact that the Lenaean festival (here called Epilenaean) was distinct from the Anthesteria, since it was celebrated in the preceding month. Körte has no occasion to discuss ἀρχαιότερα, but Wachsmuth treats the comparative as if it were of no particular consequence for the interpretation.[4] This fresh documentary evidence, which supplements and confirms beyond doubt indications that were previously at hand, now compels us to accept the view, stoutly maintained by Böckh and his followers, that at the time of Thucydides three festivals of Dionysus were annually celebrated by the

[1] Gilbert *Festzeit*, p. 95: "die älteren Dionysien;" p. 95: "Man darf aus den Worten τ. ἀ. Δ. mit vollstem Rechte schliessen, dass Thukyd. nur zwei Dionysosfeste in Athen kennt, von denen das eine die Anthesteria, die andern die städtischen Dionysien im Elaphebolion sind;" pp. 99 ff.: "Wurden zu Zeit . . . . drei dem Dionysos geweihte Feste gefeiert, ... so dürfte man mit Bestimmtheit erwarten, das Thuk. nicht von zwei Dionysien gesprochen hätte, wie er dies in dem compar. ἀρχαιότερα thut." Pickard "Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις" *Am. Jour. Arch.* VIII (1893), p. 77: "Thucydides . . . . knew of but two Dionysia in Athens itself; those ἐν ἄστει and the Anthesteria. Of these, using the comparative degree, he states that the latter were the ἀρχαιότερα." Bodensteiner "Enneakrunus u. Lenaion" *Blätt. f. Gymn.-Schulw.* XXXI (1895), p. 217: "die älteren Dionysien." Dörpfeld *Berl. phil. Woch.* 1890, col. 462: "Thukydides, welcher im Gegensatz zu den Lexikographen und modernen Gelehrten, auch nur zwei verschiedene Dionysosfeste kennt;" cf. *Griech. Theat.*, p. 7. So also Miss Harrison *Primitive Athens*, p. 85. Farnell *loc. sup. cit.*, p. 374 *a*, says: "The use of the comparative seems inexplicable, if there were three city-festivals of the God."

[2] With one exception, von Prott; see below, p. 32.

[3] Körte "Zur att. Dionysosfesten" *Rhein. Mus.* LII (1897), pp. 168 ff.; Wachsmuth "Neue Beitr. z. Top. v. Athen," *Abh. d. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* XVIII (1897), p. 40. Farnell, writing three years later, makes mention neither of the inscription nor of these important articles.

[4] *Loc. cit.* p. 46, quoted below, p. 31, n. 5.

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Athenians—the Lenaea in the month Gamelion, the Anthesteria in Anthesterion, and the City Dionysia in Elaphebolion.

If, however, there were three separate festivals at the time Thucydides wrote, what explanation is to be given of the comparative ἀρχαιότερα? It will be instructive first of all to consider what explanations have been given by those who have maintained the doctrine of three urban festivals.

Böckh was convinced of the antiquity of the Lenaea as well as of the Anthesteria. He dated both before the συνοικισμός of Theseus but did not attempt to decide which of the two was the older. Giving to τὰ ἀρχαιότερα the meaning "die ältere," he believed that Thucydides, in contrasting the Anthesteria with the one festival of comparatively recent date, the City Dionysia, simply disregarded the existence of the Lenaea as of minor importance.[1] He recognized the significance of the comparative with its obvious implication of two and only two festivals; his assumption that the Lenaea were of so little importance that they could be overlooked was, however, scarcely justified by the evidence at his disposal, and he was evidently not inclined to adopt the alternative of accusing the historian of carelessness. But today we possess additional evidence in abundance to prove that the Lenaea was by no means an unimportant festival at any time during the lifetime of Thucydides. The dramatic performances there, which the historian must have witnessed frequently, were only less brilliant than those at the City Dionysia. We are safe in asserting that, if Thucydides employed a phrase in which all the festivals of Dionysus were supposed to be included, but by using the comparative with reference to the Anthesteria inadvertently or intentionally left out of account either the City Dionysia or the Lenaea, he was guilty of a carelessness which his own contemporaries would not have overlooked, and which we should find it difficult indeed to parallel in his writings.

Böckh's followers have generally contented themselves with his demonstration that there were three festivals of Dionysus in the

[1] P. 67 in the *Abhandlungen* (= *Kl. Schr.* V, p. 141): "Thukydides nennt die Anthesterien die älteren Dionysien im Gegensatze gegen die grossen, die dabei jedem zunächst einfallen mussten; die Lenaen und ländlichen übergeht er als minder bedeutend."

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city, ignoring the grave objection to his interpretation of the Thucydidean phrase that has been pointed out. Several of them, however, have offered other explanations of the comparative adjective. A. Mommsen[1] admits that if Thucydides had known of three festivals which passed under the general heading of 'Dionysia' he would have been obliged to use the superlative; but he insists that the Lenaea, while always Dionysian (p. 24), were not until after Thucydides' time entitled to the appellation 'Dionysia.'

This explanation is clearly untenable; the Lenaea were fully as much entitled to be called by the generic term 'Dionysia' as the Anthesteria, which in fact are specifically so called in classical times only by Thucydides in ii. 15.[2] The current designation of the January festival in classical times is *τὰ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ*, later *τὰ Λήναια*—both adjectival phrases with which the only noun to be supplied is *Διονύσια*. When Aristotle *Pol. Ath.* 57. 1 desires to refer to the Lenaea specifically, he quite naturally says *Διονύσια τὰ ἐπιλήναια*, which is the phrase used in the hide-money inscription *CIA.* II. 741; cf. *ἐπιλήναια εἰς Διονύσια* in the Eleusinian inscription cited above.[3]

[1] *Feste der Stadt Athen* (1898), p. 372: "*Διονύσια* ward das Fest (i. e. the Lenaea) erst später genannt, Thukydides kennt es unter diesem Namen noch nicht; er spricht von den Dionysien des Anth. als den älteren, *τὰ ἀρχαιότερα*, wobei er o. Zw. die städtischen als die jüngeren im Auge hat; hätte er noch ein drittes Fest, die Lenäen, unter dem Namen *Διονύσια* gekannt, so würde er *τὰ ἀρχαιότατα* sagen." In strange contradiction to this argument is his comment on the fact that Thucydides speaks of the Anthesteria as 'Dionysia,' although they were no longer commonly so called; see next note.

[2] Mommsen recognizes this fact, but urges (*loc. cit.*, p. 387) that the Anthesteria, though known in early times as 'the Dionysia,' yet lost the right to the title after the establishment of the City Dionysia. In note 2, p. 387, he says: "Da die Anthesterien Dionysien waren, so konnte es natürlich niemandem gewehrt werden, sie so zu nennen, aber im gewöhnlichen Sprachgebrauch haben sie nicht einfach Dionysien geheissen" —not seeing that, by the same line of reasoning, the Lenaea also, since they too were from the earliest times Dionysian, would have to be included among the other Dionysia in Thucydides. Mommsen forgets, also, that Thucydides was particularly concerned in this passage to use names that were familiar and currently used. No better evidence of the "gewöhnlicher Sprachgebrauch" of his time, which recognized that all three festivals were generically "Dionysia," and that each required a distinctive name to distinguish it from the others, could be found than just this passage. See on this point Farnell's protest against Mommsen's explanation, *Class Rev.* XIV, p. 375.

[3] So Körte has shown that we should read in both places; *Rhein. Mus.* LII, p. 169.

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A. Müller in his latest writings[1] seems to have accepted Mommsen's view. Haigh[2] also overlooks the difficulty; in the comparative he sees only the meaning "the older" as contrasted with the younger Dionysia, which he assumes to be the City Dionysia. The Bohemian scholar Groh[3] suggests that Thucydides purposely excludes from consideration the one festival not celebrated in the part of the city under discussion; but this is scarcely more credible than Böckh's explanation, even supposing that we knew[4] that the Anthesteria and the City Dionysia were celebrated in one part of the city, the Lenaea in another. Wachsmuth[5] and Judeich[6] are not troubled at all by the comparative, treating it as equivalent to a superlative. Finally the proposal of Nilsson[7] should be mentioned. It is practically the same as that of Wachsmuth, but by seriously trying to defend it he exposes its fatal weakness. He justly argues that Thucydides must have had in mind *all* the festivals of Dionysus and therefore could not ignore one of them as insignificant, as Böckh assumed. He maintains, however, that the comparative may be used in Greek with reference to several objects, provided that all but one may be set off by themselves as constituting a distinct class, as when Lysias speaks of one of four

[1] "Neuere Arbeiten auf dem Gebiete des griech. Bühnenwesens," *Philologus* Supplbd. VI (1891), p. 82; he expresses the opinion that the Lenaea were called 'Dionysia' relatively late. He abandons (*ibid.*, p. 81) the view of Ribbeck, which he held in *Bühnenalterthümer*, pp. 310 ff., that the Lenaea were established in the reign of Peisistratus and the City Dionysia shortly after the Persian Wars, and that the Lenaea, from the establishment of the City Dionysia down to the time of Aristophanes, were deprived of the dramatic contests.

[2] *Attic Theatre*[2], p. 37: ". . . . the older Dionysia, or Anthesteria, clearly implying that there was another place for the celebration of the later festival, the City Dionysia."

[3] *Listy Filologické* 1898, p. 50.

[4] See below, pp. 40 ff., for the indications which point to the location of the Lenaean sanctuary in the same region as the Limnae.

[5] "Neue Beitr.," *Abh. d. sächs. Gesell.* XVIII (1897), p. 46: "Thukydides ii. 15. 4 nennt die Anthesterien als τὰ ἀρχαιότερα der Dionysosfeste; das kann einem oder mehreren Dionysosfesten gegenüber gesagt sein. Das andere, oder eines der anderen muss das grosse Hauptfest sein."

[6] *Topographie von Athen*, p. 265, note, col. 1: "Wenn Thukydides den an den Anthesterien (und Lenaien) gefeierten Dionysos ἐν Λίμναις einem anderen (dem in den grossen Dionysien verehrten) oder mehreren anderen entgegensetzt . . . ."

[7] *Studia de Dionysiis Atticis* (Lund, 1900), pp. 58 ff.

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brothers as πρεσβύτερος.[1] Thucydides, therefore, means to contrast the one festival which was established before the Ionian migration with the other two established after it; ἀρχαιότερα is practically equivalent here to "ante emigrationem," the implication being that the other two were "post emigrationem." Now Nilsson himself believes, and advances the evidence to confirm his belief (following Böckh), that the Lenaea also go back to a time prior to the Ionian migration; but he maintains his position by asserting that Thucydides did not know this fact.[2] We may safely, I think, dismiss without comment this interpretation of the passage.

The dilemma in which those now find themselves who acknowledge that, by the universal usage of classical writers, the comparative in Greek, when accompanied by the definite article, implies two and only two terms of comparison, and at the same time admit the overwhelming force of the evidence which proves the Lenaea to have been an independent festival, is well illustrated in the words of von Prott,[3] at the close of his luminous discussion of the Thucydides passage. The passage is worth quoting in full, not only because von Prott accepted and defended Dörpfeld's general interpretation of the passage with the topographical conclusions based thereon, but chiefly because, among the scores of writers who have believed in three festivals, he is the only one who seems fully to have realized the difficulty.

Aber wie ist ἀρχαιότερα zu erklären? Aus diesem Comparativ hat Dörpfeld geschlossen, dass Thukydides nur zwei Feste mit einander vergleiche, die grossen Dionysien und die Anthesterien, dass mithin die Lenaien kein selbständiges drittes Fest sein. Man müsste ihm darin unbedingt folgen, wenn nicht ausser der von mir versuchten Rekonstruktion

[1] xiii. 67; cf. also x. 5. The Froberger-Gebauer edition reads the superlative, as does Hug in Xen. *Cyroped.* 5. 1. 6 and Wilamowitz in Theocr. xv. 139, with MS support. Most of the examples given in Kühner-Gerth, § 349 *b*. 3, are from Homer. Except in Homer the usage is to be considered very doubtful.

[2] "dixerit autem recte quispiam me oblitum esse Iones quoque Lenaea egisse. non oblitus sum, sed Thucydidem id non cognovisse credo," p. 54.

[3] "Enneakrunos, Lenaion und Dionysion ἐν Λίμναις," *Ath. Mitth.* XXIII (1898) 204 ff. Wachsmuth, in his valuable article "Athenai" in Pauly-Wissowa Suppl. I (1903), cols. 213 ff., does not repair this weak point in his argument (see above, p. 31, n. 5). He does not even mention the difficulty, though he does not repeat his previous interpretation.

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eine ganze Reihe anderer Grunde die Lenaien als selbständiges Fest im Gamelion neben den Anthesterien erwiesen. Aber einen Ausweg sehe ich allerdings nicht. Völlig sicher ist, dass Thukydides als Gegensatz zu dem Dionysos ἐν λίμναις den Eleuthereus denkt. Auch werden ganz mit Recht die vom Archon verwalteten grossen Dionysien im Gegensatz zu den Dionysien der Königzeit gestellt. Aber nicht nur die Anthesterien, auch die Lenaien werden vom Könige verwaltet. Trotzdem wird der Comparativ gebraucht, als ob nur zwei Feste vorhanden wären, die mit einander verglichen werden könnten. Und sicherlich hat Thukydides nicht den Superlativ ἀρχαιότατα gebraucht, denn wie hätte er behaupten und entscheiden können, die Anthesterien sein auch älter als die Lenaien? Der Comparativ würde psychologisch vielleicht erklärbar sein, da ja von zwei Göttern und zwei Heiligtümern die Rede ist, wenn nur nicht die ganze bestimmte Angabe τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι folgte. So muss man denn auch hier einen Mangel von Präzision im Ausdrucke annehmen, wenn man nicht die Frage wirklich für unentschieden halten will. Denn das einzige Mittel, welches die Schwierigkeit beseitigen würde, die Conjektur ᾧ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ποιεῖται ἐν μη⟨σ⟩ὶ ⟨Γαμηλιῶνι καὶ⟩ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι wage ich nicht vorzuschlagen, wenngleich es eigentlich auffällt, weshalb nicht auch die alten und allen Jonieren gemeinsamen Lenaien zum Beweise herangezogen sind (pp. 229 f.).

The solution of which von Prott despaired and which his predecessors sought to find in the carelessness or the ignorance of the historian, or in some artificial interpretation of the Greek, may be found, I think, by observing the precise meaning of the word which Thucydides employs. Here, as elsewhere, the comparative implies two objects only, *but both objects are* ἀρχαῖα.[1] To interpret ἀρχαιότερα as if it meant exactly the same thing as παλαιότερα is a grave error. παλαιός is our 'old' in the full meaning of the word; its formal opposite is νέος 'young.'[2] The

[1] Is the fact that German has no convenient word for ἀρχαῖος (*uralt* is nearest and has been sporadically resorted to, but it lacks a comparative) partly responsible for this? *Alt* has to do double duty — for παλαιός, of which it is the formal equivalent, and for ἀρχαῖος, of which it is only sometimes practically the equivalent; and *ältere* is forced to represent both παλαιότερος and ἀρχαιότερος. A German colleague illustrates this by the catch-question: "Was ist die Farbe des Haares der alten Deutschen?" One usually suspects a recondite question and answers with Tacitus "blond;" but the real answer is "weis." The French translation "les plus anciennes Dionysies" (Girard in Daremberg and Saglio) is equally misleading. But the English offers no such excuse; we seem to have interpreted the Greek after the Germans.

[2] The distinctions between παλαιός and ἀρχαῖος laid down by Schmidt *Synonymik d. griech. Spr.* II, pp. 79 ff., seem to me entirely sound. He says nothing, however, concerning the comparatives of the two words, though the difference between them is

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adjective itself does not denote the possession of a definite quality of 'age' but of only such a degree of age as to suffice to render its possessor no longer *νέος* (cf. *πάλαι*). And this degree of age naturally varies widely according to the thing qualified, the circumstances, the desire of the speaker to emphasize or to exaggerate the lapse of time involved, etc. A drama at Athens, for example, was *παλαιόν* the day after it was first exhibited, while a building, a festival, or wine could not acquire age so quickly. *ἀρχαῖος*, on the other hand, means 'ancient,' and denotes the possession either of absolute age, or at least of age that goes back to the beginning (*ἐξ ἀρχῆς*); its formal opposite is *καινός*, 'new,' 'recent,' 'fresh.' A drama at Athens, to continue the same illustration, was called *καινόν* when still unexhibited, *παλαιόν* after exhibition, but *ἀρχαῖον* could be used of it only after a very considerable lapse of time. The adjective *νέον* would scarcely be applied to it at all, but if it were, it would mean something like 'modern,' without implying that it had never been exhibited.[1] The pair *ἀρχαῖος—καινός* has a certain similarity with the pair *παλαιός—νέος*, in that, to a certain extent, they too are relative terms, and at times the two pairs seem to be almost interchangeable (though

most marked in the comparative. Döderlein *Lat. Synonymik* IV, p. 89, draws an entirely wrong distinction, as Schmidt shows. On *νέος* and *καινός* see Schmidt, pp. 96, 98, 113, 115.—If these distinctions had been carefully followed a good deal of confusion in the discussion of the Athene-temples on the acropolis would have been avoided. Michaelis *Jahrb. d. Inst.* XVI (1902), p. 22, rightly protests against the common error of interpreting *ἀρχαῖος* as = *παλαιός*, but he himself, wrongly, as I think, gives to *παλαιός* an absolute meaning ("ein Begriff des langen Bestandes, des Alters"), and on p. 11 he uses *καινός* as a relative term, as if = *νέος* or *νεώτερος*. When Xenophon refers to the burning of *ὁ παλαιὸς νεώς* he must refer to *ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεώς*; the phrase can not mean "the temple which is ancient, indeed, but less ancient than the one called *ὁ ἀρχαῖος*."

[1] Cf. the formal phrase *καινοῖς τραγῳδοῖς* in honorific decrees (*ποιηταὶ καινῶν δραμάτων*, Dittenberger *Sylloge*[2], No. 699), and *παλαιᾷ* (*τραγῳδίᾳ*) or *παλαιὸν δρᾶμα* in didascalic inscriptions (*CIA.* II. 973 and 971, frag. *g*, Wilhelm *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen*, p. 28). An excellent illustration is found in the use of *ἀρχαία*, *παλαιά*, and *νέα* for the periods of Attic Comedy. Aristotle speaks of only *παλαιά* and *νέα*, the latter that of his own time, *παλαιά* of that of the past, i. e., the fifth century. But to later writers the comedy of the fifth century became *ἡ ἀρχαία*, that of Aristotle's time being called for convenience and to avoid confusion *μέση*, that of their own time *νέα*. To scholars of the post-classical period *ἡ παλαιὰ κωμῳδία* included both the *μέση* and the *ἀρχαία*.

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a real distinction can generally be made out[1]); but *ἀρχαῖος* and *καινός* are appreciably less relative and more absolute than the other pair.[2] Not every thing that is *παλαιόν* is at the same time *ἀρχαῖον*, nor that which is *νέον* necessarily at the same time *καινόν*, though the *ἀρχαῖον* will usually be *παλαιόν* also, and the *καινόν* also *νέον*. The former pair is distinguished from the latter by the almost always distinctly felt if not always clearly defined qualities *ἀρχαιότης* and *καινότης* respectively.

The superlatives *ἀρχαιότατος* and *παλαιότατος* are to be distinguished from each other precisely as are their positives; but the very fact that in them the similar attributes *ἀρχαιότης* and *παλαιότης* are raised to the highest degree causes them so to approach each other in meaning as to appear, at first glance, almost interchangeable. But the reason for the writer's choice is generally not to be mistaken. When Plato (*Rep.* ix. 574 *c*) speaks of the father as being to the son *τῶν φίλων ὁ ἀρχαιότατος*, he desires to bring out with especial emphasis the son's obligation to one who has been from his birth (*ἐξ ἀρχῆς*) *φίλος* (cf. Soph. *O. T.* 385: *Κρέων ὁ πιστός, οὐξ ἀρχῆς φιλος*), and when Thucydides (vi. 2), speaking of the 'original' inhabitants of Sicily (*ᾠκίσθη ἤδη τὸ ἀρχαῖον*), says that the Cyclopes *παλαιότατοι λέγονται οἰκῆσαι*, he only means that they were 'first-settlers;'

[1] E. g. Soph. *Trach.* 555: *παλαιὸν δῶρον ἀρχαίου θηρός*, "a gift made long ago by an ancient monster." The collocation *ἀρχαῖος καὶ παλαιός* is common; cf. Plut. ii. 115 *c* (of institutions) "ancient and of long standing," Dem. xxii. 597. 14 (of the achievements of the forefathers), "out of date and long since past." *ἀρχαῖος* is often substituted for *παλαιός*; the effect is recognized by Demetrius (Walz *Rhet. Gr.* IX, p. 79. 11): *τὸ 'ἀρχαῖοι' ἀντὶ τοῦ 'παλαιοὶ' ἐντιμώτερον*. A more heinous crime is implied in the charge (Plat. *Euthyphro* 3 *b*) *οὐ νομίζει τοὺς ἀρχαίους θεούς* (= *τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς*) than in *οὐ νομίζει τὰ παλαιὰ δαιμόνια* (*Apol.* 27 *c*). *παλαιός* can be made to do duty for *ἀρχαῖος* either by being strengthened, as in Plat. *Crat.* 411 *b* *οἱ πάνυ παλαιοὶ* = *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι*, or by force of the context; and so with *πάλαι* and its compounds. Cf. the first line of Apollonius *Argon.* *παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν* | *μνήσομαι*, where the scholiast rather awkwardly attempts to draw the distinction, and has not always been understood: *διαφέρει τὸ 'παλαιὸν' τοῦ 'ἀρχαίου'· τὸ μὲν γὰρ παλαιὸν καὶ* (i. e., may be) *ἀρχαῖον, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον οὐκ ἔστι* (i. e., not always) *παλαιόν, τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον ἀναφέρει εἰς τὸ ἀρχῇ ἐνέχεσθαι*. The last point is that a thing that is 'original' is not always 'old.'

[2] Typical is Nicostratus in Kock *CAF.* II, p. 228 *πάλιν χρόνῳ τἀρχαῖα καινὰ γίνεται* i. e., not relatively 'less old' but absolutely 'new,' 'made-over.' *ἡ παλαιὰ Διαθήκη*, 'the Old Testament,' may be contrasted with *ἡ νέα Δ.*, the 'Young' (sometimes used), but commonly with *ἡ καινὴ Δ.*, i. e., 'New,' that which has entirely displaced the Old.

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παλαιότατοι is the first sub-head under the general heading τὸ ἀρχαῖον, and is followed by μετ' αὐτούς, etc. One point, however, here calls for especial remark—a point sufficiently obvious in itself, but pertinent to the discussion of the comparative which is to follow. The superlative of these adjectives, as of adjectives in general which denote the possession of a positive quality, while it singles out an object as possessing that quality in a higher degree than all other objects drawn into the comparison, yet does so without implying that these other objects possess this quality or attribute in any degree at all. Callias was the richest of the Athenians; but not all the Athenians were rich. Isocrates *Antid.* 82 says that men praise τῶν μὲν νόμων τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους, τῶν δὲ λόγων τοὺς καινοτάτους; but he does not mean to imply, of course, that there are no νόμοι which are καινοί, and no λόγοι which are ἀρχαῖοι.[1]

In the comparative degree, however, a real and important distinction may be observed, thongh it is, I think, commonly disregarded, probably because the positives and superlatives of the two pairs, ἀρχαῖος—παλαιός and καινός—νέος, are often (but by no means always) represented by the same adjectives, 'old' and 'oldest' 'new' and 'newest,' respectively, without a serious distortion of the real meaning. The distinction is based upon the fact above stated, that while παλαιός, like 'vetus' and 'old,' is a purely relative term, ἀρχαῖος, like 'antiquus,' 'priscus,' and 'ancient,' definitely attributes a quality that is relative only in the sense in which, e. g., 'rich' and 'beautiful' are relative. In comparing two objects, one of which is παλαιόν, the other νέον, the former would be called παλαιότερον.[2] But even if the older object is not simply old relatively to the other, but is in an absolute sense ancient, their relative age will still be expressed, as before, by the comparative παλαιότερον, if the words

[1] The above discussion of ἀρχαῖος, παλαιός, καινός, νέος and their superlatives is necessarily condensed, and intentionally ignores derived meanings that have lost the temporal signification.

[2] Aesch. *Eum.* 721: ἔν τε τοῖς νέοισι καὶ παλαιτέροις θεοῖς. Thuc. i. 1: τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν (the Peloponnesian War) καὶ τὰ ἔτι παλαιότερα has been wrongly suspected; πρό means "just preceding," and the rest does not literally mean "still more ancient;" cf. Plato *Euthyd.* 286 *c*: οἱ ἀμφὶ Πρωταγόραν . . . . καὶ οἱ ἔτι παλαιότεροι.

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are used strictly.[1] *ἀρχαιότερον*, on the other hand, presupposes some degree of *ἀρχαιότης* even in the younger of the two objects, so that we infer that the latter is 'less ancient' rather than simply 'younger.' In other words, *παλαιότερον*, like *νεώτερον*, implies only a difference in age, however slight, between objects which themselves may be (1) both *ἀρχαῖα*, or (2) both *καινά*, or (3) one *ἀρχαῖον* and the other *καινόν*. The comparatives *παλαιότερον* and *νεώτερον*, therefore, give us no information whatever on these subordinate points; and when a writer uses them he is concerned in telling us only which is *prior in time* to the other. But not so with *ἀρχαιότερον* and *καινότερον*; they purposely group the two objects together as belonging to the same class of things, *both ἀρχαῖα* or *both καινά*, and distinguish them on the basis of their relative priority *within those classes*.[2] Hence, when a thing is spoken of as *ἀρχαιότερον* than another, we are definitely informed that the latter, too, is *ἀρχαῖον*. The same is true also of 'antiquior' (which does duty as the comparative of both *antiquus* and *priscus*) and our 'more ancient,' as opposed to 'vetustior' and 'older.'

That these distinctions are not imaginary, but real and vital, could be shown by many other examples; but a few will here suffice. Aristotle uses *παλαιότερος* in a definition of 'priority' in a manner which is quite explicit; in *Categ.* 12. 14 *a*. 29 he says: *πρότερον ἑτέρου ἕτερον λέγεται τετραχῶς, πρῶτον μὲν καὶ κυριώτατα κατὰ χρόνον . . . . , τῷ γὰρ τὸν χρόνον πλείω εἶναι, καὶ πρεσβύτερον καὶ παλαιότερον λέγεται.* The definition is illustrated by his own words *Hist. anim.* 4.11 538 *b*. 1, where he infers that female fish live longer than the males *ἐκ τοῦ παλαιότερα ἁλίσκεσθαι τᾶ θήλεα τῶν ἀρρένων*. Cf. frag. trag. adesp. 47 Nauck: *τοῖς καινοῖς* ('newly found') *φίλους τιμᾶν, ἀτιμάζειν δὲ τοῖς παλαιοτέρους*. Contrast this manner of indicating mere priority with the use of *ἀρχαιότερος*. In Aristoph. *Av.* 469 Peithetaerus declares to the birds that they are *ἀρχαιότεροι προτεροί τε Κρόνου καὶ Τιτάνων*. Socrates says in Plato *Symp.* 195 *b* that Eros is the youngest of the gods, and not,

[1] Plat. *Protag.* 341 *a*: *κινδυνεύει ἡ Προδίκου σοφία θεία τις εἶναι πάλαι, ἤτοι ἀπὸ Σιμωνίδου ἀρξαμένη, ἢ καὶ ἔτι παλαιοτέρα.*

[2] For this reason *ἀρχαιότερος* and *καινότερος* are far less frequently employed in comparisons than *παλαιότερος* and *νεώτερος*. For *καινότερος* cf. Dem. iv. 10: *λέγεταί τι καινόν; γένοιτ' ἄν τι καινότερον ἢ Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίους καταπολεμῶν;*

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as Phaedrus had claimed, Κρόνου καὶ Ἰαπέτου ἀρχαιότερος. Again *Crat.* 425 *e* the question is asked: "Shall we say that we got the names of objects from barbarians, εἰσὶ δὲ ἡμῶν ἀρχαιότεροι βάρβαροι;" Compare these Latin examples: Cic. *Brut.* 69: *ut nullius scriptum exstet . . . . quod sit antiquius;* Ov. *Trist.* 3. 9. 5: *nomen . . . . antiquius urbe;* Sen. *Dial.* 8. 5. 5: *aliquid ipso mundo . . . . antiquius;* Plin. *Nat. hist.* 5.69: *antiquior terrarum inundatione.* Illustrations from both languages could be multiplied.[1] Although I have made no attempt at an exhaustive list of the occurrences of ἀρχαιότερος, yet I believe that it is perfectly safe to make the following generalization: Wherever the comparative of ἀρχαῖος in the temporal meaning[2] is found, used not absolutely ('rather ancient') but in a comparison of two objects, it means 'more ancient,' not simply 'older,' and the other member of the comparison is felt to be, not simply 'newer' or 'younger,' but '*less ancient*,' and both of the two objects are implicitly classed as ἀρχαῖα.

To return at length to our passage in Thucydides, when the historian, in an argument based upon the antiquity of certain foundations, speaks of the sanctuary of Dionysus in the Marshes as the place where are celebrated in Anthesterion "the more ancient Dionysia," he has in mind (1) two festivals and only two, but (2) these two festivals are both ancient, the one not celebrated in Anthesterion, however, being less ancient than the other.[3] The

[1] In schol. ad Aristoph. *Av.* 1403 the opinions of several ἀρχαῖοι are given, of whom Hellanicus and Dicaearchus are properly designated as οἱ ἀρχαιότεροι as contrasted with Antipatrus and Euphronius. The distinction is also maintained by Photius in Hercher's *Erot. Graec.* I, p. 238, ἀρχαιοτέρου τινὸς Ἀντιφάνους, with reference to another Antiphanes, also ἀρχαῖος; on which see Knaack *Rhein. Mus.* LXI (1906), p. 136. Cf. also the proverb quoted by Suidas, ἀρχαιότερα τῆς διφθέρας λέγεις· ἐπὶ τῶν σαθρὰ καὶ παλαιὰ λεγόντων. ἡ γὰρ διφθέρα παμπάλαιος κτλ.

[2] This restriction is intended to exclude the meaning 'old-fashioned,' 'simplex,' e. g., Plat. *Euthyd.* 295 *c:* ἀρχαιότερος εἶ τοῦ δέοντος. In Aristot. *De cael.* iv. 2. 308 *b.* 31: ἀλλὰ καίπερ ὄντες ἀρχαιότεροι τῆς νῦν ἡλικίας, καινοτέρως ἐνόησαν περὶ τῶν νῦν λεχθέντων, though ἀρχαιότεροι is accounted for by the implication 'simpliciores,' yet the rule is illustrated in καινοτέρως; for ἡ νῦν ἡλικία καινῶς νοεῖ is distinctly implied.

[3] Von Prott (above, p. 33) asks: "How could Thucydides have asserted and determined that the Anthesteria were older than the Lenaea?" It would certainly be impossible for us to determine the fact, except for Thucydides; but we may readily imagine that there were observances connected with the Anthesteria (e. g., at the Χόες,

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Anthesteria, he tells us, go back to a time prior to the Ionian emigration. The other ancient festival, whose name he does not mention, must be the Lenaea and not the City Dionysia, for many indications point to the antiquity of the former and to the comparatively recent establishment of the latter. Among these indications three of the most important may be summarized here: (1) The festival-name is associated with the ancient month Lenaeon (corresponding to the Attic Gamelion of historical times), which may have once been the name of the Attic month, for it is found in historical times in Ionian settlements, which continued to celebrate Dionysus Lenaeus in that month. At any rate, the month-name is ancient, and the festival which furnished the month-name must also be ancient, in fact prior to the Ionian emigration. (2) The Lenaean Dionysus is an older god in Athens than the Dionysus worshiped at the City Dionysia, whose introduction from Eleutherae, commemorated each year, was still a fresh memory in the traditions of the people. (3) The Lenaea, like the Anthesteria, were in charge of the King, not of the Archon, the latter having the direction of the City Dionysia. This fact is a positive indication of antiquity.[1] As between the Lenaea and the City Dionysia, therefore, there can be no doubt that Thucydides thonght of the Lenaea as ancient along with the Anthesteria. He did not say *τὰ ἀρχαιότατα*, which would have included all three festivals (though it would have been perfectly correct), because he was concerned at the time only with things that were *ἀρχαῖα*; wishing to exclude from consideration the festival which, as all knew, was relatively recent, he most properly chose the comparative.

Since the Lenaean festival also was in existence before the time of Theseus, and therefore the sanctuary *ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ* from which the festival took its name, why is it that Thucydides does not mention this sanctuary among the other *ἱερά* whose situation and antiquity support his contention? Is it because it was not situated "toward this part of the city," and was therefore not available as an indication of the extent of the ancient city? Or

supposed to date from Orestes) which convinced him of their greater antiquity. And he may have judged partly by the *ἱερόν*, precisely as the writer of the oration *In Neaeram* judged that the sanctuary *ἐν Ἁλιμοῦντι* was older than any of the others.

[1] Aristot. *Pol. Ath.* 57.1: *ὅτι δ' ἔτος εἰπεῖν καὶ τὰς πατρίους θυσίας διοικεῖ οὗτος πάσας.*

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is it because the ancient sanctuary no longer existed, as some have supposed? Without discussing in detail the opinions of various scholars[1]—opinions which give apparently every possible combination of sanctuary, festival, and site—we may profitably examine Thucydides again to see if some new information on the situation of the Lenaeum may be extracted from him, in view of the new facts (that the Lenaea are implicitly referred to by him, and as ancient) derived in the preceding part of this study.

In the first place, Thucydides does not proceed to mention by name *all* the ancient sites in the region defined by him. He mentions four by name and groups the rest together in the sentence *ἵδρυται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ταύτῃ ἀρχαῖα*. In the second place, we cannot accept the suggestion[2] that the Lenaeum had long since been abandoned and the ceremonies of Dionysus Lenaeus transferred to the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus south of the acropolis. There seems to be no evidence in favor of this view, and, as von Prott[3] pointed out, even if the dramatic contests at the Lenaeum were now held in the theater, this would not affect the continuance of the ceremonies of the festival at the original site. Lacking evidence to the contrary, we must treat the Lenaeum as an independent sanctuary. The question then is simply this: Was it situated without or within the region from which Thucydides selects his ancient foundations? If it was within, then it is to be included among the *ἄλλα ἱερὰ ἀρχαῖα* not specifically named.

It should be observed that Thucydides advances the proposition, which he intends shall bear the heaviest burden of proof, that "*all* the ancient sanctuaries that are not on the acropolis itself (*τὰ δὲ ἔξω*), are grouped in this part of the city." If he had meant that some were here, some elsewhere, the principal part of his demonstration would have been weak in the extreme. He might have said that most of them were in this region, but he does not. But we need not depend upon this general consideration

[1] For a fairly complete résumé of the discussion of the topographical problems involved see Judeich *Topographie*, p. 263, note 10.

[2] Made by Körte *Rhein. Mus.* LII (1897), p. 170.

[3] *Ath. Mitth.* XXIII (1898), p. 225, note 3.

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of what kind of evidence he ought to have adduced; he himself tells us as explicitly as he can that he makes no exceptions to the rule. His first τεκμήριον is: "On the acropolis itself are the santuaries (τὰ ἱερά) of the other gods also," i. e., as Verrall[1] has shown, not of Athene alone. He then adds as his second item of evidence: "The sanctuaries outside (the acropolis) are situated towards this part of the city rather (than elsewhere)," τὰ δὲ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἵδρυται.[2] That he is speaking exclusively of ancient sanctuaries might be taken for granted; but he removes all doubt by saying in the next sentence: καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ . . . . ἀρχαῖα. In other words, he asserts that all the ancient sanctuaries that are not on the acropolis itself are in this general region. It is a sweeping assertion, and if true conclusively proves the point. If Thucydides had intended to make allowance for the Lenaeum or for other ancient shrines situated in a different part of the city, he should, instead of τὰ δὲ ἔξω, have said τῶν δὲ ἔξω (ἱερῶν) πολλά or τὰ πλεῖστα, or something of the kind. We are therefore safe in concluding that the Lenaeum was situated in the same region of the city in which was the sanctuary ἐν Λίμναις, and that Thucydides intended that it should be included among the ἄλλα ἱερὰ ἀρχαῖα, which were not, perhaps, conspicuous enough to deserve individual mention.

If this conclusion is correct, it simplifies greatly, though it does not solve, the topographical problem. The temple ἐν Λίμναις cannot be placed in the valley between the Areopagus and the Pnyx and the sanctuary ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ in the theater precinct or near the ancient Agora. The two belong to the same region.[3] If we assign the Limnae to the theater precinct, the Lenaeum goes with it, and we have in consequence an extraordinary grouping

[1] *Class. Rev.* XIV (1900), p. 285 *b*. So in Krüger's edition the note "καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν, als der Athene." Verrall demonstrates clearly that there is no lacuna here. I have adopted his translation of this and the following sentence.

[2] The sentence is frequently interpreted as if it could mean "the sanctuaries are mainly situated" (so Farnell *Class. Rev.* XIV (1900), p. 370), and this in turn as equivalent to "most of the sanctuaries are situated." But μᾶλλον must qualify the πρός-clause just as μάλιστα above does, in the sentence πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον, i. e. "to the south, roughly speaking;" cf. von Prott *loc. cit.*, p. 231.

[3] Confirming the evidence which we already had on this point, discussed both topographically and from the point of view of ritual by von Prott *Ath. Mitth.* XXIII (1898), pp. 220 ff., 227 f.

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of three *ἱερά* in the *τέμενος* south of the theater, Dionysus Lenaeus first (and before the reign of Theseus) having been admitted to the hospitality of Dionysus Limnaeus, and later on Dionysus Eleuthereus also. The grouping of Athene sanctuaries on the acropolis may be thought to be a close parallel; but in this case we have knowledge of only two temples in the theater precinct. And Pausanias saw only two there. Again, the small temple which he saw there and described as *ἀρχαιότατον* would certainly not have been considered by Thucydides as older than the reign of Theseus; we are assured that it is a sixth century structure.[1] These reasons, added to the intrinsic probability of the interpretation of *πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως* in the meaning which Dörpfeld gives to it, and to the discovery by him of a large *Διονύσιον* in the region where the combined testimony of Thucydides and Pausanias would lead us to expect to find the *ἱερὸν ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου*, seem to me to be practically conclusive against placing the Lenaeum and the Limnae sanctuary south of the acropolis. The designation of the temple of Eleuthereus as *ἀρχαιότατον* by Pausanias is to be explained with Wilamowitz as due to the influence of the Thucydides passage, by which the periegete was misled.[2] And finally, as von Prott (p. 218) has so clearly shown, the peculiar relation of the ancient temple of Dionysus which Dörpfeld has found to the Dionysium in which the *ληνός* is actually preserved (and of course it was not preserved for centuries in the midst of the city for practical purposes), explains admirably why Lenaeum and the Limnae are practically identified in ancient notices, and how the Limnae temple could be kept closed the year round except on the twelfth of Anthesterion without interfering with the use of the Lenaeum at the time of the festival in Gamelion. If the Lenaeum was an adjunct of the sanctuary *ἐν Λίμναις* we may also better understand why Thucydides does not consider it important to mention by name the "less ancient" sanctuary as well as the "more ancient."

[1] By Dörpfeld *Gr. Theat.*, p. 15: "spätestens aus dem vi. Jahrhundert." In material and structure it closely resembles the Hecatompedon on the acropolis.

[2] *Hermes* XXI (1886), p. 621: "Da hat die Thukydidesstelle ihm, wie öfters, einen Streich gespielt." Dörpfeld (*loc. cit.*, p. 16) thinks that the sanctuary *ἐν Λίμναις* was then no longer in existence.

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THE USE OF LANGUAGE AS A MEANS OF CHARACTERIZATION IN PETRONIUS

By Frank Frost Abbott

The character and culture of a man are revealed by his dress, his conduct, his attitude toward the world, by the subjects in which he shows an interest, and by his manner of speech, and upon the use which writers of fiction have made of these indications of character depends the clearness with which we conceive the essential qualities of the people whom they depict. Among the Latin writers no one has equaled Petronius, it seems to me, in the portrayal of character, and the purpose of this paper is to call attention to one method which he has used with great success in attaining his end. His book, especially the main extant episode, while not lacking in external incidents of lively interest, is essentially a character study. In holding the attention of the reader he relies less, for instance, than the other great ancient novelist, Apuleius, upon description. When Petronius gives us an account of the house or the dress of Trimalchio, the appearance of Habinnas, and the jewels of Fortunata, it is incidental to his main purpose. In Apuleius descriptions are freely given for their own sake, as the writer naïvely remarks on one or two occasions. The subjects about which people in the *Golden Ass* and in Latin comedy talk, and the attitude which they take toward the world in their remarks, throw some light upon their character. This is true, for instance, of the miser and Thelyphron in Apuleius and of Pseudolus in Plautus, but the situation usually determines the subject of conversation and gives it its color. The tricky slave, for example, is bent upon thwarting the procurer, and his whole mind is centred upon this subject. But in Plautus, in Terence, and in Apuleius there is perhaps nothing quite comparable with the unrestrained flow of conversation at Trimalchio's table, where each speaker, with the cockles of his heart warmed by the hundred-year-old Opimian, talks about the things which

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make up the real interests of life for him and frankly states his optimistic or pessimistic view of gods and men. The gloomy philosophy of Seleucus, the rough-and-ready standards of Phileros, the querulous senility of Ganymedes, or the prosy optimism of Echion comes out with marvelous clearness in the choice which each makes of a subject and in the sentiments which he expresses about it. But it is in the careful distinction which he draws between the speech of the cultivated and that of the illiterate that the pre-eminence of Petronius as an artist comes out most clearly. The people who figure in the *Satirae* fall into two well-marked classes. In the first group are men like the poet Eumolpus, the rhetorician Agamemnon, the anti-hero Encolpius, and his attendant Giton. They all live by their wits and are unscrupulous and vicious, but they are all men of some education and taste, who are fairly versed in the practices of good society. Eumolpus was of course a professional man of letters; Encolpius is characterized as a *scholasticus* (10), and remarks to Ascyltus *et tu litteras scis et ego* (10), so that the writer represents them as men whose training would enable them to speak good Latin. Trimalchio and his freedman friends make up the other group. They are quite illiterate, as every one knows, and their conversation smacks of the junk shop and the stone-cutter's yard. It is not easy in a brief space to bring out in its full significance the differences which Petronius makes between the language and style of the one set of men and those of the other, but a comparison of passages of similar length in which men of the two respective groups are talking will illustrate the point with sufficient clearness. I have chosen for examination the conversation running from p. 27, l. 37, to p. 31, l. 12, in Bücheler's fourth edition, and for comparison with it the two conversations which extend from p. 68, l. 9, to p. 71, l. 12, and from p. 73, l. 16, to p. 74, l. 16. The freedmen Dama, Seleucus, Phileros, Ganymedes, and Echion are talking in the first passage; Eumolpus, Encolpius, and Giton are the speakers in the other sections.

From these chosen pages I shall set down with very slight comment the words and phrases which belong to the people's speech and are at variance with formal usage. My sole purpose

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is to show one point in the technique of Petronius, to bring out the way in which he makes men of different degrees of culture reveal themselves in their language.

Taking up the passage from p. 27 to p. 31, and discussing, first, vocabulary, pronunciation, word-formation, and inflectional forms, we find that it contains the following colloquial elements:

a) Of words belonging exclusively to the plebeian vocabulary there occur *bucca* (44),[1] *burdubasta* (45), *caldicerebrius* (45), *cicaro* (46), *filix* (45), *linguosus* (43), *miscix* (45), *merus* (45) and *pullarius* (43) with transferred meaning, *staminatus* (41), *sestertiarius* (45), *tertiarius* (45), and *frunisci* (44).

b) *baliscus* (42), *balneus* (41), *caelus* (45), *fatus* (42), and *vinus* (41) appear as masculine nouns; *schema* and *stigma* as feminines of the 1. declension, and *nervia* (45), and *librum* (46) as neuters. The occurrence of these nouns in *-us* and the assignment of Greek nouns in *-a* to the first declension, in the speech of the illiterate in Petronius, furnish one of the earliest indications we have of the elimination of the neuter gender in vulgar Latin (cf. Appel *De genere neutro intereunte in lingua latina;* W. Meyer *Die Schicksale des lat. Neutrums im romanischen;* Suchier "Der Untergang der geschlechtlosen Substantivform," *Archiv f. lat. Lex.* III, p. 161). The analogical nominatives *librum* (cf. *cultrum* for *culter*) and *nervia* (pl.) are like many similar vulgar forms against which the author of the *Appendix Probi* warns his readers.

c) The syncopated colloquial forms *bublum* (44), *caldicerebrius* (45), *calfacio* (41), and *cardeles* (46) need no comment. In the same field of colloquial pronunciation are *oricularios* (43), *percolopabant* (44), *plodo* (45), and *plovebat* (44). The forms *oricularios* and *plodo* attest a well-known vulgar pronunciation of *au*. *plovebat*, which from Festus (330. 29 Th. de Ponor) we infer is an archaic form, is one of the interesting cases in which popular Latin has retained a form which has dropped out of the literary speech. As for *percolopabant*, one may well ask if Petronius is not nodding here. We should not be at all surprised at hearing the unaspirated pronunciation from an illiterate Italian

[1] The references are to sections.

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in Rome or northern Italy, but in Cumae, in the mouth of the Greek Ganymedes, like *tisicus* in 64, it seems to be a slip on the part of the author.

d) The favorite popular endings *-arius*, *-atus* (Stolz *Hist. Gram.*, pp. 424 f.), which are used eleven times in the *Cena* alone, *-ax*, *-osus*, *-im*, and the diminutive ending, are well represented by *pullarius* (43), *sestertiarius* (45 *bis*), *tertiarius* (45), *staminatus* (41), *abstinax* (42), *salax* (43), *linguosus* (43), *urceatim* (44), *bellus* (42), *servulus* (46), and *amasiunculus* (45).

e) *arguto* (46) and *verso* (41) perhaps show the colloquial fondness for iteratives, and *arguto* and *delector* (45), with an active meaning, illustrate the freedom with which deponent verbs admit an active form or vice versa in colloquial speech. *vinciturum* (45) is perhaps a clever plebeian attempt, like similar cases in Plautus, to distinguish the corresponding tense forms of *vinco* and *vivo*, while *diibus* (44) finds parallels in the plebeian inscriptions.

f) There are several interesting deviations from formal usage in the matter of syntax, and they are all indications of the breaking-down of the synthetic system which had reached such a high point of development in formal Latin. Of the prepositions those which take both the accusative and the ablative are most liable to confusion, and *fui in funus* (42) does not surprise us, since it is a short-hand phrase for the full expression "I went to, and was present at the funeral." The same careless brevity is responsible for the use of *foras* in the sentence *nunc populus est domi leones, foras vulpes* (44). *unus de nobis* (44), while not very unusual, is a precursor of the analytical form of the partitive expression. In twenty-five or thirty other cases in the *Satirae* the partitive idea is expressed by *de* or *ex* with the ablative. *prae literas* (46) illustrates a more general confusion of the accusative and ablative than *fui in funus* does (cf. Suchier *Archiv* III, p. 165). Analogy explains sufficiently *te persuadeam* (46), *meos fruniscar* (44) and *quod frunitus est* (43). The popular mind grasps the broad truth, with slight regard for the subtle limitations which the grammarian puts on it in practice, that the accusative is the case of the direct object, and this general principle

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it is likely to extend to any transitive verb in the language, and in this category fall *persuadere* and *frunisci*, although perhaps in the case of *frunisci* one may say that of the two constructions allowable in early times after *frui* and its derivatives popular speech retained the accusative, because this construction conformed to the general case usage after transitive verbs. In a similar way *aediles male eveniat* (44) is probably to be explained, although Bücheler regards the use of the accusative here as a Grecism. *male evenire* conveys an idea sufficiently transitive to justify to the popular mind the case commonly used after transitive verbs. *belle erit* (46) illustrates a colloquial usage common enough from the time of Plautus on. The indicative in the indirect question, *nemo curat, quid annona mordet* (44), and *quod* with the indicative for the accusative and infinitive in *subolfacio quod . . . . daturus est* (45), and *dixi quod mustella comedit* (46) are early instances of a deviation, common enough later, from formal modal usage.

From this brief examination of the favorite forms, words, and syntactical usages of Dama and his friends we come now to a discussion of their style:

g) They are rather fond of long words like *frunisci* (43) and *argutare* (46).

h) They are very free in the use of such epithets as *aediles trium cauniarum* (44), *sestertiarius homo* (45 *bis*), *burdubasta* (45), *loripes* (45), *discordia non homo* (43), *stips* (43), *terrae filius* (43), *servi oricularii* (43), *pullarius* (43), and *linguosus* (43). Of a complimentary character are *cicaro meus* (46), *fortunae filius* (43), *omnis minervae homo* (43), and *piper, non homo* (44).

i) Their favorite oath is *mehercules* (43 *bis*, 44, 45) which Cicero condemns (*Or.* 157) as an undesirable form.

j) *modo, modo me appellavit* (42), and the double negative in *neminem nihil boni facere oportet* (42), as I have tried to show in the *University of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology* III, pp. 72 f., are both instances of the colloquial use of duplication for emphasis. Perhaps *olim oliorum* (43) belongs to the same category.

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k) A far more striking colloquial characteristic of the passage which we are considering than any of those thus far mentioned is the extraordinarily liberal use made of popular and proverbial expressions like *amicus amico* (44), *udi mures* (44), *pro luto esse* (44), *micare in tenebris* (44), *urceatim plovebat* (44), *serva me, servabo te* (44), *animam ebulliit* (42), and *habet unde* (45). In these four pages there are no less than seventy-five such phrases.

l) Equally noteworthy is the use by the speakers of asyndeton and of short, co-ordinate sentences and paratactical expressions. Some of these characteristics may be illustrated by a few lines from the remarks of Phileros (43): *plane Fortunae filius, in manu illius plumbum aureum fiebat. facile est autem, ubi omnia quadrata currunt. et quot putas illum annos secum tulisse? septuaginta et supra. sed corneolus fuit, aetatem bene ferebat, niger tamquam corvus.* The frequent employment of *nam* and of *et* merely as narrative particles to introduce a new statement, of which one case occurs in this passage (*et quot putas*, etc.), is characteristic of all the speakers of this group.

At pp. 68–71 and 73–74 it will be remembered that Eumolpus, Encolpius, and Giton are talking together. Using the rubrics adopted above, we notice the following colloquialisms: (*a*) *excanduit* (100) in a figurative sense; (*d*) *tremebundus* (100) with a favorite colloquial ending; (*e*) the colloquial phrases *quid ergo* (102) and *quis nobiscum Hannibal navigat* (101), although these expressions would not surprise one in formal Latin, and (*i*) the expletive *per fidem* (100). No other deviations from formal usage seem to occur anywhere in the four pages. The contrast, therefore, between the Latin which Dama and his friends use in conversation and that which Petronius puts into the mouths of his more cultivated characters is very striking.

To make sure that this difference in language is characteristic of the whole *Satirae*, let us take another passage, this time of about two pages, in the Bücheler edition, including §§ 26–30. The speaker is the narrator Encolpius. Of colloquialisms we find: (*a*) *unus* (26), perhaps used as the indefinite article; (*c*) the form *hoc* (26) for *huc;* (*e*) the favorite colloquial periphrasis with *coepi*

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in *errare coepimus* (27), *interrogare coepi* (29), *rogare coepit* (30), and perhaps *conaremur intrare* (30) should be mentioned in this connection, and finally (*h*) *deliciae* (28) may be noted, although the word is not uncommon in formal Latin. The few words quoted from Trimalchio in 26, and the brief remarks of slaves in 26, 30, and 31 have, of course, been left out of consideration.

If Petronius has not exaggerated the peculiarities of his freedmen, there is no piece of Latin literature which shows in so interesting a fashion the difference between the *sermo urbanus* and the *sermo plebeius*, and, what is more to our purpose, no writer has so clearly indicated the standing or the culture of his different characters in their speech as Petronius has done.

He seems, too, to give individuality to his characters by showing their fondness for certain words or phrases. Friedländer, in his edition of the *Satirae*, p. 218, has already noted that *ad summam*, *recte*, and *curabo* with the subjunctive are favorites with the freedman Hermeros. In our first passage Seleucus, within a half page, uses *quid si non* twice, and both the cases of duplication noted above occur in his remarks. Seven of the eleven plebeian words are used by the rag-dealer Echion, while two of the four instances of *mehercules* are found in what Phileros says. Of the other two speakers Dama says too little to reveal his peculiarities, and perhaps the most marked quality of Ganymedes is his staccato style.

Finally it seems possible to detect certain differences between the styles of Trimalchio drunk and Trimalchio sober. Plautus has brought out some of the comic aspects of drunkenness in his plays. The sentimental, helpless attitude of Callidamates in the *Mostellaria*, and his thick-tongued utterance furnish one type of the drunken man; the sternly moral tone and the fluent discourse of Stasimus in the *Trinummus* illustrate the effect of stimulants upon a different temperament, but no Latin writer has made so interesting and accurate a psychological study of the effects of intoxication as Petronius has in the case of Trimalchio. Under the mellowing influence of the wine the host forgets his dignity as land-holder and *sevir Augustalis*. With the gradual change in his conduct

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and manner, which Petronius skilfully depicts, we are not concerned here. But his language, as well as his manner, undergoes a subtle change and loses the few suggestions of the polite world which it shows in the early part of the dinner. The admission of the cook and of the other slaves to share in the festivities (76) is typical of the frank relapse of Trimalchio's demeanor and speech to those of his former servile condition in life, and the gradual change in them is very cleverly indicated by Petronius; but it is a change whose subtlety can be appreciated only from one's own reading and not through an analysis made by another.

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THE RELATION OF THE ACCENT TO THE PYRRHIC[1] IN LATIN VERSE

By Albert Granger Harkness

It is generally agreed that Latin accent is characterized by stress. Vendryes (*L'intensité initiale en Latin*, Paris, 1902, p. 68) maintains that if this theory were true, and if Latin verse did not recognize this essential element of the language, the poetry of Rome must have been absolutely artificial, and that it could not have been in any sense a national poetry. He allows that all testimony on this subject is in accord in affirming that the language of poetry and prose in Rome was one in character, that the verse of Plautus was composed for the people and in the language of the people, that the poetry of Virgil was in a true sense national and popular. He finds his solution of the difficulty in assuming that the accent of Latin was musical, like the Greek, and not one of stress. We must admit the general truth of his premises. No one can deny that the language would be spiritless and colorless if it were deprived of its accent, and no one can deny that it would be artificial if it introduced a principle of accent entirely different from that of the spoken language. The solution of the difficulty is to be sought, not in abandoning the well-established theory of the stress accent, but rather in recognizing the part which accent plays in the structure of the verse.[2]

I have sought to show (*Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* XXXVI, pp. 82 ff.) that when elision occurred between syllables separated by a sense-pause it conformed to definite laws of accent, and that this type of elision, when the second element was short, was governed by somewhat different rules from those which prevailed when the second element was long. This snggested that a

[1] The term "pyrrhic" is here used to denote two short syllables which form an integral part of a foot, as the resolved arsis or thesis in the drama or the thesis of the dactyl.

[2] I use the term accent to denote the recognized word-accent, often called the grammatical accent, and ictus to denote the verse-accent in contrast to the word-accent. Arsis is used to denote the strong or accented part of the foot.

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special investigation of the relation of accent to the short syllables in Latin verse might yield results of some value.

A special importance attaches to the relation of the accent to the short syllables in verse. One of the chief arguments of those who maintain that the word-accent is not an element in the verse-structure is derived from the law of Latin accentuation. The accent in the majority of cases falls on the long syllable, and thus in a large number of cases accent and ictus of necessity correspond. (Cf. Corssen *Aussprache* II², pp. 972 ff.; W. Meyer *Beobachtung des Wortaccentes*, München, 1884, pp. 6 ff.). If it can be proved that there is a definite relation of the accent of short syllables to the verse, it is a specially strong argument that accent is an element in the verse-structure.

We may observe in the Latin language a tendency to accent the first of two or more short syllables. After the penultima law of accent was established a word of the type ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ was still in the time of Plautus accented on the first syllable. The accent on the penult of a dactylic word is not rare as compared with the accent on the penult of a tribrach. This irregular accent of the dactyl seems to reflect a tendency of the language and to be based on analogy. With this accent of the dactyl we may compare the secondary accent found in Plautus in the type – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏓.[1] The same tendency may be observed in dactylic word-groups which do not observe the rule of recessive accent so completely as do tribrach groups (*Am. Jour. Phil.* XXV, p. 406).[2]

A word with two short syllables preceding the primary accent received a secondary accent on the first syllable. The existence of this accent may be traced throughout the history of the lan-

[1] I wish to guard against the idea that *exónerātus*, for example, represents the normal pronunciation of the word. As there is a general tendency in Latin to accent the first of two short syllables, the verse-rhythm might take advantage of this tendency to modify the regular pronunciation. A tribrach word-beginning could not be accented on the second syllable. The verse-rhythm cannot go contrary to the laws of the language, but it may bring out its latent tendencies. In English compare *doomed* in prose and *dooméd* in verse, or *fórefathers* with the line:

"The rude forefáthers of the hamlet sleep."

[2] A somewhat similar tendency may be noted in the Greek. The tribrach shows the tendency to accent the first syllable; the dactyl, according to Wheeler's law, shows the tendency to accent the penult (Brugmann *Griech. Gramm.*³, p. 153).

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guage from the period of the Saturnian verse to the time of the formation of the Romance languages (cf. Brugmann *Vergl. Gramm.* I², p. 974; Lindsay *Lat. Lang.*, p. 161). The importance of this accent is minimized, or its existence utterly ignored, by those who do not admit that the word-accent is an element in the structure of Latin verse. With the recognition of this accent some of the main arguments used to disprove the harmony of accent and ictus tend to prove its existence. Havet[1] (*Métrique grecque et latine*, Paris, 1896, p. 228) states as an argument against the intentional coincidence of accent and ictus at the end of the hexameter that, while the type *mors sepelires* has coincidence of accent and ictus, it is forbidden as the verse-close. It is generally admitted that monosyllables have a lighter accent than other words and, taking into account the secondary accent on the first syllable of *sepelires*, it seems reasonable to assume that this type of ending is avoided because the first syllable of the thesis would be almost as strongly accented as the arsis, and thus the usual end-rhythm would be interrupted. Havet states: "La coïncidence existe dans *consule inibit* et dans *ille animalis;* or le premier type est permis, le second défendu." The first type is permitted because a short syllable immediately preceding a long syllable is without accent, as compared with the first of two short syllables. This type is not, however, a favorite one (cf. *Rhein. Mus.* XLV, pp. 402 ff.). It occurs less than once in a hundred lines in Virgil and less than once in a thousand in Lucan. In the second type the first syllable of the thesis is accented and is also weighted by the elision;[2] in this case again the thesis would be made too prominent as compared with the arsis.[3]

[1] Havet's view is taken as representative because in his admirable treatise he presents a very concise summary of the arguments of those who hold that in verse "l'accent n'est rien" (*loc. cit.*, p. 227).

[2] This theory assumes that the final vowel in elision was sounded and not wholly suppressed. For authorities for this view see *Trans.* XXXVI, p. 82, nn. 1 and 2.

[3] This form of ending is not entirely avoided by Roman poets. We have thirty examples in Virgil (cf. *Rhein. Mus.* XLV, p. 242). It is chiefly confined to endings containing Greek words, or else it involves the elision of *-que*. This enclitic is especially light in sound and it would add relatively little to the weight of the following syllable (cf. *Trans.* XXXVI, p. 93). This would seem to show clearly that the weight given to the thesis by the elision was one reason for the exclusion of this type. Norden (*Aeneis* VI, Leipzig, 1903, p. 427) says: "Noch nicht sicher erklärt ist, aus

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The only other argument used by Havet against intentional coincidence of accent and ictus in this part of the verse is the use of the type *glaebaque versis*. It is not agreed by all authorities that the enclitic changes the main accent of the word. Many grammarians maintain that the main accent of this type is on the antepenult. But granting that *-que* throws back its accent, we must still admit that *glaeba* retains its own accent. Verse apparently had the privilege of recognizing either of these accents as the main word-accent (cf. p. 71). This appears to have been one reason why this enclitic is so frequently used in poetry.

Another theory of those who are opposed to the recognition of accent in Latin verse maintains that the special rules, which in reality produce coincidence of accent and ictus, are derived from the Greek, and accordingly have no reference to accent. Havet's brief summary of this theory begins as follows (*loc. cit.*, p. 230): "Si Virgile, qui a tant développé la coupe hephtémimère, évite la coupe ennéhémimère, ce n'est pas qu'il songe à l'accent; c'est plutôt par la même raison qui fait que l'Iliade et l'Odyssée, si riches en coupes au trochée troisième, ont si rarement la coupe au trochée quatrième." What ground can be found for comparing a caesura in the fifth foot of Latin verse with one in the fourth of Greek verse? There might be excuse for attempting to explain the disfavor shown in Latin for the hephthemimeral caesura as compared with the penthemimeral by reference to a corresponding avoidance in Greek verse of the fourth trochee as compared with the third trochee. In both Greek and Latin verse the fifth and sixth feet are regarded as forming a metrum which has a certain unity and which is governed by laws of its own.

welchen Gründen nun auch schliessende Worte der Form *ducunt argento*, *o bona mater*, *dextra rigat amnem* vermieden wurden." The recognition of the word-accent as an element in the structure of this part of the verse is a sufficient explanation for the avoidance of the specified types. This view, too, is in harmony with Norden's theory, as set forth on p. 391: "Das Bestreben, dem gegen Schluss des Verses fallenden Rhythmus durch prägnante Worte ein Gegengewicht zu geben, ist so alt wie der lateinische Hexameter selbst." The falling rhythm would not be so marked in the types specified and thus would depart from the norm. If the poet recognized the falling rhythm as characteristic of this part of the verse and adapted the thought to it, it would seem to be sufficiently clear proof that the accent was recognized as an element of the verse-rhythm.

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The remaining part of this paragraph in Havet is as follows: "Si Plaute, dans certaines conditions, recherche les pénultièmes brèves (§ 273), c'est probablement pour des raisons de même ordre que celles qui, dans d'autres conditions, font rechercher aux tragiques grecs des finales brèves (§ 225)." Here again we have the rules applying to the final dipody compared with those applying to other parts of the line. Furthermore, we are not told what reason there is for imagining that rules applying to the ultima of Greek words should apply to the penult of the Latin.[1]

I would suggest that the special rules of Greek verse have to do largely with the unity of the verse and with the unity of its parts, even to that of the half-foot, while the Latin rules, relaxing something of the strictness of the Greek in this respect, are concerned especially with the relation of accent and ictus. The Greek hexameter wishes to give unity to the final metrum; it accordingly avoids the fourth trochee.[2] For a like reason it avoids as a rule a sense-pause within the limits of the fifth and sixth feet. The Latin largely discards these rules, but gives unity to this part of the verse by means of coincidence of accent and ictus.[3]

The Latin drama does not so definitely distinguish the last dipody from the preceding part of the verse by employing a different relation of accent and ictus in the two parts of the verse. The dipody in comedy follows its Greek model more closely than does the final metrum in Latin hexameter.[4] Greek tragedy is

[1] This, however, does not touch the essential question in regard to the coincidence of accent and ictus, i. e., why at the beginning as well as at the end of words we so rarely meet with the accent ≍ ◡ ≍. Professor Radford (*Am. Jour. Phil.* XXV, p. 265, note) has well pointed out that "a supposed rule that the two closing shorts of a polysyllabic word cannot be used as a resolved arsis cannot explain the non-occurrence of călámi|tatem."

[2] This theory is not opposed to the rule that there shall not be a strong sense-pause after a fourth spondee unless elision occurs at the end of the foot. This latter rule merely implies that the last two feet shall not be too violently separated from the rest of the verse.

[3] The difference between the Greek and the Roman method of handling this part of the verse may be seen by comparing the difference in feeling shown in regard to sense-pauses. Though all sense-pauses are rare in this part of the verse in Greek, yet the most common is that occurring after the fifth arsis. This sense-pause in the Latin is almost unknown.

[4] That the Latin preserves the unity of the dipody in comedy in much the same way as the Greek, whereas the Latin hexameter does not observe the rules of the Greek in regard to the verse-close, favors Lindsay's view (*Capt.*, pp. 362 ff.) that the accent

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subject to more definite and exact laws than Greek comedy and hence affords a better opportunity to study the tendencies of this kind of verse. Here the dipody has a unity of its own and is subject to definite laws. Porson's law will illustrate this fact.[1] If the thesis of the next to the last foot were long and were followed by a pause, such as would necessarily exist before the pronunciation of a word or word-group of the minimum length of three syllables,[2] it would have greater prominence as compared with the arsis than was permitted in this part of the verse. Latin comedy also recognizes that the final dipody has a unity of its own and has its own special characteristics.[3] The rules regulating the use of tribrachs, anapaests, and dactyls evidently embody the desire to preserve the unity of the half-foot. For example the short syllable receiving the ictus is never the final of a word of more than one syllable (Havet *loc. cit.*, p. 115).[4] The rules regulating the use of tribrachs, anapaests, and dactyls in Latin comedy concern the word-accent.[5]

It is the purpose of this paper to consider the relation of accent to the two short syllables when they are the equivalent of a long syllable, as in the resolved syllable of Saturnian verse, or of comedy, or when they form the integral part of a foot, as in the

of the last dipody is more in harmony with the prose accent than is generally allowed. The sentence-accent will be considered in connection with epic verse in my second paper.

[1] This law is well set forth by Havet (*loc. cit.*, pp. 109 ff.). It may be summed up as follows: When a verse of iambic trimeter or catalectic trochaic tetrameter ends with a word of the length of three half-feet and the preceding syllable is a final, that syllable is short.

[2] The view that there was a tendency to make a pause before a long word in Greek and Latin receives support from the syllable-lengthening in Virgil. When the lengthened syllable is not followed by a sense-pause, it is usually followed by a word containing at least three syllables. This is true in all cases in which the succeeding word is a Greek word.

[3] Jacobsohn (*Quest. Plaut.*, Göttingen, 1904) treats of the characteristics of this part of the verse; cf. *Class. Rev.* XX (1906), p. 35.

[4] In trochaic verse the first syllable of the tribrach and anapaest has the ictus, and in iambic verse the first short of the tribrach and dactyl. In Greek comedy the first syllable of an anapaest is rarely the final of a word of more than one syllable (*loc. cit.*, p. 125). For other similar limitations to the division between two words of two short syllables forming a half-foot, see Klotz *Grundzüge*, pp. 252 ff.

[5] Cf. Lindsay *Capt.*, pp. 70 ff. A summary of these rules is given in the *Class. Rev.* XX, pp. 31 ff.

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lesser ionic. I trust that this will be useful in illustrating the unity of Latin verse, and that a general survey of this limited field may throw light on certain subjects which are not sufficiently clear when viewed by themselves. Thus it does not seem to me that we can decide in such a case as *Most.* 402, *aedi|bus habi|tat*, whether we are to regard the foot as a tribrach with the first two syllables forming the arsis, or as a dactyl with long arsis and resolved thesis, without reference, not merely to the older Saturnian verse, but also to the forms of verse which followed the drama.

I wish to establish the following rule for certain Latin metres: When two short syllables are the equivalent of a long syllable (not including the irrational long), the first of the two short syllables has an accent (primary or secondary), or if this is lacking, the second of the two short syllables has an accent as compensation. In certain kinds of verse the accent falls as a rule on the first of the two short syllables, as in the Saturnian verse and the iambic measures of Horace and Phaedrus. The drama is somewhat less strict in its adherence to this law. Epic verse comes under this rule only so far as concerns the second and third feet.

Let us examine the Saturnian verse in its relation to this rule. Though there is no agreement among metricians with regard to the principle on which the verse is constructed, whether it is quantitative or accentual, yet there is substantial agreement in regard to certain characteristics of this verse, i. e., the division of the verse, hiatus at the division, and in regard to resolution. Havet (*De Saturnio Latinorum versu*) has collected all the extant material. Lindsay (*Am. Jour. Phil.* XIV, pp. 144 ff., 312 ff.) following Havet's order, gives a list of all the full lines. I shall observe the same order in referring to lines, and shall confine my references to the 123 lines which are regarded as most authentic (cf. *loc. cit.*, pp. 321 ff.).

Reserving the resolutions found in pyrrhic words to be considered last, we find the following types of resolutions:

1. ⏑ ⏑ ≚ 12, *subigit omne Loucanam, opsidesque abdoucit;* 17 examples.

2. ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ≚ 123, *noctu Troiad exibant capitibus opertis;* 1 example

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3. – ⏑ ≍ 42, *gondecorant saipissume comuiuia loidosque;* 6 examples.

4. ⏑ ⏑ – ≍ 36, *hoc est factum monumentum Maarco Caicilio;* 5 examples.

5. ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ≍ 109, *siciliensis paciscit obsides ut reddant;* 1 example.

6. ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ≍ 111, *onerariae onustae stabant in flustris;* 1 example.

7. We have the following examples of resolutions in pyrrhic words: 16, *quibus sei in longa licuiset tibe utier uita;* 33, *Romam redieit triumphans. ob hasce res bene gestas;* 38, *Bene rem geras et ualeas; dormias sine qura;* 44, *utei sesed lubentes bene iouent optantis;* 52, *neque tam te oblitus sum, Laertie noster;* 67, *simul ac dacrumas de ore noegeo detersit.*

In 30, *semol te orant se uoti crebro condemnes* I prefer the scansion with elision rather than resolution. This is in accordance with the view of L. Müller (*Der sat. Vers* 1885, §§ 42, 43), and Leo (*Der sat. Vers* 1905, p. 70), who may be taken as representatives of the quantitative theory, and it is given as an alternate scansion by Lindsay (*loc. cit.*, p. 315), a representative of the accentual theory. Müller regards the resolutions found in pyrrhic words as exceptional and, when possible, removes them from the text. In 38 he would read *ben* for *bene* and in 52 he prefers the reading *neque enim* to *neque tam.*

There does not seem to be sufficient reason for regarding this type of resolution with suspicion. It appears, however, to have been used with certain limitations, though our material is too limited to allow us to draw very definite conclusions in this respect. It will be seen from the lines cited above that all these resolutions, with two exceptions (16, 44),[1] the latter only an apparent exception, occur either at the beginning or end of the verse, and in these two positions exceptional usages are found throughout the history of Latin verse.

In 44 *beneiouent* is written in the inscription as one word. It is to be regarded as one word, or as the phonetic equivalent of one word, i. e., a word-group accented as *béne-iouent.* Thus in this prosaic verse of the Faliscan cooks the ictus falls apparently

[1] In 16, one is tempted to read licuiset to avoid the two resolutions in the same hemistich. Synizesis, however, does not occur in later Latin poetry in an anapaestic sequence (*Trans.* XXXVI, 168). It is possible to consider this case an example of the total suppression of *u* so far as the verse is concerned (Lindsay *Lat. Lang.*, p. 268; *Trans.* XXXVI, p. 171).

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on a syllable of secondary accent. *quibus* (16) is the most independent and disconnected of these pyrrhic words, but the relative is an especially weak word and is regarded as an enclitic by the Roman grammarians (cf. Lindsay *Lat. Lang.*, p. 167). In the Greek and Latin classical drama the arsis is not often formed by a pyrrhic word (cf. Christ *Metrik d. Griechen u. Römer*[2], p. 56). In Saturnian verse pyrrhic words do not seem to have received a marked sentence-accent and they apparently conform to the same general rules as apply to this class of words in the drama.

These seven types include all the resolutions found in the 123 lines to which we have referred. We accordingly see that certain resolutions are strictly excluded from this verse. Thus they do not occur in the last two syllables of dactylic and tribrach words, nor does the final syllable of a word form the first half of a resolution. The rule in regard to secondary accent is as strictly observed as the rule in regard to primary accent. Thus the type – ⏑ ⏑ – × is excluded.[1]

The usage of Saturnian verse in respect to the resolved syllable is more closely related to the usage of the drama than to that of epic poetry. It is, however, more strict than the drama in observing the relation of the resolved syllable to the accent. This is a phenomenon of the verse which should be taken into account by the advocates of the quantitative theory who do not admit that the word-accent is an element in this verse and who accordingly will not even recognize such a harmony between accent and ictus as is to be found in comedy. It seems difficult to imagine that this verse, so calm in tone and so simple in form, was in its method of delivery so far removed from the spoken language. When the Saturnian verse fell into disuse, it was replaced in epitaphs not by epic verse but by prose.[2]

[1] Cf. Müller *loc. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.; F. Leo *Der sat. Vers*, Berlin, 1905, p. 47. Leo scans (p. 58) *fuisĕ vĭrom*, and classes with this hemistich two other cases which he regards as somewhat doubtful. Klotz (*loc. cit.*, p. 256) regards the above citation as an example of resolved arsis. There does not seem to be good ground for regarding this as a case of resolution, as there is one syllable less than the normal number in the hemistich.

[2] If we are to class as Saturnian verse such a variety of rhythms as are given by Leo in his learned monograph (pp. 69 ff.), it would seem necessary to revise our conception of Saturnian verse and to consider it as a generic term, denoting a variety of metres,

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Again, this relation of the resolved syllable to the word-accent is an argument against the extreme accentual theory which does not make quantity one of the essential elements of this verse. There appears to be no wide separation between the principles on which Saturnian verse is constructed and the quantitative verse of a later period.

It would seem clear that whatever be our theory with regard to this verse, we must recognize the accent of the resolved syllable as an element in the rhythmical effect.[1]

Though we do not find in the case of the drama the same wide divergence of view in regard to the fundamental principle on which the verse is constructed, we find here also two hostile camps with hardly a prospect or hope of reconciliation. Those who, like L. Müller, hold the view that there is no intention on the part of the poet to introduce harmony in any respect between the accent and ictus, maintain (*loc. cit.*, p. iii) that W. Meyer has satisfactorily demonstrated this fact, while the advocates of the accentual theory feel as confident that Langen has completely refuted the arguments of Meyer (Lindsay *Capt.*, p. 361, n. 2). Not to refer to what has been accomplished by such writers as Bentley, Ritschl, Christ, and Klotz, it seems safe to say that Lindsay and Radford, to take examples from writers in our own tongue, have demonstrated that there is in certain cases at least an intentional effort to bring about harmony of accent and ictus. For example, Lindsay has proved this for words of the form ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ (*Philologus* LI, pp. 364 ff.; Brugmann *Vergl. Gramm.* I², as does the term lyric. It is difficult to convince oneself that the two following schemes belong to the same measure (p. 70):

⏑ ⏖ ⏑ | ⏖ ⏑ ⏖ — ⏖ ⏑ ⏑ ⏖

⏖ ⏑ ⏖ | ⏖ ⏑ ⏖ — ⏖ ⏑ ⏖ | — ⏖ —

He points out (p. 31) that, if the accent on the final syllable is not pleasing to our ear, yet the same rhythm occurs in the drama. It would have been helpful in this connection if he had illustrated the melody of such a hemistich as (p. 69) *inserinuntur*, ⏖ ⏑ ⏖ ⏖ ⏑, by giving us parallels from later literature, for some readers will be forced to confess that such rhythms also "unser Ohr nicht leicht und erfreulich berühren."

[1] In comparing notes with Professor Radford I find that he has independently arrived at the same conclusion in regard to the relation of the accent to the resolved syllable in Saturnian verse as that here set forth. It is a pleasure to learn this fact, as it is an added argument for the correctness of the theory.

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p. 973) and Radford in the case of recession of accent in certain word-groups (*Am. Jour. Phil.* XXV, pp. 147 ff.).

It is not my purpose to review the arguments in favor of the theory that the accent is an element in the rhythm in comedy, or even to state what may be claimed as proved in regard to the harmony of accent and ictus, but to direct attention to the relation of the accent to the resolved arsis and thesis. An interesting paper on this subject has recently been published by Professor Exon (*Class. Rev.* XX, 1906, pp. 31 ff.). He attempts to establish the following law: "Except in the first foot of a colon, a resolved arsis or thesis must, in dialogue metres, begin in a syllable which would bear in prose the primary or secondary word-accent, or a sentence accent."[1] That which the author of the paper recognizes as the crucial point is the "ease in which a resolved arsis seems to begin in a short final syllable" (p. 34). These final syllables he regards as metrically lengthened. This

[1] Having in mind the general views on Latin verse presented by the standard authorities, one is startled by the first sentence of the article: "No satisfactory attempt has ever been made to account for the existence of the strict rules observed by Plautus, and the early Roman dramatists generally, in the use of dactyls, anapaests, and proceleusmatics in dialogue verse." Christ (*loc. cit.*, p. 55) says: "dass die lateinischen Komiker, ... fast durchweg die Verse so bauten, dass die erste der stellvertretenden Kürzen den Accent hat," and more to the same effect; cf. p. 59. I shall not attempt to criticize this paper in detail, though one is often tempted to ask just what is the meaning of some of his expressions. For example he says (p. 32): "A long syllable accented in prose may not be shortened in dialogue under the law of breues breuiantes." In the next sentence in speaking of *mólēstus* he refers to the ictus as "canceling the word-accent." To the uninitiated he appears to profess one belief and to act on another. His first statement of the rule seems to be in harmony with the accent theory advocated by Lindsay, Skutsch, and Ahlberg, and his application of it seems to be in accord with the ictus theory of Klotz, Seyffert, and Leo. The chief defect of the paper seems to me to be that the author is not satisfied with maintaining the general truth of his proposition, but that he does not wish to admit any exceptions or to recognize any principle as capable of modifying the one under consideration. He is thus led to regard the secondary accent in such words and word-groups, as *commoditatem* and *propter-amorem*, as falling on the second syllable rather than on the first which is its recognized place. (Cf. Lindsay *Lat. Lang.*, p. 161.)

Professor Radford also communicates to me the following criticism of this accentuation: "It is both contrary to the old Latin principle of recession (not to mention the earlier principle of initial accentuation), and is disproved by the absence of proceleusmatics like *sed éxoneratis*, *et óbsequeratur* (cf. *Trans.* XXXVI, p. 195, note 1). Further, such old Latin forms as *surrupuisse* (Plautus), *consoluerunt* (S. C. de Bacch.) with their weakened short vowel, clearly point to the original initial accentuations, *súrrupuisse*, *cônsoluérunt;* the later accentuation that has resulted from such an original is clearly not consóluérunt, but cónsoluérunt.

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theory is by no means a new one, though no reference is made to the arguments in its support by such scholars as Fleckeisen, Usener, Koch, Crain, and Buchholtz (cf. Christ *loc. cit.*, p. 60). This theory was afterward modified by Bücheler (*Grundriss d. lat. Decl.*), but even in this modified form it has been discarded by practically all metricians.[1] These facts seem also to be overlooked by Professor Sonnenschein in his suggestive article on "Accent and Quantity in Plautine Verse" in *Class. Rev.* XX (1906), pp. 156 ff., when he refers to the changes which will be wrought in our theories of Plautine verse, "if Professor Exon succeeds in establishing his scansion of cases like *aedibus habitat*."

Professor Exon begins his argument in favor of this lengthening with the statement that the succeeding syllables are always of such a kind that lengthening is at least possible. We, find however, many such endings in iambic and trochaic metres as *Merc.* 540, *puer est illĕ quĭdem, stulta*, and *Merc.* 1008, *filiŭs ăpud nos tuos*. If he excludes such cases from the "dialogue metres," it would seem impossible to maintain that this type, which often occurs in dialogue and which so closely resembles in character the cases under consideration, was treated by the poet on an entirely different principle; for here lengthening is impossible.

Continuing our author says: "First, the next following syllable may be long, as in *fingere fallaciam*." He does not mention the fact that in all his illustrations (the last three should be omitted as they do not relate to the case in hand) the apparent short arsis occurs before the final dipody (cf. Lindsay *Capt.*, p. 42; Jacob-

[1] As representing the present view which approaches nearest to Exon's we may mention Havet (*loc. cit.*, p. 140) who regards this short final syllable in the arsis, which was necessarily followed by a brief pause, as producing rather the effect of a long than the effect of a true short syllable; or the view of Brix (*Mil. Glor.*[3] 1901, note on line 27): "Eine andere Beurteilung ist möglich resp. notwendig in den Fällen, wo Personenwechsel eintritt, also etwa syllaba anceps angenommen werden kann."

Again when Professor Exon adds (p. 36) that the acceptance of his theory of the lengthening of the final syllable in the arsis "would even enable us to introduce a little order into the scanning of Saturnians," he overlooks the fact that Reichardt ("Der saturnische Vers in d. röm. Kunstdichtung," *N. Jahrb. f. Philol.* XIX, Supplbd. 1893, pp. 207 ff.) maintained this theory as an important discovery of his own. His theory, however, was not hailed with great enthusiasm by the world of scholars (cf. Gleditsch's review in Bursian's *Jahresber.* CII, p. 44, and the reviews there cited). This theory of lengthening is accepted by Leo (*loc. cit.*, pp. 20 f.) for certain positions in the verse.

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sohn, pp. 5 ff.). Even if we grant that the syllable in this position is lengthened, the author would have gained but little for his main contention, for it has long been known, or, as he says: "It has long been suspected that the point in the line that immediately precedes the final iambic dipody had some special characteristics." He next adds that which to me is quite unintelligible: "But far more significant than such instances is the fact that, wherever a syllable can be said to remain short in arsis, it must be followed not merely by one, but by two short syllables, capable of forming a resolved thesis." This very fact is interpreted by Klotz (*loc. cit.*, p. 265)—and it would seem justly—as evidence that the final syllable is not lengthened. If instead of the two short syllables which are usually found after the final, there was but one remaining to form the thesis, this would be good ground for considering the syllable in question as lengthened.

This is followed by an interesting discussion of Luchs's law in relation to endings of the type ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏓. Though we grant his contention that this comparatively rare form of verse-ending is not allowed in comedy, even though it is usually recognized as legitimate, and that the final arsis before the dipody is lengthened, it would be but another proof of the exceptional character of this part of the verse. Such lengthening would not be any stronger evidence that the syllable in question was lengthened in the hundreds of cases which occur in other parts of the verse, than the exceptions, which the author admits occur in the first foot, would be proof that they existed in other parts of the verse.[1]

[1] While Sonnenschein (*loc. cit.*, p. 159) does not regard Exon's law as proved, he points out how greatly our view of early versification must be modified, if it should be established. After granting that the quantity of the arsis may be an essential element in the verse, he still claims that Plautine verse is semi-quantitative and that the scheme for the iambic verse, for example, may be represented as follows: x – x – | x – x – | x – ⏑x |. In this formula x stands for a syllable of indeterminate value. He adds further, apparently in support of Exon's theory: "It would even be possible to argue that in semi-quantitative verse there is no *a priori* objection to a rise (arsis) being occasionally formed by a short syllable, the quantitative defect being supplied in some cases by a slight pause after the syllable in question." It is to be noted that in this case he does not regard the defective quantity of the arsis as helped out by accent, but by the pause which follows. In other words, Sonnenschein seems unconsciously to admit that the quantity of the arsis is after all the essential element. In fact can we even admit that substitution of the long syllable for the short in the thesis implies that quantity is not an essential element of the verse? On this principle the iambic

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We may sum up the relation of the accent to the resolved arsis and thesis as follows: As a rule the resolved arsis and thesis receive an accent on the first of the two short syllables, except when the first short syllable of the arsis is a final, and in this case the second short syllable has an accent. Other exceptions to the general rule that the first short syllable receives an accent are more common in relation to the secondary accent of words of five syllables or more (e. g., *exoneratus*, *commoditatus*) than in relation to the primary accents. For example, these exceptions are more common in the word-type ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ≂ than ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ (*Am. Jour. Phil.* XXV, p. 267). Again, exceptions are more common in the lyric measures, especially the anapaestic, than in the dialogue measures, and more common in the first foot than in the other feet.

I now turn to hexameter verse[1] to consider the relation of the accent to the two short syllables in the dactyl. It might seem most natural to begin with Ennius, but though he showed wonderful genius in adapting Greek verse to the conditions of a language widely different in character, yet the task of necessity remained incomplete. Lucretius carried forward the work so auspiciously begun. The tendency to give a distinctively Roman character to hexameter was interrupted by Catullus, who was under Alexandrine influence. Virgil openly broke with the traditions

trimeter of Horace would be only partially quantitative, for here every other thesis may be long. Other lyric measures also allow substitutions. In the first Asclepiadean we have as substitutes – –, – ⏑ ⏑, – ⏑, –. These substitutes differ from those of the iambic verse. These may be called fixed substitutes, while those in iambic verse may be called possible substitutes. The character of the verse in both cases depends on the substitutes used, and the quantity of the syllable remains an essential factor of the verse. The inference to be drawn from the fact that substitutes apparently varying in quantity are allowed both in early and later verse, is the well-established fact that syllables are not absolutely fixed in quantity but that their actual length is to a certain degree determined by the verse-scheme in which they are used. Thus a dactyl substituted for a trochee is in reality shorter than a dactyl substituted for a spondee.

[1] The caesura is regarded by some as the most essential feature of hexameter; and its laws are thought to be sufficient to explain the general verse-structure and even to account for the differences between the Latin and the Greek hexameter. These advocates of an over-rigorous doctrine of the caesura are led into all manner of inconsistencies, and one is almost forced to the conclusion that they imagine that verse is constructed with reference to the caesura and not for the purpose of expressing thought. It is to be remembered that the caesura in hexameter is free and shifting, and that it does not determine the character of the verse to the same extent as does the fixed caesura of some forms of lyric verse.

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of his Roman predecessors. It is one of the main objects of his work to give a Greek background to his Roman scenes. Everywhere there are reminiscences and echoes of the Greek past. He interrupts the Latin rhythm to introduce Greek words and Greek rhythm, as Dante breaks the flow of his verse by interweaving Latin lines, or as Milton does by quoting phrases from the Bible.[1]

Ovid did not possess the genius to blend in so masterly a way elements so different in character. Though the influence of Greece may be traced in his verse, it is confined within comparatively narrow limits. It is not till we come to Lucan that we find the Romanizing of hexameter verse carried out to its logical conclusion. The *Pharsalia* affords us the best opportunity to study the hexameter in a strictly Roman garb and practically free from Greek influence. Though we may not possess the "Lucanian proclivities of those modest scholars who," as a writer in the *Quarterly Review* (CXXVII, p. 129) tells us, "committed their cherished *Pharsalia* to memory from end to end," yet we must admit that Lucan possessed real genius and that he has at times used the Latin language with masterly force. We may not agree with Voltaire that Lucan owes nothing to his predecessors, neither his beauties nor his defects, or with Merivale, who is "almost tempted to imagine that Lucan had never read Virgil," yet a study of the parallel passages which Heitland (Haskins *Pharsalia*, with Introduction by Heitland, London, 1887, pp. cx ff.) has so carefully collected to prove the indebtedness of our poet to Virgil, tends to confirm the view that Lucan, though an admirer of Virgil, was not even under his spell. Every other writer of epic verse during the Silver Age is a servile imitator of the author of the *Aeneid*. Lucan's avoidance of Greek rhythm and his strict adherence to law, though they may be defects in the poet, render him especially useful in a study of the verse-structure.

Before turning our attention to the relation of the accent to the short syllables of the dactyl in the second and third feet, let

[1] It is this distinct purpose of the poet which justifies the introduction of the Greek rhythm, especially in connection with Greek words. Judged from this point of view the usage of Virgil cannot be condemned as an error of judgment (cf. Havet, p. 55).

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us note the general rules of the relation of the accent to the ictus in the different parts of the verse. The first foot in Greek and Latin metres usually allows greater freedom than the other feet. This applies especially to the accent of the hexameter. In the second and third feet we have conflict of accent and ictus. The fourth foot forms the connecting link and admits either harmony or conflict. The tendency to harmony in the fifth and sixth feet increases from the time of Ennius (cf. *Trans.* IX, pp. 39 ff.). In Lucan there is almost complete uniformity in this part of the line. To make clear the contrast in accent between the second and third feet on the one hand, and the first and fourth on the other, it is only necessary to call to mind that a dactylic or spondaic word or ending cannot form the second or third foot, but it may form the first or fourth foot. In Virgil I have noted some ten lines in which a dactylic word or ending forms the second foot. The third foot is never thus formed in Virgil, for we are not to consider as such *nescio qua*, *Georg.* iv. 55; this is used as a word-group, united under one accent.[1] There are no exceptions in the case of spondaic words or endings.[2] In Lucan I have not noted any exception to the rule that the second and third feet shall not be formed by dactylic or spondaic words or endings.

Omitting for the time the cases in which trochaic words or endings are used to form dactyls, as in *verte manus*, the rule of accent in the second and third feet, as exemplified by Lucan, is as follows: The accent falls on the thesis, except in a few cases of elision.

Examining the rule first in reference to the long syllables, we find that the thesis always has an accent, primary or secondary.[3]

[1] With this we may compare the frequent shortening in comedy of *-o* in *nescio*, a shortening which is regular, or normal only in the word-group *nescio quis* (Klotz *loc. cit.*, p. 96).

[2] A foot formed by *inter* in a word-group like *inter se*, united under one sentence-accent, is not treated by the poet as a spondaic word (cf. L. Müller *Röm. Metr.*², p. 466).

[3] We may recognize a light secondary accent on the first syllable of the types ⏑ ⏑ ×, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ×. Some metricians regard this secondary accent as an element in the verse of comedy (cf. Lindsay *Capt.* p. 358; *Class. Rev.* XX, p. 157). For hexameter it is only necessary to assume that this initial syllable was more prominent than the final of a word of two or more syllables. This long syllable preceding the main accent was doubtless lighter in accent than the first syllables of the type ⏑ – ⏑ ×, ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ×. In Lucan the thesis is never the second syllable of the type – – – ×, – – ⏑ ⏑ ×, though this occurs in Virgil, as v. 591, and in the fourth foot in Lucan.

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When the thesis has only a secondary accent, the arsis is usually the final of a word of two or more syllables, but if the arsis is a monosyllable, it is without a sentence-accent; and it is never a noun.

The monosyllables most frequently used in the arsis, when the thesis has a secondary accent, are the sentence-enclitics, especially *est*, which rarely ranks as an independent word and resembles rather the formal enclitics, such as *-que*, *-ve*, and *-ne*. A noun may be used in the arsis, if followed by the primary accent of a dissyllable or trisyllable, as i. 45, *res acta est*.

If two monosyllables form the foot, the one in the thesis has the more prominent sentence-accent, as Lucan x. 432, *donata est nox;* i. 360, | *et ius* | *est;* v. 117; 664; vii. 374; x. 511.

The following are somewhat exceptional: i. 349, *dat, qui;* 681, *hic, o;* x. 410, *dant. Pro.* In these cases the monosyllable in the arsis is closely associated in thought with the preceding word and forms practically the final of a word-group. At the end of the word-group the monosyllable would not he prominent. Accordingly we never find a monosyllable lengthened in arsis.[1] The monosyllable at the beginning of the next clause would have a certain prominence from its very position. This tendency is seen in the lengthening of syllables at the beginning of a line, as is frequently the case in Homer, and in the prominent accent at the beginning of the line in comedy, which results in iambic shortening. This same principle is illustrated by ix. 1032, *hoc non*, and 1062, *non his*. The arsis in both cases is closely united with the preceding word—*scalus hoc*, *nec non*—while the theses are more closely associated with the following words. The rule that the theses shall have the more prominent accent has an appreciable effect on the word order. Thus to observe this rule of the verse the natural word-order may be reversed, as in viii. 636, *ius* | *hoc*, and x. *nox* | *haec*.

In case of elision the accent may fall on the arsis. Let us examine the rules which govern Lucan's verse in this respect. In the first foot there are frequent examples of elision in the second syllable of the thesis of the dactyl, as well as in the first

[1] Müller *Röm. Metr.*², p. 396.

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syllable of the thesis, i. 169, *vomere et.* This elision also occurs in the fifth foot in the dactylic word-ending, x. 298, *consurgere in.* When the elision is in the second short syllable of the first foot the second element of the elision is not an accented word. There is one apparent exception in the use of *ait*, as in vi. 230, *parcite ait. ait* is a subordinate sentence-word and does not have a prominent accent.[1]

Neque enim or *nec enim* occurs in the second, third, and fourth feet. That in this word-group *neque* and *nec* were hardly distinguishable is supported by various evidence, but we need not go beyond the MSS authority of Lucan. Some of our best Lucan MSS give *nec* in many cases, and in some of these instances our standard editions accept the reading *nec.* See Francken and Hosius[2], i. 632; iii. 464; ix. 42, 243, and the MSS authority quoted in connection with these lines.[2]

In the second, third, and fourth feet elision never occurs in the second syllable of the thesis. Lucan extends the restrictions which apply to the second and third feet also to the fourth, to a greater extent than do the other Roman poets. The careful avoidance of this type of elision in this part of the verse is in harmony with our general theory of the accent, i. e., that the first of two short syllables shall be the more prominent. To weight the second syllable of the thesis with elision would tend to make it more prominent than the first.

The elisions in the first four feet are distributed as follows: in the first, 156; in the second and third, exclusive of 15 examples of *neque enim*, 156; in the fourth, 418.

In the first foot the main sentence-accent may fall on the arsis, as in i. 169, *vomere et*, or on the first syllable of the thesis, as in 173, *inde irae.* Either of the two words forming the elision

[1] The same exceptional use characterizes *inquit* (*Trans.* XXXVI, p. 86, n. 2). Trampe (*De Lucani arte metrica*, 1884, p. 20) rightly regards *ait* as an atonic word, but when (p. 30) he wishes to show that writers other than Lucan have an accented syllable after the elided dactylic word, he classes *erat* as an accented word.

[2] The fact that Lucan avoids such combinations as *neque erat, neque ego, neque adhuc*, which are used by Ovid, is most naturally explained on the assumption that in these cases the final vowel of *neque* was not so fully suppressed. The usage of Lucan in respect to *neque* seems to throw some light on the mooted question of the suppression of the vowel in elided *-que.*

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may be a subordinate sentence-word, or an emphatic word; or both may be subordinate, or both prominent. The two words may be closely connected in thought, or be separated by a sense-pause. The only restriction in regard to the words forming the elision in the first foot seems to be that the second shall not be a long word. In comparatively few cases does it extend beyond the second arsis. In the latter part of his work Lucan does not observe this restriction so fully, and uses words containing as many as 8 morae (cf. ix. 357, 378). The 156 elisions in the second and third feet may be classified as follows:

I. Those in which the first element of the elision is not an inseparable enclitic, *-que*, *-ve*, *-ne*. There are 34 elisions of this type. They may be arranged as follows:

1. The thesis is formed by the first two syllables of a trisyllable.

a) The thesis is formed by a noun: i. 244, *ut notae fulsere aquilae;* ii. 385, *submovisse hiemem;* iii. 427, *nam vicina operi;* 578, *hi luctantem animam;* 623, *effugientem animam;* 751, *festinantem animam;* v. 354, *en, quantum Fortuna umeris;* vi. 714, *descendentem animam;* 732, *infelicem animam;* vii. 769, *inspirasse animas;* 795, *et lustrare oculis;* viii. 157, *quod, submissa animis;* 266, *ingentis praestate animos;* ix. 46, *ancipitis tenuere animos;* 96, *iuris habete animos;* 407, *incendit virtute animos;* 949, *exegere hiemem;* x. 23, *membra viri posuere adytis;* 108, *excepere epulae;* 155, *infundere epulas;* 412, *Thessaliae subducta acies;* 422, *et districta epulis;* vii. 576, *promovet ipse acies;* ix. 763, *mors erat ante oculos.*

b) The thesis is formed by an adverb: ii. 552, *opposuit. Parthorum utinam;* vi. 768, *sit tanti, vixisse iterum.*

2. The thesis is formed by the first syllable of a dissyllable.

a) The thesis is formed by a noun; iv. 565, *exegere enses;* vi. 542, *effodisse orbis;* x. 145, *inposuere orbes.*

b) The thesis is formed by an adjective, i. e., *omnis:* vii. 284, *Romanos odere omnes;* viii. 536, *adsensere omnes;* vii. 650, *eminus, unde omnis.*

Ipse acies, *ante oculos*, and *unde omnis* are regular in regard

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to the accent of the thesis but depart somewhat from the type of the others.[1]

It will be noted in regard to the list quoted that the examples are similar in character. In each case the two words forming the foot are closely related in thought. This fact is of special significance, since the tendency in hexameter and in the more elevated styles of poetry in general is to separate words grammatically belonging together. The formation of word-groups, such as are in harmony with comedy, is as a rule avoided. The tendency in the case of the examples under discussion, in which the words are united owing both to the thought and the elision, would be to lighten the accent on the first of the two words, i. e., the arsis, and to have the main sentence-accent fall on the second word, which is usually a noun. This conclusion receives support from a similar tendency to be observed in a different type of elision (*Trans.* XXXVI, p. 93).

In the majority of cases the second word is a noun. Nouns are found to predominate where a specially strong accent is desired, and avoided where a strong accent is a disturbing element, as, for example, in elision when the elided syllables are separated by a sense-pause (*Trans.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 98). Even when the word containing the thesis is not a noun, it will be seen that it has especial emphasis, as in the case of the adverbs quoted under 1 *b*).

It may also be noted that the large majority of these examples occur in the last half of the *Pharsalia*. I think we may observe in the latter part of the poem a tendency on the part of the poet to emancipate himself somewhat from the thraldom of law to which he felt subject in the earlier books. Trampe (*loc. cit.*, p. 54)

[1] Book iv. 811–24, are pronounced spurious by Francken. In 811 we have *a quibus omne aevi senium*, which is somewhat exceptional in character, and in 824, *concessa est? emere omnes*. That this kind of elision which occurs so rarely in the first half of Lucan should be found twice in this suspected passage is an additional reason for rejecting it. In x. 136, Haskins and Francken read *discubuere illic reges*. This case is the most exceptional to be found in the text of our author, as *illic* would not have a prominent sentence-accent (Lindsay *loc. cit.*, p. 167. 5). I feel confident that *toris* is the correct reading. It has the high authority of the manuscript M, and it has also the approval of Hosius (*N. Jahrb. f. Phil.* 1893, p. 351). It appears to be a reminiscence of Ovid, who twice begins a line with this hemistich, *Metam.* viii. 566; xii. 155.

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states that the last two books are less perfect in form, but the evidence cited illustrates greater freedom of style rather than less regard for form.

II. Excluding *neque enim*, there are 122 cases in which the first element of the elision is an inseparable enclitic. The enclitic is *-que* except in two cases and in these *-ne* occurs. In the majority of these elisions the primary word-accent falls on the second element of the elision, as in those belonging to Class I. While there are no exceptions to this rule when the first element is not an enclitic, there are 30 exceptions when *-que* is used. This is nearly one-fourth of the whole number. This difference in treatment of the two types clearly implies that the accent before *-que* was not the equivalent of the primary accent of other words.

Lucan makes it very plain by the structure of the verse that the caesura does not occur in connection with the elision, except in two lines which contain proper names, vii. 541, 711. Twenty of these elisions are in the third foot.[1]

The sense-pause in the second foot is marked by punctuation in Francken's edition in 18 of these lines and the trithemimeral is clearly the main caesura in the two lines which have no mark of punctuation. In 8 lines the elision is in the second foot and the caesura is in the fourth. In 6 of these the sense-pause, which corresponds with the main caesura, is indicated in our edition by punctuation, and in the two remaining cases the same caesura is clearly indicated by the sense.[2]

The elisions in the fourth foot may be divided into two classes: (1) those in which the first element of the elision is an inseparable enclitic. The enclitic is *-que*, except in some half-dozen cases. The entire number is 220. In 165 of these the second element of the elision is a preposition, or a preposition in composition. (2) those in which the inseparable enclitic does not occur. In 130 of these the second element of the elision is a preposition, or a preposition in composition. In 39 cases the second element

[1] i. 11, 422; ii. 373, 591; iii. 270, 387, 456, 476, 615; iv. 27, 261, 642; v. 622, 629; vi. 567, 653; vii. 357; viii. 746; ix. 742, 1039.

[2] i. 68; ii. 98, 410; iv. 620: v. 307, 675; viii. 5; ix. 794.

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is an unemphatic monosyllable.[1] The remaining cases number only 29.

Though sense-pauses occur with unusual frequency in Lucan in this part of the verse, they do not occur in connection with this elision. Usually the words forming the elision are very closely connected in thought. The poet evidently felt that if this transitional foot were made prominent by a strong accent and weighted by elision it would detract from the impressiveness of the end-rhythm.

For the sake of brevity I shall limit the consideration of Ovid to the first six books of the *Metamorphoses*. Ovid follows the same general principles which we have seen exemplified in Lucan, but in minor points he shows greater freedom.

In the first foot his percentage of elisions is nearly twice as great as in Lucan. An elided dactylic word is sometimes followed by an accented syllable. This elision appears to be used to heighten the artistic effect by giving variety and emphasis.[2]

Elisions in the second and third feet.—The percentage is about twice as high as in Lucan. Classifying them as before, we consider:

I. Those in which the first element of the elision is not an inseparable enclitic. In Ovid we have two classes:

1. Those in which the elision is in the first syllable of the thesis of the dactyl, or in the spondee.[3]

2. Those in which the elision is in the second syllable of the thesis. When the first element of the elision is the final of a dissyllable, the accent is on the first short syllable of the thesis, as may be seen from the examples: i. 250, *sibi enim*, 503; ii. 596; iv. 17, 215, 426, 452; v. 26, 593.[4]

[1] *est* occurs 21 times; *et*, 9; *ac*, 5; *an*, 2; *haec*, 1; *hoc*, 1.

[2] Cf. ii. 118; iii. 153; iv. 39; v. 647.

[3] The following correspond to the norm of Lucan: i. 469, 714; ii. 87; iii. 39; iv. 765, 780; v. 94, 134. The following are slightly different in character: ii. 520, 808; iv. 447, 465; v. 259, 476, 477; vi. 154, 497. The following are exceptional: i. 478, 759; v. 225; vi. 269. This type is justified by the pause-elision. Similar exceptions are frequent in Virgil (see p. 76, n. 2).

[4] ii. 305, *qui dederat currus, nisi opem ferat, omnia fato*, would appear to be an exception and to have the main sentence-accent on the second syllable of the thesis. If this clause is accented as a word-group, *nísi opém ferat*, an accent which is favored and helped by the verse-rhythm, it does not present an exception to the rule.

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When the first element of the elision is the final of a dactylic word, the following word is always an iambic word, though in the first foot a monosyllable often occurs as the second part of the elision. The reason for the difference in treatment is the fact that in the second and third feet the thesis must receive an accent.[1]

II. Those in which the first element of the elision is an inseparable enclitic.

1. The elision is in the first syllable of the thesis of the dactyl, or in the spondee.

a) There are 69 elisions which have a primary accent in the second element of the elision and thus conform to the norm.

b) Those which do not have a primary accent on the second element of the elision. There are 8 elisions of *-que* followed by *et*.[2] *et* belongs more closely to the following word than to the preceding; it often introduces a clause so that there is a definite sense-pause before it. This type of elision is thus usually justified by the law which governs pause-elision.[3]

There are only 15 remaining cases, a much smaller percentage than in Lucan.[4] In these the second element of the elision is formed by the secondary accent of a pollysyllable.

Ovid does not introduce this type of elision without a definite justification. In iv. 10, 15; v. 254, it is justified by the Greek character of the line. In the remaining cases[5] it is justified by the force and vigor of the thought which is strengthened by the

[1] The only question is whether the iambic word retains its word-accent in the sentence. If it does, the second syllable of the thesis receives the accent, but this accent, as we have seen, is not the one favored by Latin poetry. If the iambic word forms a part of a word-group we have the regular accent on the first syllable of the thesis. I have noted the following examples of this type of elision: ii. 85; iii. 289, 417; iv. 215, 752; v. 197, 315, 588. The answer to this question must be deferred to my second paper.

[2] i. 117, 131, 193; ii. 795; iii. 134, 515; v. 459; vi. 514.

[3] In Lucan there are but two such elisions; iv. 27; vii. 711.

[4] I do not include in this number the type *-que dadituque*, iii. 226, 595; iv. 15, 744; vi. 597; cf. p. 71. I also omit vi. 607, *-que in humum*, since the preposition with its case forms a well-recognized word-group and in this type the primary accent is on the preposition, and vi. 185, *quoque audete*. *quoque*, as a sentence-enclitic, would not have a sentence-accent and would hardly be more prominent than the first syllable of *audete*. Thus the foot would conform to the general law of accent which prevails in this part of the verse.

[5] i. 231; ii. 232, 400; iii. 109, 530; iv. 408, 527, 689; v. 233, 360, 421; vi. 47.

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special weight of this rhythm. With one exception the elisions occur in the third foot, whereas by far the great majority of the regular elisions of *-que* (Class *a*) occur in the second foot. When this elision occurs in the third foot the remainder of the line has coincidence of accent and ictus.[1]

Though Ovid is in so many respects less strict in his verse structure than Lucan, his use of this type of elision shows how superior he is in the artistic structure of the verse.

2. Elisions with *-que* in the second syllable of the thesis. In all of these *neque* forms the first part of the elision and the second part is formed by a subordinate sentence-word.[2] It is an extension of the type *neque*, or *nec enim* (cf. p. 68, n. 2), and the sentence-accent falls on the first syllable of the thesis.

The treatment of the fourth foot does not differ materially from that in Lucan. The percentage of cases in which the elision is formed with *-que*, or is formed without either *-que* or a preposition or a preposition in composition, is higher than in Lucan. Ovid, in contrast to the usage of Lucan and Virgil, does not favor the use of the preposition or preposition in composition except when preceded by *-que*.[3]

I shall attempt to summarize briefly Virgil's treatment of elision in the thesis of the first four feet, omitting the last six books of the *Aeneid*. Virgil employs this elision in the first foot somewhat more frequently than Ovid, but compared with the number of elisions occurring in the verse as a whole the percentage in the first foot of Virgil is far smaller than in Ovid. In Virgil the second word forming the elision is frequently a long word, as *Georg.* ii. 80, *plantae immittuntur*, 277, *indulge ordinibus*.

Virgil's treatment of the fourth foot differs in a marked degree from that of Lucan and Ovid. In Lucan there are three times as many elisions in the fourth foot as in the first; in Ovid twice as many. In Virgil there are less in the fourth than in the first foot. In Lucan, in a majority of the elisions, *-que* forms the first

[1] iii. 109, *mox umeri pectusque oneretaque bracchia tellis*, is somewhat exceptional.

[2] *enim* occurs 17 times, *adhuc* 4 times, *erat*, *erit*, *eum* once each.

[3] Elision occurs in the second syllable of the thesis in ii. 376.

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element; in Ovid nearly 75 per cent. are so formed. In the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* only about 20 per cent. of the elisions have an inseparable enclitic as the first element.

In the second and third feet the percentage of elisions in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* is about twice as high as in Lucan. Considering first those elisions which do not include the inseparable enclitic, we find that the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* contain about twice as many as all Lucan. While in Lucan there are no exceptions to the rule that the second element of the elision should have a primary accent, and only three in Ovid, in Virgil we find that one-third of the whole number are exceptions. Even in those elisions in Virgil which are regular in regard to the accent, both words forming the elision may be unimportant sentence-words, or the first may be a subordinate word, such as a sentence-enclitic. The second of the two words forming the elision does not appear in any case to be the less prominent and thus have the lighter accent. In this respect they conform to the norm of Lucan.

In Virgil about one-third of the elisions in which the first element is formed by the inseparable enclitic are irregular. The exceptional cases, including both those formed with the enclitic and those without, appear to be used with a definite purpose. These exceptions do not indicate that the poet devoted less attention to the outward form of the verse than did those whose verse is regarded as more "correct." It is not so easy to classify each line in Virgil and to determine the exact relation of the rhythm to the thought as in Ovid. We may, however, note the conditions under which these elisions occur, and in most cases we can feel the special relation of the exceptional rhythm to the thought. The *Eclogues* do not show in the use of this elision the boldness which appears in the *Georgics* and which attains to its full development in the *Aeneid*. In the *Eclogues* there are 24 of these elisions; 13 are entirely regular and some of the remaining number would hardly be felt to be exceptions, as *atque adversos*, x. 45. The exceptional form is used a few times to give a conversational tone to the verse, as in vii. 8; x. 21, and also when the elision is in the second syllable of the thesis, iv. 88, 102; vi. 6.

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We may classify the exceptional elisions in Virgil as follows:[1]

1) Those which have a sense-pause between the vowels of the elision. When the second element of the elision is a syllable long in quantity, the rule here under consideration yields to the rule of pause-elision; when the second element of the elision is short the present rule sometimes prevails.[2]

2) Those which are introduced to give a light, conversational tone and thus break the regularity of the stately hexameter.[3]

3) Those which occur in lines containing proper names, especially Greek names.[4]

4) Those which are used to reinforce the thought.[5]

The effect of the rhythm produced by elision in the first syllable of the thesis somewhat resembles that of the feminine caesura, since the word-accent in both cases falls on the arsis. It is used in a similar way and is subject to similar rules (cf. Havet, pp. 100, 101; Norden *Verg.* VI, pp. 421 ff.).[6]

[1] I omit those cases in which the arsis of the foot containing the elision is formed by a sentence-enclitic, such as *atque* or a dissyllabic preposition.

It is to be noted that these classes are not absolutely distinct. Some of the exceptions are of such a nature that they might be classed under either one of two or three headings. For example, some of those characterized by pause-elision also contain Greek names.

[2] These elisions are of special interest because the subject of pause-elision is here approached from the opposite point of view from that adopted in *Trans.* XXXVI, pp. 82 ff., and the same conclusions are reached. The most marked exception to the accent of the thesis in Ovid comes under this head of pause-elision (see p. 72, n. 3), and in Virgil we have the following numerous cases in the first six books of the *Aeneid:* i. 101, 119, 295, 458, 566, 653, 660; ii. 7, 413, 465, 523, 705, 772; iii. 311, 622, 652, 657; iv. 87, 244, 274, 667; v. 20, 206, 630, 703; vi. 289, 447, 650.

[3] The effect of this type of elision is clearly seen in Horace's *Satires*, but is most effectively illustrated by *Sat.* ii. 3. This kind of elision is a characteristic feature of his satire and differentiates it from his epistles, and still more from the epic verse. We have noted illustrations of this type in the *Eclogues;* they are comparatively rare in the *Aeneid.* We may class as such i. 326; iii. 382, v. 411.

[4] i. 416, 550, ii. 393, iii. 271, 351, 589; iv. 7, 75, 348, 367; v. 223, 407, 537, 576; vi. 289, 447, 650.

[5] The conditions under which these are used are the same as we noted in Ovid. Comparatively few of these elisions seem to be employed to give variety of rhythm in contrast to emphasis: i. 359, 420, 465; ii. 16, 20, 497, 593, 609, 653, 722; iii. 38, 298, 315, 357, 382, 427, 549, 658, 674; iv. 168, 280, 297, 532, 564, 602; v. 70, 307, 318, 396, 408, 411, 447, 480, 504, 567, 570, 705, 780; vi. 150, 244, 279, 594, 597, 636.

[6] The reason for the unvaried use of trisyllables in the dactylic foot and of the dissyllable in the spondaic foot, and the avoidance of the type *amata erat*, corresponding to ii. 56, *vacet tibi*, and of *amata est*, corresponding to i. 99, *fuit non*, involves the consideration of the sentence-accent, which will be taken up in the second

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Not including cases of elision already considered, the thesis of the dactyl in the second and third feet in Lucan is formed as follows:

1) By a pyrrhic word, by the first two syllables of a tribrach, or of an anapaest. The first short syllable of the dactyl receives the accent.

2) By the first two syllables of a word of four or more syllables. The first short syllable of the dactyl receives the secondary accent. There is but one example in our text of the type – ⏑ ⏑ – ×.[1]

3) By a monosyllable closely connected in thought with the following word which consists of two or more syllables. These cases, though comparatively infrequent, resemble those under *b*. Compare *pér-hiántis* with *pérhibébant*.

4) By the final syllable of a trochaic word or ending. This is without exception followed by an iambic word or its equivalent as regards accent.[2] It would be sufficient to note this fact in order to show that this part of Latin verse accords with my general theory, i. e., that, if the first of the two short syllables does not receive an accent, the second receives a compensatory accent. But this theory would not account for all the phenomena involved in the case.

Two explanations have been advanced to account for the fact that the two words forming this type of dactyl are closely related in thought, and that the second of the two is an iambic word.

paper. The relative infrequency of elision in this part of the hexameter has often been noted. Trampe (*loc. cit.*, p. 20) refers to the restricted use, in this part of the verse in Lucan, of words other than those ending in *-e*. In the case of the dactyl the proportion of those in *-e* forming the first element of the elision is not much larger in this class of elisions than it is in the first book of the *Aeneid*, as a whole. I have not found any explanation advanced for the rarity of this elision, or even mention of the fact that in Lucan, without exception, and in other poets, as a rule, the anapaestic or spondaic word forms the second element of the elision.

[1] i. 488, *sedibus exiliere patres*. This may be an example of an exceptional usage which appears in comedy (see p. 52) and is found in Virgil (xi. 900). It is possible that Lucan wrote *sedibus ex saliere*. In Lucretius (v. 949) the approved reading is *quibus e scibant*, though the MSS gives *quibus escibant*. Lucan MSS (ii. 273) vary between *in casum* and *incassum* (Haskins *loc. cit.*, note on passage). *ex* often stands after its case, as in Lucretius; in Lucan the preposition *in* is similarly placed (vii. 776).

[2] The only cases in which the iambic word does not occur are in the two types: (1) i. 209, *erexitque urbem et*, a pyrrhic word followed by a sense-pause; (2) iv. 283, *nulla data est*, a pyrrhic word followed by *est*, which is the only word thus used; and in (3) two instances of *sat est*, v. 137; ix. 388.

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The usual explanation is that by this method the feminine caesura is avoided and the masculine caesura is introduced into the following foot.

This theory does not adequately account for the existing phenomena. If the view is accepted that the caesura is not determined by the thought, the fact that the words forming the dactyl are as a rule so closely related loses its significance. If, on the other hand, the theory is accepted that the caesura accords with the sense-pauses the regular occurrence of the iambic word is without meaning in lines of the following type: i. 406, *urguet rupe cava pelegis: non corus in illum.* Let us examine Trampe's explanation as given in his admirable monograph. He admits but two examples of the feminine caesura in all Lucan (*loc. cit.*, p. 71). But if we apply his own theory, that the caesura may occur between words as closely related as the preposition and its case (p. 53) instead of two feminine caesurae, we might have nearer two thousand. Again, we cannot admit the distinction which he makes between the two cases cited and a score of others; for example, between ix. 109, *sic ubi fata, caput ferali obduxit amictu*, and vi. 719, *haec ubi fata caput spumantiaque ora levavit.* These all belong to one general class and are treated in the same way by the poet. Accordingly, we do not find any case like the following in *Aen.* i. 290: *accipies secura; vocabitur hic quoque votis.*

Professor Heitland (*Jour. Phil.* 1898, p. 10) suggests an explanation which attempts to account for the regular occurrence of the iambic word. He says: "That a feminine division followed by an iambic word afforded the best possible means for making a strong pause is shown by the history of the ending of the Latin hexameter." This theory implies that the pause is the most essential element to be taken into account in the verse-close of the pentameter, and not the accent or ictus. This view does not find support either in the usage of other metres or of prose.

In my second paper, which will appear in a later number of this volume, I shall consider the sentence-accent in relation to hexameter verse and shall seek to prove that the structure of the verse is largely affected by word-groups and their accent.

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THE SUBJUNCTIVE IN CONSECUTIVE CLAUSES

By J. J. Schlicher

The current explanation of the Latin subjunctive in consecutive clauses holds that it is in its origin a potential, or mood of limited or modified assertion.[1] This explanation is unsatisfactory for several reasons. In the first place, it does not account in a convincing manner for the use of the mood in those consecutive clauses which express a fact, as well as in those which express a tendency or possibility. Elsewhere in the language the potential subjunctive represents things as likely to happen, as possible, as sure to happen under conceivable conditions, and the mood thus serves to distinguish things of this sort from those which actually do, did, or will happen, and which are expressed by the indicative. How could the subjunctive come, in consecutive clauses, to express both kinds of ideas, to the entire or the partial exclusion of the indicative?

This assumed extension of the powers of the potential is spoken of[2] as "an easy transition," and a somewhat detailed explanation of it is given by Professor Hale in one of his articles on "The Sequence of Tenses."[3] According to this view the consecutive clause was originally an independent expression of limited assertion, which in due time became a subordinate clause of limited assertion. And finally this subordinate clause of limited assertion became one of unlimited assertion. This last step in its development the writer explains as follows: "Next there intrudes into the idea conveyed by the construction, which does not in itself deal with the world of reality, an idea that squints at that world. If I say, 'He is such a man as never to lie,' I might as well have said, 'He is a man who never lies,' and might, indeed, very easily

[1] Bennett *Appendix* to the *Latin Grammar*, pp. 200, 201, 216. Lane *Latin Grammar*, § 1818. Hale "The Sequence of Tenses," *Am. Jour. Phil.* VIII, p. 49, and "Cum-Construktionen," p. 120; Allen and Greenough *Latin Grammar*, §§ 534, 536.

[2] Bennett *Appendix*, p. 202.

[3] *Am. Jour. Phil.* VIII, p. 51.

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be quoted as having said that precise thing. In many Latin sentences, in fact, it is impossible to be sure whether limited or unlimited predication is meant. And so the thing felt and the thing said come to be confused, and the construction of the latter is used to express the idea of the former; or, in other words, in the Latin language the mood of characterizing predication limited becomes also, in relative sentences, the mood of characterizing predication unlimited."

The weak point in this explanation is the absence of a good reason why this extension of the powers of the mood should take place only in consecutive clauses. Why, for instance, did not the independent sentence, "He would not lie," in the same manner crowd out the indicative, "He does not lie"? Or, for that matter, why did not the indicative, in its turn, crowd out the subjunctive?

Apart from this, it is perfectly true, of course, that one may sometimes express himself about certain facts or circumstances with equal veracity either by the subjunctive or the indicative, and this is especially true of general conclusions, like the one in the illustration just quoted, which are drawn from a certain amount of evidence that the speaker has before him. The choice of mood will depend on whether the speaker is habitually outspoken or cautious; it will depend on his own mood at the time, on his audience, on his relation to the matter under discussion, or on other conditions too numerous to mention. It is in such a case primarily not a question at all of the bare external facts. For it occurs rarely, if at all, that the speaker has an absolutely complete knowledge of these facts. We may say that a certain man never lies, but if we do so, we speak with disregard of the necessary incompleteness of our knowledge; we express the truth so far as we see it, but in a manner as if we saw it all. If we are at all cautious, we will say that the man "would never lie."

There is a vital difference, then, between the indicative statement and the subjunctive, to the mind of the speaker and to the mind of the hearer, even though the external facts about which that statement is made are the same. And this is the really essential point. For language is the expression of what is in the mind, not necessarily of what is outside, of the mental attitude toward

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or conception of the external world, not of this world itself. Now this difference of conception or attitude was defined and accentuated in Latin by a consistent difference in the form of the verb. There was just as much difference between the indicative and the subjunctive in Latin as there is between "does not lie" and "would not lie" in English. And as the subjunctive was in the language generally associated with qualified as opposed to unqualified assertion, it will be necessary to show a very special reason in the case of the consecutive clause, if we are to admit that the distinction was broken down here only.

This will not be an easy thing to do. For it is certain that there is nothing in the nature of the consecutive relation itself that would make such a confusion natural or probable. The domination of the subjunctive is in fact a characteristic peculiar to the subordinate consecutive clause alone. For in those cases where the consecutive relation exists between independent, or rather paratactic, clauses, the dictinction between indicative and potential subjunctive is everywhere tenaciously observed.[1]

There are, of course, among the subordinate consecutive clauses also many examples in which the force of the subjunctive is really that which goes by the name of potential. But if we insist on thrusting this fact into the foreground of the discussion, and thus bring ourselves to a sharp realization of the gap between these clauses and those in which the mood expresses a fact, and if we then try to bridge this chasm without further ado, we are merely looking at the problem from a difficult and unprofitable point of view, and are attacking it from a side which promises the least possible hope of success.

This difficulty is, however, but one of those which the "potential" theory has to contend with. There is still another, which is even more formidable. Certain facts about the mood in consecutive clauses are made tolerably clear by the evidence. In general it is plain that the subjunctive has the upper hand. However, if the subordinate clause begins with a relative and the main clause is positive, a certain field is still left for the indica-

[1] Compare, for example, *Aul.* 410: totus doleo atque oppido perii: ita me iste habuit senex gymnasium, with *Capt.* 464, 465: nam hercle ego huic diei, si liceat, oculos ecfodiam lubens: ita malignitate oneravit omnis mortalis mihi.

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tive, though as time goes on the subjunctive appears to be gaining ground here also. On the other hand, if the main clause is negative, then the subjunctive alone is used in the subordinate clause from the beginning. The most favorable environment for the consecutive subjunctive was then clearly a negative in the main clause. And the primary and original force of the mood itself, therefore, must necessarily be one which will fit these peculiar conditions—that is, one which will naturally go with a negative in the main clause.

And here the subjunctive of limited assertion is entirely out of the question. For an assertion such as the potential makes, limited and qualified though it may be, is nevertheless an assertion. It is limited only because the speaker's power, or the evidence at his disposal, from which he draws his conclusion, is limited. And a statement of this sort, to which the speaker commits himself to the full extent of his knowledge or his power, is surely the direct opposite of a denial, or a negative.

An illustration will perhaps make the point clearer. In the discussion by Professor Hale which has just been referred to, the development of the consecutive clause from the paratactic to the hypotactic stage is illustrated by these steps: "(*a*) You'd easily understand it; it is a very simple thing. (*b*) It is a very simple thing; you'd easily understand it. (*c*) It is a very simple thing so that you'd easily understand it."[1] That would of course be a sufficient explanation in this particular case. But this is not the sort of case that most loudly calls for explanation, for it is clearly not the earliest developed or the most typical form of the consecutive sentence. The earliest and most typical form would rather read: "It is *not* such a simple thing that you'd easily understand it." And if we reduce this to the paratactic stage by retracing the steps just taken, we arrive at an absurdity: "You'd easily understand it; it is not such a simple thing."

Now, to be sure, an effort may be made to escape this conclusion by assuming that a sentence like *nihil est quod dare possim* is for practical purposes equivalent to *nihil dare possim*. To this we need only say that there is no more significance in it

[1] *Am. Jour. Phil.* VIII, p. 50.

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than in the assumption that the English sentence, "There were two trees in the street which the men have cut down," is for practical purposes equivalent to, "The men have cut down the two trees in the street," or in the reduction of any complex sentence to a simple one. The two are equivalent "for practical purposes," it is true, but only in the sense that an ox is for practical purposes equivalent to a horse. And besides, the interchangeability of these two forms would not enable us to take a single step toward explaining why the consecutive clause with the negative antecedent was the earliest in point of development, or why it should exclude the indicative, while the one with the positive antecedent admits it.

Still there is a grain of truth, after all, in the view that the main clause in these sentences is not of preponderant importance. When we examine the cases where a consecutive relation exists between two paratactic sentences—as, for example, "He will not (or would not) do it; he is such an honest man"—we find that the part which corresponds to the main clause of the hypotactic form almost invariably stands last. This clause, "he is such an honest man," is in fact, when we come to look at it, nothing more than an additional effort to impress the preceding statement, "he will not do it," more forcibly upon the mind of the hearer. Another method is employed, but the speaker's object is the same as in this previous assertion. The point which we need to keep in mind, then, is just this, that the second of these two assertions, which becomes the main clause of the fully developed consecutive sentence—in the present case, "he is such an honest man"—contains in reality nothing more than a reaffirmation of what is already expressed, less distinctly perhaps, and less forcibly, by the first assertion, "he would not do it."

Now, in the earliest type of the consecutive sentence, as we saw, this originally supplementary or reinforcing assertion, which later became the main clause, contains a negative, or the equivalent of a negative. And if this negative did serve to express more distinctly and forcibly the same idea which was expressed by the other clause, surely that clause must then likewise have been negative in its force. So in the sentence, "It is not so cold that

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you need an overcoat," the speaker's attitude toward the idea of the subordinate clause, "that you need an overcoat," is undoubtedly a negative one: he refuses to admit that "you need an overcoat;" but this refusal, this negative attitude, is most clearly and distinctly expressed in the accompanying clause, by the word "not."

Our next question must be to inquire what use of the subjunctive that can be which expresses this negative attitude; for, as we know, in these negative forms, which were at the same time the earliest forms, we find no indicatives at all. And the answer must undoubtedly be that it is the same use of the subjunctive which expresses an unwillingness to accept or to vouch for a foreign idea in other cases, in indirect discourse, for instance, in the rejected reason after *non quo* or *non quia*, and in the subjunctive exclamations of surprise or indignation. Of these various constructions the most instructive and profitable for comparison, because the most primitive, is undoubtedly the indignant exclamation.[1] A very close parallel can easily be shown to exist between this exclamation and the consecutive clause. For a considerable number of different types of this clause can readily be duplicated in parataxis, as it were, with the exclamation standing in the same relation to its paratactic companion, as the consecutive clause stands to its principal clause.[2]

The type *ita* (*tam*, *tantus*) *ut* (Hor. *Sat.* ii. 5. 18):

> utne tegam spurco Damae latus? haud ita Troiae
> me gessi.

The type *factum ut* (Plaut. *Men.* 683, 684):

mihi tu ut dederis pallam et spinter? numquam factum reperies.

[1] There is a wide difference in meaning between the exclamations which have the indicative and those which have the subjunctive. The former do not express a negative or unwilling attitude, or reject another's word or thought, but rather reflect an inability on the part of the speaker to grasp the thought fully or readily. A full comparison between the two has been made by the writer in an article, "The Moods of Indirect Quotation," *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXVI (1905), pp. 76–79.

[2] A relation between the subjunctive exclamation and the consecutive clause, as well as many other clauses, has been suggested by A. Dittmar in his *Studien z. lat. Moduslehre* (1897). While in the first of these points his theory coincides with that here presented, the present writer does, of course, not wish to be understood as agreeing with Dittmar's interpretations or as accepting his general position. Indeed, it is but fair to say that the views here presented had been formed in their main outlines, and in large part elaborated, before the writer became acquainted with Dittmar's book.

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The type *quam ut* (Ter. *Phorm.* 955, 956):

hicine ut a nobis hoc tantum argenti auferat?
tam aperte inridens? emori hercle satius est.

The type *non verisimile ut* (Ter. *Hec.* 139, 140):

sese illa abstinere ut potuerit?
non verisimile dicis ne verum arbitror.

The type *istuc* (*hoc, illud*) *ut* (Plaut. *Epid.* 225):

Pe. utin impluvium induta fuerit? *Ep.* quid istuc tam mirabilest?

The type *is qui* (Cic. *Phil.* vi. 3. 5):

huic denuntiationi ille pareat? ille se fluvio Rubicone et CC milibus circumscriptum esse patiatur? non is est Antonius.

It will be well to inquire a little further, just what this subjunctive of negative attitude involves. For it does really involve much more than the attitude of absolute refusal which is represented by such types as *non ita ut* and *nemo est qui*. In an exclamation of surprise, as in primitive expressions of emotion generally, the extent of the application is necessarily but very vaguely defined. The exclamation, "He an honest man!" may mean, "Never!" but it may also mean," Yes, sometimes;" or, "Yes, but he is the only one!" or, "Yes, if it is to his advantage!" That is, in addition to the purely negative attitude, the absolute refusal to entertain the idea, the exclamation may even amount to a limited acceptance of it, provided that in the main the speaker's attitude is still negative. In relative clauses, for example, we should find the subjunctive used first and exclusively in cases like, "There is no one who wants to go;" then further in, "There is only one who wants to go," and, "He is the only one who wants to go," "There are but few who want to go," and, "They are the only ones, the first ones, the last ones, who want to go," "There are not many who want to go," and finally, "There are some, we admit, who want to go," or simply, "There are some who want to go." An instructive parallel of such an expansive use of the mood is found in the subjunctive of indirect discourse, where the same form is employed to express the absolute refusal to accept a foreign idea, on the one hand, and from that all the way down to cases where there is really no such refusal on the

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speaker's part, but where he is merely assigning the idea to its proper author.

But in addition to this growth of the construction by the natural expansion, as we may say, of the embryonic form, there is another, which must not be denied its due share in the development. After reaching the stage of subordination or hypotaxis, a construction acquires new rights. It may now, for instance, change from negative to positive, or vice versa, with perfect freedom, even though originally the one, or the other, was the very basis and condition of its existence. So we may say, *non hortor ut*, although the clause with *ut* in the beginning presupposed exhortation itself, and not the absence of it. Just so an original *nemo est qui* might develop a positive form *est qui*, *sunt qui*, or even *multi sunt qui*, though the latter forms, with the subjunctive at least, when stating a fact, may have been originally impossible.

Having thus found a secure starting-point for the full later development of the consecutive clause with the subjunctive, we may now turn our attention to the mood itself. Here the first and most prominent fact that meets us is, that the Latin language does not make any distinction between actuality and possibility, at least not in the clauses with *ut*, and not to any full extent in those with a relative. Where in Greek there is the sharp division into those with the indicative and those with the infinitive after ὥστε, and in English a corresponding distinction between the fact after "so that" and the tendency after "so as to," in Latin we have the same subjunctive used for both alike. And it is safe to say that where there was no distinction in the means of expression, there was no distinction—at least no decisive, compelling distinction—in thought. This is all the more strange when we consider that the language is elsewhere quite careful to make this distinction between what is conceived of as fact, and what is conceived of as possible only, or likely, or sure to happen under certain conditions. More than that, even consecutive clauses themselves, when they are paratactic and not subordinate, also show this difference of mood with great clearness and consistency.

If it was natural then to make this distinction in the language generally, the absence of it in the *ut* clause of result points to a

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certain lack of vitality in the mood of the clause, to a certain rigidity and ossification, which shows that the whole clause was no longer a free, living, sensitive expression of a shade of thought, but rather a symbol for a fixed concept. That the mood was the subjunctive, was due to the way in which the clause originated, but the precise mood had to some extent become a matter of indifference. Even in the clause with *qui* where both the indicative and the subjunctive are used, it is often almost impossible to see any difference between them.

It is necessary, however, to guard against a misconception of these remarks. They do not in any way mean that the Romans were never aware of a difference between those consecutive clauses which expressed what had existence, and those which expressed merely a possible or conceivable state of things. Of course, they would see the difference at once if their attention was attracted to it. But the important fact in the case is just this, that in the absence of a difference in the mode of expression to bring out this distinction, their attention would not naturally be directed to it, and the lifelong use of such an undiscriminating form of speech, if we may use the term, would keep their attention, as a matter of habit, from turning to it spontaneously. We must perforce, therefore, assume a national lack of sensitiveness to such distinction as was usually made by the moods, in this particular clause at least.

The question how the mood could to such an extent lose its ordinary power of expression, is not by any means a difficult or hopeless one. If we examine the form of the consecutive clause in Latin, we are struck by the narrow bounds within which it is for the most part confined. The *ut*-clause depends in the great majority of cases upon a preceding *ita*, *hoc*, *tantum*, or a similar demonstrative word—a state of things which is found in an equally pronounced form in parataxis. The subordinate clause with *ut* seems in fact to have become, grammatically, nothing more than a modifier of this preceding demonstrative—so entirely subordinate to it that it is not really a separate statement of the result of the action in the main clause, but rather a complex adverb modifying, or rather explaining, a particular word in it. The whole clause, that is to say, is only a very elaborate *ita* or *hoc*.

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The explanation for this condition of things is not far to seek. We found that, in a sentence like *ita non est validus ut haec faciat*, the clause *ita non est validus* was, in the beginning, merely a more definite statement of the speaker's attitude toward the idea of the "man's doing this," than the subjunctive *faciat* alone was in itself; that is, the negative and the subjunctive both expressed the same attitude of the speaker toward the thought—the subjunctive vaguely and elusively, and the negative clearly and tangibly, and without possibility of mistake. Now, when such a vague and such a clear form of speech existed side by side in the same sentence, it can not be doubtful which of the two would be felt as the really significant expression. It was the negative in the main clause, the *nemo est*, the *solus est*, the *non ita*, and later the *ita*, *hoc*, *tantum*, etc., which received the emphasis, monopolized the speaker's and the hearer's attention, and thus secured the place of prominence in their minds. The subjunctive in the other clause was cast into the shade, beaten at its own tricks, as it were, and forced to the position of a somewhat inefficient and now rather worn-out piece of equipment, so far as the main purpose of the expression was concerned.

In one sense this very obscurity and insignificance of the mood in the subordinate clause became its salvation. Like the insect in the amber, it preserved its form intact, and the consecutive clause was one of the constructions which were least and last affected by the general process of decay into which the language fell during the last centuries of the empire.

Though the mood in this clause may have been rather lifeless, however, it was still a regular form of the verb, which elsewhere in the language continued to perform its full functions of expression. Necessarily then it must, even in the consecutive clause, have continued to produce a rather definite impression on the hearer's mind, even if that impression alone no longer contributed in a decisive way to the comprehension of the speaker's thought. In the original form of the clause, with the negative antecedent, the attitude of the speaker toward the idea expressed by the subordinate part was a negative one, pure and simple. A sentence like this, for example, "The house is not so large that

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there is room for all," amounts really to an expression, on the speaker's part, that he is not able to accept the idea "that there is room for all," which is therefore, so far as he is concerned, a foreign element in his mind, as much so as would ever be the case in indirect discourse. And if we are correct in our view of the matter, this feeling of the foreignness of the idea expressed by the subjunctive must, in some degree at least, have survived even when the mood was used in clauses with a positive antecedent. That is, even when we remove the negative from the sentence given above, so as to make it read, "The house is so large that there is room for all," the idea "there is room for all" is still felt by the speaker to be a thing apart from his own active thought, a sort of external standard, by which he is measuring his own idea of the house. In other words, the idea "there is room for all" is a more or less complete unit, which has a meaning and a value quite independently of his own thought and experience—a sort of abstract concept, which he may use as an element in his thinking and may comprehend, but toward which he stands in no personal relation whatever. It is the product of the thinking of other people, and is felt to have a more or less abiding force as a consequence of its existing in their minds. When Plautus says of the Menaechmi,

> ei sunt natei filii geminei duo,
> ita forma simili puerei, ut mater sua
> non internosse posset quae mammam dabat,
> neque adeo mater ipsa quae illos pepererat,

he is stating his view of the degree of their likeness in terms of a general concept, "their own mother did not know them apart," which has a certain fixed value, much like a complex adverb, in the minds of the audience as well as his own, even before the words are uttered. If one says, "There are people who deceive their friends," he is merely asserting the existence of such people as are described by the terms of the general concept "who deceive their friends," which likewise the hearer has in his mind, fully grasped and clearly defined, beforehand.

It is this feeling on the speaker's part, that in the consecutive clause after *ut* and *qui* he is not resting upon his own thought

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exclusively, that justifies the use of the subjunctive after positive as well as negative antecedents. For this is the mood in Latin which expresses ideas that are not felt to be originally one's own. The suggestion of foreignness is, of course, not always equally strong, but varies widely, just as it does in indirect discourse. There is much the same relation, as we have already stated, between the ordinary positive form of consecutive clause and the stronger, original type with a negative antecedent, that exists between the ordinary subjunctive of indirect discourse, which merely assigns a quotation to its author, without explicitly accepting or rejecting it, on the one hand, and the absolute denial of responsibility for the foreign idea, and the positive refusal to accept it, on the other.

We have so far pursued the main line of development in the history of this construction — the line which this development naturally followed when uninfluenced by other constructions. No form of speech, however, does or can altogether live such an isolated life, unless it has the exclusive use of the machinery of expression employed by it. So long as a mood, for instance, is associated with a number of different uses at the same time, these will, if conditions are favorable, necessarily exert an influence upon each other.

So the consecutive clause with *ut* stood alongside a clause of purpose with *ut*. After certain verbs, like those of effecting, the clause might even in one time-sphere express a purpose, and in another time-sphere a result. We shall not be going too far in our claims if we assume that the complete monopoly possessed by the subjunctive in the expression of purpose must, under such conditions, have been a strong influence tending to establish and maintain a like monopoly for the subjunctive with *ut* in expressions of result also. That is, we can easily see how the consecutive clause with *ut* could come to have only a subjunctive, even though the consecutive clause with the relative had both the subjunctive and the indicative.

The consecutive clause with the relative was for its part naturally subject to a number of influences which tended to ally it

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with certain other clauses introduced by a relative. For example, we observed the relationship and development of a series of these consecutive clauses, ranging from *nemo est qui* to *sunt qui* and *multi sunt qui*. It is evident that, while in *nemo est qui* the attitude of the speaker's mind toward the thought of the subordinate clause is absolutely negative, in cases like *sunt qui* it has become positive, and in *multi sunt qui* very much so. Now, as soon as we have a case where the reserve with which the mind gives its assent to a proposition is relatively small—that is, where the full acceptance of the proposition depends only on the removal of obstacles or the supplying of proper conditions—we have precisely the sort of case in which the so-called potential is generally employed. And whenever a variety of the consecutive clause reached this point, it would inevitably fall under the influence of those forms of assertion that contained a potential and would, as it were, henceforth owe a double allegiance. This alliance of the consecutive clause with a use of the subjunctive in which the mood still possessed a vigorous independent life and could still adequately express an idea in an independent statement, could not help but have a reviving effect upon the debility which was overtaking the mood in these consecutive clauses. The subjunctive might thus even here again be felt to have some independent sufficiency as a means of expression in itself, and would continue on a career of its own as a subordinate subjunctive of limited assertion. It will be observed, however, that it would not then be possible any longer to draw a sharp line between a consecutive clause which makes a limited assertion, on the one hand, and the subordinate potential clause, on the other.

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

HIRTIUS' LETTER TO BALBUS AND THE COMMENTARIES OF CAESAR

In the archetype of all extant manuscripts of Caesar's *Gallic War* the opening sentence of the letter to Balbus prefixed to the eighth book probably read as follows:

Coactus adsiduis tuis vocibus, Balbe, cum cotidiana mea recusatio non difficultatis excusationem, sed inertiae videretur deprecationem habere, difficillimam rem suscepi: Caesaris nostri commentarios rerum gestarum Galliae non comparantibus superioribus atque insequentibus eius scriptis contexui novissimumque imperfectum ab rebus gestis Alexandriae confeci usque ad exitum non quidem civilis dissensionis, cuius finem nullum videmus, sed vitae Caesaris.

The first difficulty is met with in the word *comparantibus*. Oudendorp, following earlier editors, reads *comparandos*, remarking: "Fateor, me haec non intelligere *Caesaris . . . . contexui*." Nipperdey adopts Schneider's reading *conhaerentibus;* Frigell has *comparibus;* Holder, *conquadrantibus;* Kübler, following Landgraf, writes *conspirantibus* (cf. Cic. *N. D.* ii. 19); and Meusel adopts Bernhardy's emendation *competentibus*. These conjectures exhaust the more obvious possibilities. If the manuscripts had either *conspirantibus*, *competentibus*, or *cohaerentibus*, no question regarding the soundness of the text would be raised; and paleographically the origin of *comparantibus* from any one of the three words by a copyist's blunder would be easy to account for, especially if we assume that the scribe was copying from a manuscript written in capitals. But the use of *conspirare* or *competere* in such a connection seems as harsh as that of *comparare* which, with or without *inter se*, is so used of a division of provinces or functions by public officers as to suggest the meaning "fit together" for our passage; cf. Liv. xl. 46: *censores, ... non possumus non vereri ne male comparati sitis*, "you are badly matched," i. e., you are not fitted to get along well together. The meaning of our passage is that the earlier and the later "writings" of Caesar do not join or fit together, that the commentaries on the *Gallic War* and those on the *Civil War* are separated by a gap. Hirtius, viewing the two groups of "commentaries" as in reality parts of a single work, bridged this gap by interjecting a "commentary" (praef. 3: *qui me mediis interposuerim Caesaris scriptis*), which has been transmitted to modern times in the Caesarian corpus as book viii of the *Gallic War;* but *cohaerere* suggests a closer connection

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of thought and argument than is implied by the context. On the whole, Du Pontet seems to be justified in retaining *comparantibus;* that in the same letter *comparari* is found with the commoner signification "be compared" (praef. 9) is not remarkable in the case of a writer having so labored a style as Hirtius.

In *commentarios rerum gestarum* we should probably recognize the title which Caesar himself gave to his work (cf. *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* XXXVI, 1905, pp. 211 ff.); and since *contexui* (literally "I have woven together") can only refer to Hirtius' bridging of the chasm between Caesar's earlier and later "writings," *commentarios* must include the "commentaries" on the Civil as well as those on the Gallic War. While the rejection of *Galliae* from the text on syntactical grounds would not be justified (cf. *B. G.* viii. 48. 10, *res Galliae gestas; B. C.* i. 4. 5, *itinere Asiae*), its use here limiting *commentarios rerum gestarum* to the *Gallic War* is inconsistent with the obvious meaning, and it has the appearance of a gloss. Holder and Meusel, following Vielhaber, bracket *Galliae*, which should be rejected from the text with as little hesitation as *in hibernis* from the first sentence of book ii of the *Gallic War*.

With *novissimum* we should supply, not *librum* or *scriptum*, but *commentarium*, whether the reference is to the second of the two *volumina* which Caesar left on the Civil War (the third book as the work is divided in the editions; cf. *Class. Jour.* II, pp. 49 ff.), which ends with the words: *haec initia belli Alexandrini fuerunt*, or to an unfinished third roll containing the earlier chapters of the *Bellum Alexandrinum* (*Wien. Stud.* XIV, pp. 75–119). Though recording the fact (*B. G.* viii. 48. 10) that Caesar treated the events of each year in a single "commentary," Hirtius in his interjected "commentary" covered the operations of two years; and he considered his narrative of events from the beginning of the Alexandrian war to the end of Caesar's life a completion of Caesar's unfinished "commentary." Whether the matter of this supplement was arranged in one or more books we do not know, nor can we explain why the interjected "commentary" has been preserved while the supplement, or at least the greater part of it, has been lost. Had the whole supplement come into the hands of Balbus with the other, we may suppose that it would have been published at the same time; if the final revision and the sending of the latter part of it to Balbus were prevented by the death of Hirtius (in April, 43 B. C.), we may conjecture that Balbus tried to make good the loss by persuading different persons who were eye-witnesses of the operations of the African and Spanish wars to write concerning them, and that this is the reason why we find so great a diversity of style and treatment in the last three books of the Caesarian corpus; the problem of the composition of the *Alexandrian War* is too complicated to be touched upon here.

FRANCIS W. KELSEY

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SOPHOCLES *OEDIPUS TYRANNUS* 40–45

νῦν τ', ὦ κράτιστον πᾶσιν Οἰδίπου κάρα,
ἱκετεύομέν σε πάντες οἵδε πρόστροποι
ἀλκήν τιν' εὑρεῖν ἡμίν — εἴτε του θεῶν
φήμην ἀκούσας εἴτ' ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς οἴσθά που —
ὡς τοῖσιν ἐμπείροισι καὶ τὰς ξυμφορὰς
ζώσας ὁρῶ μάλιστα τῶν βουλευμάτων.

The real and only reasons, whether categorically stated or not, which induced the Priest to apply to Oedipus for help and advice on behalf of the people in their sore distress, are three: (*a*) Oedipus was ἔμπειρος;[1] (*b*) ἔμπειροι are the best advisers generally; (*c*) apart from (*b*), it is specially (*καί*) in *συμφοραί* that the inherent capacity of ἔμπειροι, εὑρεῖν βουλεύματα, is so signally revealed.

These are practically the reasons why Lord Roberts was sent out to save the situation in South Africa. They are the reasons, to descend in the scale of illustrations, why Captain Kettle is selected for his particular adventures. In fact they constitute the grounds in general upon which special selections are made for posts of high responsibility in critical situations. Compare Macaulay's character of Luxemburg, chap. xix of his *History*, and Robertson's *Charles V*, Book VI, near the end. If it can be shown that the three reasons, given above, are those *stated* by the Priest for applying to Oedipus in the emergency, the sense of the passage is provided for in a satisfactory manner. In accordance with the views here expressed, reason (*a*), which is obvious, is stated by implication in ὡς τοῖσιν ἐμπείροισι, reasons (*b*) and (*c*) are combined, compressed, and merged into the words succeeding ἐμπείροισι of lines 44, 45, while reason (*c*), being the most important, is most prominently stated.

Mr. Jebb, who translates: "for I see that, when men have been proved in deeds past, the issues of their counsels, too, most often *have effect*," states in the Appendix, p. 208 of ed. 2, that the general sense is: "for, when men are experienced, we see that they are also most *successful* in giving counsel." Here both the italicized expressions are importations, on which the interpretation is dependent for sense, not found in the Greek. Still neither the translation, nor the general sense, affords a suitable reason for making this particular application at this particular juncture to the particular individual addressed. The general sense given by Jebb answers to reason (*b*), but reason (*c*) is the pertinent one here, viz., that it is the critical situation which brings out the dormant powers of such characters as Oedipus, and makes application to him in this crisis specially appropriate. He, who has successfully surmounted ξυμφοραί throughout a life of adventure (ἔμπειρος), is the very man to devise (εὑρεῖν)

[1] Here ἔμπειρος refers to the practical experiences of a hard life, as explained in the old gloss, τοῖς ἐν πείρᾳ πολλῇ γεγονόσι.

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measures (*βουλεύματα*) for coping with such an emergency, as that which formed the subject of the deputation to Oedipus.

The Priest says in effect: "We look to you, Oedipus, the man of the world (*ἐν πείρᾳ παλλῇ γεγονότα*), for a practical measure of relief, because (*ὡς*) men of experience, like yourself, are most brilliant in their resources, when difficulties (*ξυμφοράς*) gather thickest around them."

The crux lies in lines 44, 45. The question of the construction of the words has raised a protracted controversy, under the influence of which the fact that these two lines supply a reason for what precedes, and the necessity for the adequacy of that reason, seem to have received insufficient attention. Jebb's translation fails in this respect. As a statement, "the issues of counsels have effect" is as unimpeachable as "all events are predetermining causes of other events to follow," but, as a reason here, it is equally irrelevant. Even as a truism the statement is marred in the predication by the insertion of the words "most often." Again a reason implying a multitude of counsels is inappropriate to an appeal made to a single individual, after the advice of the usual quidnuncs had failed. Lastly the real meaning of *ζώσας* is that *αἱ ξυμφοραί*, though past, "still live," i. e., "are still living forces," impressed on the mind. But this sense does not suit "issues of counsels," etc., and the translation "have effect" is a substitution of effect for cause, and is misleading because the English expression "have effect" here implies more than is stated, namely, what that effect is. An example will illustrate this: *ὁ ἵππος λακτίζει*: the horse kicks and thereby produces an effect: in effect he breaks his bucket: still the only translation of the verb is "kicks." The experiences of *ἔμπειροι* may be pleasurable or painful or both. But it is the painful experience, successfully surmounted, which leaves the most vivid (*ζώσας μάλιστα*) impression on the mind. Place a full stop at *μάλιστα*, and this sentiment is actually expressed; remove it, and the partitive genitive which follows naturally appeals to *μάλιστα* for government. But instead of a word in the genitive which would complete this sense in logical sequence, the speaker, by a common idiom, harks back, in his last words, to the central thought of the passage, the cry 'to devise some helpful action,' and *τῶν βουλευμάτων* is substituted.

The substitution of *τῶν βουλευμάτων* is justified, (*a*) by the reversion, at the end of the sentence, to the central and pervading thought; (*b*) by the fact that on the surface of the words there is no difficulty in grasping the sense; (*c*) by the close connexion in the context between *ἐμπειρία*, *συμφοραί*, and *βουλεύματα*; reason (*a*) requires no comment. As regards (*b*) it is only necessary to refer to the choric odes of the tragedians and comedians, and to the plain prose of the speeches in Thucydides, in order to understand at once how receptive Greek is of difficulties in actual grammatical construction, provided the arrangement of the words suggests the speaker's thought. There has never been any question as to the general

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sense which these two lines are intended to convey; it is only in the analysis of the thought that the difficulty has of late presented itself, for the passage does not appear to have provoked much discussion in the old days.

In regard to (*c*) the following remarks will, it is hoped, explain how it is that *τῶν βουλευμάτων* is a substitution *πρὸς τὸ σημαινόμενον* rather than *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, as might at first sight appear. Lines 44, 45 form a condensed expression, the links between *τοῖς ἐμπείροις* and *τῶν βουλευμάτων* being missing. It is clear however that for present purposes *οἱ ἔμπειροι* are identical in the Priest's mind with *οἱ τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεύοντες*, and that Oedipus is included in this class. Had ll. 44, 45 stood alone, as an aphorism, apart from the context, it would have been necessary to substitute either *συμβούλοισι* for *ἐμπείροισι* or *ἐμπειριῶν* for *βουλευμάτων*, i. e., "adversity is the most lively of counsels," or, "adversity is the most enduring of experiences." Sophocles condenses both thoughts into one. In the context, as *τοῖς ἐμπείροις* is necessary to mark the character to which reference is made, so *τῶν βουλευμάτων* is essential to express the complete thought by recalling *ἀλκήν τιν' εὑρεῖν*, the object uppermost in the Priest's mind. It is easy to understand that each *ἐμπειρία* assists in forming *βουλεύματα*, by which *συμφοραί* are met and grappled with, while each *συμφορά*, successfully overcome by *βουλεύματα*, leaves an indelible impression on the mind, and consequently, by this very process, becomes itself a fresh *βούλευμα*, with which to overcome further *συμφοραί*. Thus the character of Odysseus as *πολύμητις* was cast in *συμφοραί*. I see, therefore, no difficulty in taking *συμφοραί*, for the purpose of the context, as a type or class belonging to the order of *βουλεύματα*, i. e., 'things planned,' 'counsels given,' just as in ecclesiastical language adversity is called a 'judgment,' and in secular terms a 'school.' Now the action of *συμφοραί* is twofold: (1) they produce enduring impressions, and (2), by means of (1), their effects remain as *βουλεύματα* for future guidance. Sophocles mentions (1) only, the first and most important, but (2) is of course implied. Hence it follows that Mekler's *ῥίζας* becomes unnecessary, because (2), as the effect of (1), covers this sense. There is, therefore, in our context a close connexion between *ἐμπειρία*, *συμφοραί*, and *βουλεύματα*, which makes the substitution of one for the other less harsh than it otherwise might seem.

In the context *τε*, l. 40, is inferential, as often in Thucydides, "now therefore" ("so now," Coleridge); *ἀλκή* is "*active* help" ("strength as displayed in *action*," L. and S.); *εὑρεῖν* is "to devise," being taken up again in *βουλευμάτων*; *εἴτε . . . . που* is parenthetic, not being absolutely necessary to the sense, but being added in amplification of *τινά*, with a reference, in this summing-up of the situation, to *πρῶτος ἀνδρῶν* (33) and *προσθήκη θεοῦ* (38); *ὡς* explains *ἀλκήν τιν' εὑρεῖν*, and gives the reason why application for relief is made to *Oedipus*, rather than to anyone else, Teiresias, for instance; *καί* means "actually," "just," or "exactly;" *τὰς*

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ξυμφοράς bears its ordinary sense of "adversity;" ζώσας μάλιστα = "are most living," that is to say, have an existence, as impressions on the mind, most lively and enduring; τῶν βουλευμάτων is a partitive genitive, and goes with μάλιστα ζώσας, not with τὰς ξυμφοράς. Translate accordingly:

Now, therefore, we, all of us here in suppliant wise, beseech thee, Oedipus, Prince mightiest in all eyes, to devise for us some helpful action or other (whether thou knowest it from having heard the voice of a god or haply from a man), since I see that with men of experience it is just their times of trial that are the most striking—of their counsels, [or] are, among their counsels, those which impress themselves on the mind with most enduring significance.

It is claimed for this interpretation (which dates from 1899, when a friend in India suggested that μάλιστα τῶν βουλευμάτων should be taken as equivalent to μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ βουλεύματα):

(*a*) That it gives the best sense to the passage, since it supplies the true reasons for applying to Oedipus for help; (*b*) that it dispenses with the unusual sense of τὰς ξυμφοράς, which has given rise to much controversy; (*c*) that it severs the unnatural connexion betweeen τὰς ξυμφοράς and τῶν βουλευμάτων, *words completely separated in the context by the author;* (*d*) that τῶν βουλευμάτων at once drops into its natural construction, as an ordinary partitive genitive; (*e*) that there is ample justification in the context and in the Greek language for the compressed form of speech, by which it is claimed that the passage is explained; (*f*) that the substitution at the end of the sentence of a word which recalls the main or central thought of the passage, for that which is expected in the immediate context, is a common idiom, such as Sophocles might well be expected to employ.

The objections to the ordinary interpretations may be summarized as follows:

Jebb's.—(1) Violence to author's arrangement of words in taking τὰς ξυμφοράς with τῶν βουλευμάτων; (2) special sense given to τὰς ξυμφοράς not warranted by context; (3) violence done to ζώσας by an interpretation, which, even if admissible, does not command universal acceptance; (4) enfeeblement of adopted interpretation caused by translating μάλιστα "most often;" (5) inferiority of sense after all the above straining; (6) inadequacy of reason.

Kennedy's.—Points 1, 2, 5, and 6 as above. Kennedy's "comparisons of counsels" makes his interpretation equivalent to a special case of "in the multitude of counsellors there is wisdom," a sentiment quite out of place as a reason for appeal to a single individual. His interpretation of ὡς, as explaining εἴτ' ἀπ' ἀνδρός, is not generally accepted, and mars the sense of the passage, inasmuch as it explains a side-issue, rather than the main object of the address. Besides, ἐμπείροις obviously refers to Oedipus, not to the casual ἀνδρός που.

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Earle's.—Earle is undoubtedly right in saying that lines 44, 45 are a special case of "necessity is the mother of invention." But the objections to his interpretation are: (1) substitution of ῥίζας for ζώσας; (2) inferiority of reason. The expression, "*even* misfortunes are *a* source of counsels," does not emphasize the reason for the appeal with the same significance as "misfortunes are *actually the keenest* of counsels." But Earle is no longer off the rails, like his predecessors. The main point was to insist on the correct interpretation of τὰς ξυμφοράς, which he has done. The rest will follow, if the final solution is yet to come.

F. T. RICKARDS

BOMBAY

THE THEORY OF IAMBIC SHORTENING IN LINDSAY'S *CAPTIVI*

When I read Lindsay's admirable edition of the *Captivi* of Plautus five years or more ago, I found myself involved in the meshes of a logical dilemma from which I could not escape. At the time I hoped for some elucidation of the difficulty in the subsequent writings of the author himself. But no light has come from him, and the fundamental question which disturbed me does not seem to have troubled the numerous reviewers who have properly spoken of the book in the highest terms of praise. I seem forced, therefore, to make open confession here, for the matter involved underlies the most important topic treated in the work. Let me state the points of difficulty in the order in which they presented themselves to me on reading the book.

Ninety of the one hundred and two pages of the Introduction are devoted to a discussion of the metre and prosody of Plautus, and a large number of these pages deal with the *brevis brevians* law and its ramifications. The principle itself is well stated at p. 30 in the following form: "After a short syllable an unaccented syllable, long by nature or by 'position,' was pronounced 'half-long' and scanned by the Dramatists either long or short, when the accent fell on the following syllable or on the preceding (short) syllable." Most Plautine scholars hold, I presume, that if the short syllable of the iambic combination be under the ictus or the word (or sentence) accent, the conditions of the case are satisfied, and the long syllable of the iambus may be shortened. But this view of the case is vigorously and repeatedly combated by Lindsay, who remarks at p. 38 that "to ascribe to the mere incidence of the ictus or beat of the line any influence over the quantity of a syllable is surely unreasonable." In the footnote at p. 31 he says: "This strange idea that the beat of a line, the cadence marked by the conductor's baton, could alter the quantity of a vowel of a Latin word has led to some surprising attempts at

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scansion in Plautus, etc.;" and at p. 39 the same view is developed at some length. Now, a stress of voice has a tendency to affect the pronunciation of an adjacent syllable—a tendency which becomes effective under certain circumstances. But if, as Lindsay says, "the incidence of the ictus has no influence over the quantity of a syllable," even when an iambus is concerned, it seems to follow logically that the *incidence of the metrical ictus involves no stress of voice.* One might, indeed, hold that the constant incidence in everyday conversation of the word-accent on the first syllable of *bene* or *male*, for instance, would reduce the quantity of the final syllable, but that the occasional incidence of a metrical stress would not have that effect. Yet, as we have seen, this is not the theory advocated in the book. The verse-beat is regarded as a thing of such a nature that it can have no influence on the quantity of a syllable, and the inevitable conclusion drawn from the Introduction seems to be that the *word-accent and the metrical ictus are essentially different in character.*

The Appendix in this edition of the *Captivi* deals mainly with the question of the relation between the ictus and word-accent in Plautus. It was the perusal of this part of the book, after I had read the Introduction, which disturbed me, because the author speaks of the attempt of Latin verse-writers to "reconcile the natural stress-accent of the words with the ictus or metrical beat of the line" (p. 360). At p. 374 he quotes the Latin grammarians, apparently with approval, "who seem to speak of the lines of Plautus and Terence as if ictus and accent were very much the same thing." The occasional conflict between the metrical ictus and word-accent in Latin verse is compared at p. 373 to the not infrequent lack of harmony between the ictus and word-accent in English poetry. In our own poetry the ictus or verse accent is, of course, a stress of voice, and the conclusion to be drawn from this comparison and from the other quoted statements seems to be that *the Latin ictus was a stress of voice.* This conception of the ictus finds expression even in the Introduction in the statement that "to follow the Greek practice would bring the metrical ictus into constant clash with the natural accent." Only things which are alike in character can clash. And what is meant by the "natural accent," unless it is the stress which a given syllable *always* has, whether in everyday life or in literature, in prose or in verse, as opposed to the stress which another syllable has *on comparatively rare occasions*, viz., under the ictus in a verse? Were it not for the well-known views on the word accent which Lindsay has stated in his *Latin Language*, it might be supposed that he belonged to the French school of phoneticians, and that he regarded the word-accent and the ictus as similar in character, but as something else than a stress of voice; but, of course, this assumption cannot be made in his case. In the Appendix,

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therefore, *the word-accent and the metrical ictus are thought of as similar in character*. In other words, I see no escape from the conclusion that Professor Lindsay treats the ictus as a stress of voice in the Appendix, and denies it that character in the Introduction.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT

REJOINDER

Professor Abbott's difficulty is due, I think, to his belief (not the general belief, surely) that the ictus of verse and the emphasis of syllables in talk are one and the same thing; that, for example, a Roman reader uttered the first and third syllables of the hexameter line-opening *Maecenas dixit* with precisely the same stress as he uttered the first and third syllables of the sentence *me, non te, dixit*. Samuel Lover in his Irish novel *Handy Andy* gives an amusing description of the "sing-song" produced by confusing metrical ictus with accentual stress.

But I do not wish my theory of Plautine prosody to depend on this or that view of the nature of metrical ictus. The theory I state in these terms: The scansion of words in a line of Plautus reflects their pronunciation in ordinary (unpoetical) utterance. If, as everyone allows, a Roman pronounced the second syllable of *venire* long in the sentence *venire salvum te gaudeo*, then Plautus could not put *venire* at the beginning of a trochaic line. So the traditional opening of *Truc.* 504 *venire salvom* cannot be tolerated, if the line is, like the rest of the passage, trochaic.

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NOTES ON SOME KIONIΣKOI IN ATHENS

When in Athens in 1903 I took occasion to examine the κιονίσκοι which lie near the Dipylon gate and which have been published in the Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1893, pp. 221–24. My study revealed the following errors in the publication by Mylonas: p. 221, No. 2, after Σωκλέους the third line, containing the word Ἀνδρία, is omitted; p. 221, No. 3, read Καρυστία; p. 223, No. 15, read Ἀμισηνή for Ἀμισηνία; No. 15 is like No. 16 except for the first word, which is Εὐτέπη instead of Εὐτέρπη; p. 223, No. 19, l. 3, the stone reads Κυρηναῖος and not Μυρηναῖος.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Evidence of Greek Papyri with regard to Textual Criticism. By F. G. KENYON. Reprint from the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. I, 1904. London: Henry Frowde. Pp. 28. 2*s*.

This important paper, written by a widely known and highly esteemed scholar, deserves special attention. The age in which we live is remarkable for great discoveries in the field of classical philology, among which those of fresh authors or books are of course most prominent, then those of fragments from authors whose works are still lost; but the remainder also is by no means unimportant. Who would ever have imagined that fragments of the *Phaedo* hardly one century later than the book itself would come to light? Who could have thought of the discovery of Homeric fragments dating from the third century B.C., and consequently older than the Alexandrian recension? The history of the classic Greek texts has now been extended in a way nobody dreamt of half a century ago. The paper of which we shall speak contains a succinct and lucid, and yet in no wise superficial, review of the principal results obtained by the help of the papyri concerning the text of extant Greek authors down to the year 1903.[1] Since that date fresh stores have come in, and while I write others are coming, in large measure due to the praiseworthy and inexhaustible energy of Dr. Grenfell and Dr. Hunt. The British Museum seems to have ceased to acquire papyri, and Dr. Kenyon's activity, most wonderful in former years, is at present unemployed for publishing. Let us hope that the time will come when he is unable to make retrospects like this on account of fresh work being put into his hands.

Dr. Kenyon counts no less than 189 papyri of extant authors; that is to say, not MSS, but (with some rare exceptions) fragments of MSS and very frequently small fragments. Therefore the principle *ex ungue leonem* should hold good, and does to some extent. Again, out of the 189 papyri no less than 109 contain portions of Homer, 79 of the *Iliad* and 22 of the *Odyssey*—the rest giving scholia. The dominant position of Homer in classical antiquity cannot be better illustrated than by these statistics, nor the prominence of the *Iliad* in general estimation as over against the *Odyssey*. Dr. Kenyon divides the Homer papyri into

[1] In an appendix (pp. 27 f.) the author briefly surveys the results of what is contained in *Oxyrh. Pap.* IV (1904). The number of papyri, especially of Homer, is again greatly increased; the general conclusion, however, remains the same.

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two classes, those earlier than the Alexandrian recension (or at any rate untouched by it), of which he counts only four, and the great bulk of more recent MSS, which give substantially the same text as our parchment MSS. The small number of the former class is noticeably increased by Grenfell and Hunt's volume of the present year, the *Hibeh Papyri*. What the author says on the character of this class is on the whole confirmed by the fresh evidence: these papyri abound in spurious verses, not received and (so far as we know) not even mentioned by the Alexandrian critics. Generally these verses are new only in their new context. It is a widespread phenomenon in the tradition of Homer that rhapsodists (or whoever they were) expanded a passage by means of another similar to it, making identical what originally was but similar. We now see that the extent of this kind of deformation was once still greater. But there is among the Hibeh papyri one of a different character (No. 20), which has but one addition and several omissions, and in one of the latter shows a remarkable agreement with Zenodotus, Δ 86 ff. Athene is said to have come among the Trojans in the shape of a man, Laodocus, a son of Antenor, Πάνδαρον ἀντίθεον διζημένη, εἴ που ἐφεύροι (88). εὗρε Λυκάονος υἱὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε (89) ἑσταότ'· ἀμφὶ δέ μιν κρατεραὶ στίχες ἀσπιστάων (90) λαῶν, κτέ. The scholia A give as Zenodotus' reading εὗρε δὲ τόνδε instead of εἴ που ἐφεύροι 88, then ἑσταότ' κτέ. 90, without 89, and the same is the reading of the papyrus: δι]ζημενη ηυρε δ[ε]τ[ονδε] (or perhaps τόν γε, for τόνδε is out of place here); then . . . σ]τιχες ασπι[σταων κτέ. There is no question that the papyrus depends upon Zenodotus, and it follows that the latter, although in other cases guilty of wilful shortening, in this case had his authorities. Now the same verses recur E 168 f., of Aeneas: Πάνδαρον ἀντίθεον διζήμενος, εἴ που ἐφεύροι. εὗρε . . . . κρατερόν τε. In my opinion there can be no doubt that Zenodotus and the papyrus are right: the passage in Δ has suffered by further assimilation to that in E. Εἴ που ἐφεύροι implies the possibility of not finding, which did exist in the case of Aeneas, but would not have existed even if the real Laodocus and not the goddess had been seeking. In E there is battle and movement; in Δ the armies stand in quiet order.

Out of the other class of papyri Dr. Kenyon selects nine of the *Iliad* and two of the *Odyssey*, and by brief extracts of their peculiar readings shows that they give substantially the same text as our mediaeval MSS. Moreover, if the latter are divided into different families, the papyri show themselves quite impartial regarding the differences between them, the origin of which is thus proved to be of later date. Broadly speaking, we may say that what exists in our MSS already existed in the second century of our era or even earlier. But nevertheless the papyri have their value; for the general truth which I have just stated cannot be inverted. Not all that existed in second-century MSS has come down to us, not even for the *Iliad* and much less for the *Odyssey*. And even if a special

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reading has been preserved in one or two MSS, it is by no means useless to know that it is really ancient, and that for instance the omission of a verse in a later MS is not due to mere chance. The Harris Homer (*Brit. Mus. Pap.* 107), containing the greater part of Σ, omits vss. 200, 201, which are omitted also by Cureton's Syriac palimpsest, but (at least vs. 200) nowhere else. Iris is speaking to Achilleus: ἀλλ' αἴτως ἐπὶ τάφρον ἰὼν Τρώεσσι φάνηθι (198), αἴ κέ σ' ὑποδείσαντες ἀπόσχωνται πολέμοιο (199, cf. Π 41: αἴ κέ με σοὶ ἴσκοντες ἀπόσχωνται πολέμοιο) Τρῶες, ἀναπνεύσωσι δ' Ἀρήιοι υἷες Ἀχαιῶν (200=Π 42) τειρόμενοι, ὀλίγη δέ τ' ἀνάπνευσις πολέμοιο (201=Π 43). The last two lines are apt in Π but out of place in Σ, where the only object to be gained is the final saving of Patroclus' body, which at the same time would be the end of (and not a pause in) the combat of the day. It may be supposed that the Alexandrian critics obelized the verses and that our scholia (as in many cases) are incomplete. Z 493: πᾶσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μάλιστα, τοὶ Ἰλίῳ ἐγγεγάασιν. Since the ϝ of Ἴλιος is violated, Hoffmann proposed to write πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί, (τοὶ Ἰλίῳ) = α 359, φ 350, and Bekker adopted that reading, which is confirmed by a quotation in Arrian *Diss. Epict.* iii. 22. 108. The same is represented by the papyrus MS Oxyrhynchus 425 (*Ox. Pap.* III), and why should it not have been in Aristarchus' text? This corruption *may* be later. A similar case is Ψ 198: ὠκέα δ' Ἶρις MSS, again with violation of the ϝ; ὦκα δὲ Ἶρις, conjectured by Nauck, is the reading of a papyrus (*Grenfell Pap.*, Sec. Ser., No. iv, p. 10); but that papyrus belongs to the older class.[1] Accordingly it is possible to make a conjecture in Homer and afterward to have the pleasure of seeing it confirmed by a papyrus.

From Homer Dr. Kenyon goes on to Hesiod, of whom he counts but four papyri. The results for this poet are of comparatively greater importance than for Homer, since the Alexandrian text of him is very imperfectly preserved. In one case fragments of four new lines (before *Erga* 174) are given by a papyrus of the fourth century A. D., probably spurious lines condemned by the ancients. The next case, that of Solon, is quite an exceptional one: we have no parchment MS of Solon's works, nor has any papyrus MS of them come to light; but there are quotations of Solonian verses existing in Aristides the rhetor and elsewhere, and part of these are given also by the papyrus of the Πολιτεία, with notable improvements. The author passes on to the dramatists, among whom Euripides is especially concerned. Here the fact of the substantial identity of the later and the earlier text is again duly stated. There are some exceptions of course; but we see that the copyists who did their

[1] I may correct some slight errors in Dr. Kenyon's extracts from the papyri. *Pap. Brit. Mus.* 136: Δ 378 δὲ for ῥα with AGTN etc., not "with a few later MSS."—542 ἑλοῦσ' αὐτὰρ as AG.—*Brit. Mus. Pap.* 128: Ψ 427 εὐρυτέρη παρελάσσαι, see scholia V.—*Ox. Pap.* 223; E 75, 126 first omitted but afterward supplied.—*Tebtunis Pap.* 4; B 206 omitted as in A etc.,—*Brit. Mus. Pap.* 114; Ω 344 first omitted but afterward supplied.—*Brit. Mus. Pap.* 271 has the diple eight times, not the obelus.

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work in Homer with exactness and reliability did not copy tragedies in a different way. The ardor for introducing conjectural corrections into the tragic poets had already diminished before these discoveries; let us hope that it will go on diminishing—that is to say, to a certain extent; for there are, here too, *certi denique fines*. Byzantine copyists have not done any great harm to these texts; but a guarantee for Alexandrian and Attic copyists has still to be found.

Coming to prose writers, Dr. Kenyon has little to say about Herodotus, who is but poorly represented by papyri, but much more about Thucydides and still more about Xenophon. Of Thucydides there existed a MS in Oxyrhynchus, of the fourth book. The first fragments of it were published in the first volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, and others newly found in the fourth (see Appendix, p. 27). We see from these fragments that even in antiquity one MS frequently exhibited different texts—by means of adscripts, many of which are indicated as traditional various readings by double points and horizontal strokes, in this way: τ·ο͞υ· with ωι over ο͞υ, στα·δ͞ια· with δαια over δ͞ια, or απηι·ε·σαν without anything over ε, = "ἀπῆεσαν or ἀπῆσαν." The same system is found in the Aristotle papyrus and even in the Mediceus of Aeschylus and Sophocles. But Dr. Kenyon rightly remarks that most of these variants are of small importance, and that very little support is given to modern theories which suppose a far-reaching corruption of Thucydides' text through explanations erroneously incorporated into it. At any rate, the corruption must be older than the first century A. D., the date of this papyrus. That at that time there were already corruptions is proved by iv. 34. 1, where Dobree's emendation τοῦ θαρσεῖν τὸ πιστόν, instead of τ. θ. τὸ πλεῖστον, although not confirmed by the papyrus, must nevertheless be considered certain. Moreover, the papyri themselves show that many roughnesses of Thucydides' style are in reality due not to the author but to copyists—a useful lesson for editors, many of whom incline to superstitious veneration of manuscript authority, involving prejudice for the author himself. In iv. 37. 1 the parchment MSS all alike give this reading: γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Κλέων καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης ὅτι εἰ καὶ ὁπωσοῦν μᾶλλον ἐνδώσουσι, διαφθαρησομένους αὐτούς. It was not very difficult to remove the inappropriate ὅτι, but nevertheless the particle and the gross anacoluthon were religiously preserved in the texts, until, after the discovery of the papyrus (which omits ὅτι), it disappeared from that of Hude. The general axiom that there are anacolutha in Thucydides, and that his style is rather rough than smooth, must not be stretched too far. In Xenophon's case the chief lesson is the distrust due to the so-called stemmata of MSS as a basis for the constitution of his text. Both the division into classes and the general estimation of one class as over against another may be correct; but we now see, as we saw for Homer, that in more ancient times that division did not yet exist, while the single readings

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both of A and of B did exist, only in different combinations. Except in the rare case that one extant MS is the parent of all others, eclecticism with regard to the different classes is the only safe principle, more and more acknowledged in recent times, while previously the exclusive veneration of one MS, called the best, produced much mischief. Xenophon's text is but indifferently preserved, at least in the *Anabasis* and the *Cyropaedia:* witness the very large number of various MSS readings, much larger than in Thucydides, still further augmented by the papyri.

Coming to Plato, Dr. Kenyon has to deal with fragmentary MSS of the very highest antiquity, discovered among the Flinders Petrie papyri and published, by J. P. Mahaffy, as early as 1891 (1893). In this one case I rather strongly dissent from our author, who, after discussing the evidence of the *Phaedo* papyrus (which is more considerable in extent than the other, that of the *Laches*), says that "the new readings seem to point, just as the earliest papyri of Homer do, to the existence of a certain amount of license in copyists of the early Ptolemaic period." Dr. Kenyon seems to forget, firstly, that these copyists of Homer were still very remote from Homer, whilst those of the *Phaedo* and *Laches* were quite near to Plato (later, perhaps, by one century), and secondly, that after that age there came for Homer a critical reformation, carried through by the best grammarians, while for Plato we know of nothing of the sort. Professor Usener's brilliant conception that Plato's original text came forth after that time from the cellar in Scepsis and formed an authentic basis on which our own parchment MSS rest, necessarily failed to convince, because one hypothesis had been built upon another, and of real proofs there was nothing. The most interesting variant is *Phaed.* 68 *e*, ἀνδραποδώδη instead of εὐήθη. The passage runs thus: ἀλλ' ὅμως αὐτοῖς συμβαίνει τούτῳ (P wrongly τουτο) ὅμοιον τὸ πάθος τὸ περὶ ταύτην (τοι επ αυτην again wrongly P) τὴν εὐήθη (ἀνδραποδώδη) σωφροσύνην. It is quite true that the first two variants (and many others besides) prove the faultiness of P, but εὐήθη gives no clear sense, and ἀνδραποδώδη the very best sense, being in harmony with 69 *b* τῷ ὄντι ἀνδραποδώδης (where τῷ ὄντι refers to 68 *e*, just as 69 *bc* τῷ ὄντι ᾗ καθαρός to 67 *ab*, and 80 *e* τῷ ὄντι τεθνάναι μελετῶσα to 64 *a*, 67 *e*). It is a mere sophism to say (with Usener and others) that because of 69 *b* ἀνδραποδώδης was interpolated in the former passage. Moreover, Dr. W. Janell produced a second witness for ἀνδραποδώδης, schol. *Phaedr.* 258 *e* ἀνδραποδώδεις εἰσὶν ἡδοναὶ αἱ ἄλλων παθῶν ἀπεχόμεναι, ὑπ' ἄλλων δὲ κρατούμεναι (see the following words in the *Phaedo*). On the other hand, a rhythmical analysis of the passage as it stands in our MSS (with one exception), gives quite a satisfactory result, and ἀνδραποδώδη, by this severest test, is not with equal facility justified. In my book on Attic rhythms (Leipzig, Teubner, 1901) and in that on Asianic rhythms (Leipzig, Deichert, 1905, where I have considerably improved the method) I have laid down the principles of

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this analysis and applied it to Plato as well as to the orators. *τί δ' οἱ κόσμιοι αὐτῶν; οὐ | ταὐτὸν τοῦτο πεπόνθασιν; | (a a, ⏑ – – ⏑⏑ – – ⏓) ἀκολασίᾳ τι | νὶ σώφρονές εἰσιν; | (b b, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑⏑ – ⏑) καίτοι φαμέν γε ἀδυνατεῖν* (MSS *ἀδύνατον εἶναι*; what P had is uncertain), *ἀλλ' ὅμως | (c), αὐτοῖς συμβαίνει τούτῳ ὅμοι- | (d) - ον τὸ πάθος | τὸ περὶ ταύ- | (e e, ⏓ ⏑⏑ –) - την τὴν εὐήθη σωφροσύνην | (d, – – – – – – ⏑⏑ –)· φοβούμενοι γὰρ ἑτέρων ἡδονῶν | (c, ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ –) στερηθῆναι καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦν | τες ἐκείνων, ἄλλων ἀπέχονθ' ὑπ' | (f f, (⏑) ⏑ – – – ⏓ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏓) ἄλλων κρατούμενοι. | καίτοι καλοῦσί γ' ἀ - | (g g, – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓) -κολασίαν | τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν | (again e e) ἡδονῶν ἄρχεσθαι· | ἀλλ' ὅμως συμβαίνει | (h h, – ⏑ – – – ⏓) αὐτοῖς κρατουμένοις | ὑφ' ἡδονῶν κρατεῖν | (again g g, ⏓ – ⏑ – ⏑ –) κτέ.* Over against this P has *σωφρονοῦσιν* for *σώφρονές εἰσιν*, without rhythm, but after that, if we preserve *ἀδύνατον εἶναι* and instead of *τὸ πάθος τοι ἐπ' αὐτὴν* read *τοι τὸ πάθος περὶ ταύτην*, an analysis is possible: *καίτοι φαμέν γ' ἀδύνατον | (α) εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὅμως αὖ- | (β) - τοῖς συμβαίνει τούτῳ ὅμοιόν τοι τὸ πάθος | (γ) περὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀνδραποδώδη σωφροσύνην | (γ)· φοβούμενοι γὰρ ἑτέρων | (α) ἡδονῶν στερηθῆ - | (β) - ναι καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἐκείνων | (δ), ἄλλων ἀπέχονται ὑπ' ἐκείνων* (so P) *| (δ) κρατούμενοι | (ε). καίτοι καλοῦ - | (ε) - σι γ' ἀκολασίαν τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡ - | (δ) - δονῶν ἄρχεσθαι | (ζ)· συμβαίνει δ' οὖν* (so P) *αὖ - | (ζ) - τοῖς κρατουμένοις ὑφ' | ἡδονῶν κρατεῖν ἄλ | (λων) η η . α* is ⏓ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, *β* – ⏑ – ⏑ – –, *γ* ⏓⏓ – – –, – ⏑⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ –, *δ* ⏓ (or ⏑ ⏑) ⏓ ⏑⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – –, *ε* ⏑ – ⏑ –, *ζ* ⏓ – – – –, *η* (=*β*) – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑. I have kept the readings of P, except *τοῦτο, ἐπ' αὐτὴν* and *στερηθῆναι ἑτέρων ἡδονῶν*, which may be slips of the copyist. If, then, an analysis is possible both ways, we are led to the hypothesis that these differences originate with the author himself, who had made a double edition of this dialogue. It is but just to confess that, as *ἀνδραποδώδη* cannot be an interpolation, so *εὐήθη* can hardly be explained in that way. Plato might have thought that *ἀνδραποδώδης* was rather strong, and might have blunted the edge by substituting an ironical *εὐήθης*. That he did not cease to remodel his dialogues is attested by Dionysius *De comp.*, p. 208, and that the *Phaedo* had not lost its interest for its author is very likely, while for a dialogue like the *Laches* the same hypothesis would look much more improbable. But there is no need of it for the *Laches*, because there the divergencies between the papyrus and our tradition do not extend quite so far. I have treated this question in two articles, which appeared in *Berichte d. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, 1898, 1899 ("Zur ältesten Geschichte des platonischen Textes"). Blunders are not wanting in the *Laches* papyrus, but on the whole it gives a better text than our MSS, and more than one correction furnished by it is convincing. Badham had suspected *τὸ ἐκείνων* 191 *b* as interpolated, and P omits not only these words but also the corresponding *τό γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων*. In the next line P gives *τούτους* for *Λακεδαιμονίους*, which is again an interpolation: *πλὴν . . . . τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων· τούτους γὰρ* — that is to say, *Λακεδαι-*

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μονίους, which was added above the the line and subsequently crept into the text, expelling the pronoun. Of course, the textual condition of the individual dialogues cannot be throughout the same; but that of the *Laches* appears to be indifferent. We have another papyrus fragment of this dialogue, from Oxyrhynchus, of the second century A. D. (*Oxyrh. Pap.* 228), and on 297 *c* οὔκουν σέ γε P (for οὔκουν ἔγωγε MSS) von Wilamowitz remarks that we ought to be ashamed not to have found this by ourselves. Other Plato papyri repeat the lesson taught by other papyri for other authors—that our text goes back at least as far as the second century A. D., most of all the large (but unluckily worthless) Berlin papyrus containing a commentary on the *Theaetetus* with many quotations from the text.

Dr. Kenyon's survey of the authors concerned concludes with the orators: Isocrates, Aeschines, Demosthenes. That the textual condition of all these is far from being excellent might be gathered from the very large number of variants presented by our MSS. The number of papyri is exceedingly high for Demosthenes, but most of them are of small extent, with the exception especially of one, which at the same time is the oldest of all (first century B. C.), giving the greater part of the third *Epistle* (§§ 1–38). Dr. Kenyon freely avows the superiority of this papyrus over the later MSS, but justly remarks that the case of the epistles may be exceptional, since they were not so much cared for as the orations. Nevertheless, a variant like that in § 13 ὑμεῖς δ' ἐν παρρησίᾳ ζῶντες (P), over against ὑμεῖς δ' ὄντες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ παιδείας μετέχοντες (MSS), is likely to cause general uneasiness about our tradition. But it is to be remembered that orators were in a different case both from philosophers and from historians. Since the study of eloquence was so general in later antiquity and the Attic masterpieces were constantly explained to disciples, it is no wonder that their text suffered more. The words ὑμεῖς δ' ὄντες Ἀθηναῖοι come from xxiii. 109 (or else from xviii. 68 ὑμῖν δ' οὖσι Ἀθηναίοις καὶ . . . .); the παιδεία is mentioned in this epistle, § 11. On the other hand, the bulk of the Demosthenes papyri (including the lemmata in the newly found commentary by Didymus) gives the same results for this author which we met with elsewhere: our tradition goes back to the second century of our era; Byzantine copyists are not to be made responsible for any interpolation; the so-called inferior MSS are not to be wholly disregarded.[1] There is no need to enter into more details, nor to repeat the same general facts with reference to Isocrates and Aeschines. Of the latter we have only small fragments, which now and then furnish a good emendation; Isocrates is more fortunate, especially for the big London papyrus of *De pace* (viii), an exact copy of which is given by H. J. Bell in the *Journal of Philology* XXX. This

[1] On Demosthenes papyri I have written two short articles, inserted in Fleckeisen's *Jahrb. f. Class. Phil.*, 1892, pp. 29–44, and 1894, pp. 441–50.

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papyrus carries us back to the first century of our era and teaches the same lessons.

Now what course is to be followed by future editors, in view of this great enlargement of our knowledge of the history of the texts? We must be more modest in our pretensions, that is clear. As it is easy in some cases to discover the true reading when it is presented by a MS, so it is difficult or rather impossible to do the same throughout a text. I have some confidence in rhythmical analysis, which has the same value for prose writers as the metre or the strophical correspondence for poets. But is that correspondence sufficient to restore the choral songs of the dramatists? By no means. Nevertheless, progress is possible. Dr. Kenyon insists upon the insufficiency of conjectural emendation, and I did the same a dozen years ago; but that insufficiency is apparent only when we look upon the whole of a text, not when we confine our view to a single passage. A good many conjectures have been found subsequent confirmation by the papyri; but it is true that their number is small compared with that of extant corruptions, and also with that of emendations furnished by fresh evidence. So I would advise an editor, first of all, not to rely upon a single MS, secondly, to distrust his own power of conjectural emendation, and lastly, to acquire a thorough acquaintance with his author, that is to say, with his way of thinking, with his modes of expression, with his stylistic rules, and so on. But without common-sense no good edition of any author is possible. Common-sense must guard the editor from snares into which his other criteria frequently may lead him.

F. BLASS

HALLE

Topographie von Athen. Von WALTHER JUDEICH. Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, herausgegeben von Iwan von Müller, III. Bd., 2te Abt., 2te Hfte. München: Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1905. Pp. xii+416. M. 18.

The short sketch of the topography of Athens in Lolling's *Geography of Greece*, published in 1889 in the third volume of this series, is now superseded by a volume of 400 pages. One can only be glad of this increase in size, for it has enabled the author to give us a complete and scientific guide to the monuments of Athens, taking account of the recent discoveries and the recent literature on the subject. This has been accomplished in what is really a very small space by relegating to the foot-notes the discussion of disputed points, while the text gives a statement of the facts with the interpretation of them which the author adopts.

After an introduction (pp. 1–39) giving a clear account of the sources, and a section on the history of the city (pp. 40–106), comes the topography

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proper with the following divisions: Circuit and fortifications (pp. 107–53); demes, districts, streets, aqueducts (pp. 154–91); description of the Acropolis (pp. 192–254), the district immediately below it (pp. 255–92), the lower city (pp. 293–355), the suburbs, including the Piraeus (pp. 356–403). As is seen, the old custom of following the route of Pausanias is abandoned. The more independent point of view thus gained is a distinct advantage, but the testimony of the periegete might well receive more recognition, especially in the discussion of such difficult questions as that of the removal of the Old Athena temple and that of the location of the Enneakrounos. The weight of the evidence from the remains (which has been increased since the publication of this book by the investigation by the specialist, Gräber, in *Ath. Mitt.* 1905, pp. 1–64) leads Judeich to place the Enneakrounos, with Dörpfeld, in the depression between the Acropolis and the Pnyx (p. 184). He places the Διονύσιον ἐν Λίμναις in the same district and identifies it with the Lenaeum (pp. 263 ff.). To explain the apparent early desertion of the sanctuary, he suggests that the festival of the Lenaea was transferred to the precinct of Dionysus Eleuthereus in late Greek or early Roman times. He does not accept Dörpfeld's interpretation of Thuc. ii. 15, but adopts the explanation proposed by Weller in an article in the *Classical Review* (1902, p. 158) which he fails to mention.

The section on the pre-Themistoclean city wall (pp. 113 ff.) is the weakest in the book. The supposed course of this wall, whose existence Dörpfeld denies entirely and whose disappearance before the period of the Persian wars is admitted by Wilamowitz, is indicated in blue in Fig. 9, opp. p. 112. The ingenious suggestion that the πύλαι, still standing to the north of the market-place in the time of Pausanias, were a survival from this early wall does not carry much weight, and the attempt to bring in the arch of Hadrian as evidence (following Wilamowitz *Aus Kydathen*, p. 101) is certainly wrong. Aside from the extreme improbability that the boundaries of "Theseus' City" should be known in the second century A. D., there are apparently traces of the Themistoclean wall in a line with the gate, as Judeich admits. Further, his own illustration (Fig. 9) places the gate not on the boundary between the cities of Theseus and Hadrian, but between those of Theseus and Themistocles.

The Opisthodomos (p. 230) is held to be a separate building and is brought into connection with the foundations southwest of the Parthenon, which have been usually identified with the Chalkotheke.

On the whole, not many new theories are advanced, but careful weighing of the evidence and independence of judgment in reaching conclusions on the many difficult problems which the subject presents are everywhere evident. The book deserves high praise for its clear and accurate description of the monuments, for the completeness with which the sources are indicated, for the well-chosen illustrations, and for the three admirable maps — of the city, the Acropolis, and the Piraeus — which are a

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great advance over any that have so far appeared. For that of the Acropolis the author was able to use the still unpublished survey by Kawerau.

A few minor omissions and inaccuracies have been noted. On p. 274 the article by De Cou on the Lysicrates monument (*Am. Jour. Arch.* VIII, pp. 42 ff.) and on p. 277 Dörpfeld's reply to Puchstein *Die griechische Bühne* (*Alt. Mitt.* 1903, pp. 383–436) should have been mentioned. The Thrasyllus monument can hardly be described as "Doric" (p. 281). On the plan of the Acropolis the four foundation blocks on the road between the stoa of Eumenes and the Asclepieum cannot belong to a Propylon. On p. 205 *westhälfte* should read *osthälfte*. On p. 251 *N. W.* should read *S. W.* On p. 252 *nördlich* should read *südlich*.

L. D. CASKEY

ATHENS

Grundriss der römischen Geschichte, nebst Quellenkunde. Von BENEDICTUS NIESE. Müller's Handbuch, III. Bd., 5te Abt., 3te Aufl. München: Beck, 1906. Pp. 405. M. 7. 20.

The third edition of this standard manual retains throughout its original character as a simple sketch of the external history of Rome from the foundation of the city to the beginning of the Middle Ages, though to each of the several periods is given a short chapter on the internal history — models of concise statement of the important constitutional movements of the several epochs. Two new sections have been added: sec. 50 (15 pp.) deals with "Kaisertum, Reich, und Provinzen," and is confessedly based on the fifth volume of Mommsen's *Röm. Gesch.* and on the first volume of Marquardt's *Röm. Staatsverwaltung;* sec. 55 (10 pp.), on "Die ostgotische Herrschaft in Italien und Justinianus," gives the story of the period from 476 to the death of Justianian. In this the author adheres so closely to his plan of giving only events of external history that he merely mentions cursorily Justinian's codification of the law, and passes without mention the several collections of *Leges Barbarorum* belonging to the period.

The work seems to be brought down to date in all respects. There is a careful note on the recent discussion of the authenticity of the Twelve Tables, started by Pais in his *Storia di Roma*, and continued by Lambert in 1902 and later, in 1905, by Greenidge. In its revised form the book will continue to serve, more fully than ever, its useful function as a compendium of the historical facts for the long period that it covers.

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Aesthetischer Kommentar zur Odyssee. Von KARL ALTENDORF. Giessen: Emil Roth, 1904. Pp. 79. M. 1.50.

Believing that disintegrating criticism has failed to solve the problem of Homeric authorship, Altendorf tries to re-establish belief in the unity of the *Odyssey* by arguments applying to it as a whole and in detail. His argument is: "The kernel of the *Odyssey* is the return and revenge of Odysseus, but we could have little interest in this without previous knowledge of the hero, and to obtain this we should hear the story of his wanderings from his own lips. We can not hear this after his return, as other events crowd in; hence some place must be found before he reaches Ithaca, and so the necessity for the apologue of Alcinous. But no mere stranger could have claimed the attention of the Phaeacians for so long a story, hence he must have done something extraordinary to arouse their interest, just such exploits are the theme of Books vii–viii; while v and vi are necessary to bring him to the palace of Alcinous where his story may be told. Without the first four books the *Odyssey* would begin with a hero in whom our interest had not been aroused and also the action would have come to a standstill at the outset. The *Telemacheia* is necessary to give us sufficient interest to follow Odysseus in his wanderings and sympathy in his struggles at his return. After the victory over the suitors, it is necessary to know the final settlement, and our interest has so often been drawn to Laertes that we must see him with his son again; so the final books of the *Odyssey* are necessary. Hence the *Odyssey* is one single creation, each part related closely with the whole, and all the work of a single poet. Certain small additions are to be detected, such as the end of the last book.

Having shown that the poem taken as a whole is a unit, Altendorf defends suspected passages in detail. Four illustrations give an idea of the nature of his arguments: The objection urged against Book i, that so many verses are found in other books, is not proof of the imitator or plagiarist, since such people never fail in ability to compose verses. Their weakness is in ideas, and they would certainly have changed the form of the verses they were imitating. It is the creator who can quote himself without change. The fact that the verses are identical is proof rather of identity of authorship than of the copyist. Answering the criticism that Odysseus is too prolix in his speech to Nausicaa in vi, Altendorf says: "He had at this moment nothing with which to make an impression but words, and words must cover his nakedness and furnish him speech besides." To the objection that Telemachus is called a man in xi. 184 and 449, he replies: "The details are of small moment, the identity of character is the important thing, since it is a rule of poetry that the age of individual characters should change but little, else the poetry would lose unity and interest. Hence the only conclusions to draw from this slip in

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historical perspective is that this Telemachus is the creation of the same poet who conceived the *Telemacheia*."

The spirit of the author is best shown in a comment to XV. 401 ff. After noticing the difficulties of the passage he adds: "When I had thus expressed myself, I took up the book and read the story again in a receptive, sympathetic mood, and I felt myself so thoroughly under the sway of the earnest and sublime spirit of Homer that I was half-ashamed that I had ever doubted. This Homeric spell is the highest proof." Such an argument is very different from the current ones, but I am glad to see a scholar bold enough to use it. The book is most stimulating and is written with a high appreciation of Homeric poetry.

JOHN A. SCOTT

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A History of Thessaly, from the Earliest Historical Times to the Accession of Philip V of Macedonia. By ROLAND G. KENT. Pennsylvania dissertation, printed in part: Chapter V (From the Persian Wars to Lycophron of Pherae) and Appendices I and II. Privately printed, 1904. Pp. viii+27.

Some marginal distortion is probably inevitable when the lens of the historian is fixed steadily upon the central figures in a given epoch; and such a work as Dr. Kent's has its use in restoring the proper outlines to the edges of the picture. To intrinsic interest it can make little claim —an almost necessary consequence of the fragmentary and incidental manner in which the history of Thessaly has been preserved. If one may judge the whole investigation by the specimen offered, the author has given a clear and trustworthy history of the country down to the limit chosen, and has here and there corrected a prevailing misapprehension. For example, in Appendix II he combats, with much reason, the assumption of Busolt and others that the friendly relations between Thessaly and Athens during the Peloponnesian War were brought about by the influence of a popular party in the former country, ascribing them rather to the temporary ascendency of an oligarchic faction friendly to Athens. This view is strengthened, perhaps, by a passage that Mr. Kent does not use, Thuc. iv. 132, whence it appears that when Perdiccas allied himself with Athens, in 423, he prevented a Spartan advance through Thessaly by means of the influence of his Thessalian friends, undoubtedly aristocrats. Appendix I is an attempt to reconstruct the stemmata of the ruling families of Pharsalus.

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On the Language of Vitruvius. By MORRIS H. MORGAN. Reprint from the Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences XLI, No. 23 (Feb. 1906), pp. 467–502.

That statistics designed to show that an author's language and style are characteristic of a given epoch need a searching examination from every possible point of view in order to be valid, is shown in a striking way in this scholarly and fair-minded study. Attention has been called to this fact more than once, especially by Wölfflin in various articles in the *Arch. für Lat. Lex.*, but it continues to be cheerfully ignored.

In two papers, one published in Danish in 1896, the other in English in 1898, Ussing attempted to show that the *De architectura* of Vitruvius was written about the middle of the third century by an amateur in the subject, who drew his material mainly from Varro. This thesis he defended by arguments based on its subject-matter and on its language and style. The work has also been assigned to the reign of Titus, though that it belongs to the time of Augustus is still probably the prevailing opinion. Without attempting to decide at present between the last two dates, or to consider the arguments based on the subject-matter, Morgan makes it very clear that nearly all the peculiarities in language and style which are cited by Ussing as characteristic of late Latin may be paralleled in Republican, Augustan, or Silver Latin, while the few which remain cannot be regarded as significant in a treatise on a technical subject, written by a man unpracticed in literary work.

One point, which does not affect the general conclusions of the paper, is not clear to me. In the sentence: non enim atria minora ab maioribus easdem possunt habere symmetriarum rationes (142. 2 R), Morgan says that there is no idea of comparison in ab maioribus. Now while it is perfectly evident, assuming that ab be translated "than," that, in the courteous language of the *Thesaurus*, minora ab maioribus *nihil est*, it is not easy to see what meaning other than "compared with" can by any possibility be given to ab in the passage in question. Morgan's own translation is: "In the case of smaller atria the symmetrical proportion cannot be the same as in larger." This is quite correct, but the meaning of ab maioribus must be "compared with greater," whether it be taken with minora, which is possible with that meaning, or with easdem, which seems to be Morgan's view (cf. "*the same as* in larger"). The suggestion of the *Thesaurus* that the phrase is to be taken with habere seems to me incorrect, as well as inconsistent with the other examples in the chapter in which the passage is cited. It will be observed that in most of the examples in this chapter (*Thes.* 39. 40 ff.) the phrase with ab modifies an adjectival word. Habere ab has a distinct meaning (see *A. L. L.* X, p. 491. 5), so that the sentence is not parallel with Caes. *Orat. Gell.* v. 13. 6: quibus (clientibus) etiam a propinquis

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nostris opem ferre instituimus *i.* propinquis relictis *vel* prae propinquis (*Thes.* 39. 45) except that the developed meaning "compared with" suits ab in both. If the phrase be taken with easdem, it may be explained as the opposite of alius ab, which is not uncommon. Personally I am inclined, both on account of the word-order and the lack of examples of idem ab, to take ab maioribus with minora. That it is not African Latin, and that in *A. L. L.* X, p. 500. 18 the sentence should have been cited in full, I cheerfully admit. Whether ab was actually taken in the sense of "than" by Wölfflin and myself I cannot now remember. I surely hope not.

JOHN C. ROLFE

Grundzüge der Sprachpsychologie. Von OTTMAR DITTRICH. Bd. I: Einleitung und allgemein psychologische Grundlegung. Mit einem Bilderatlas. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1903. Pp. xv + 786. Bilderatlas pp. 95.

This forms the first volume of what promises to be the most exhaustive treatise on the psychology of language yet undertaken. Only the smaller part of the first volume (pp. 1–77, §§ 1–157) is devoted to a general introduction; by far the larger portion (pp. 78–724, §§ 158–2173) deals with questions of general psychology, viz., the nervous system in its anatomical and physiological aspects. An Atlas, which contains 114 extremely well-executed illustrations, accompanies this second part, which is so completely given over to psychological problems that a review of it must be left to the specialist. Its value to the linguistic investigator is mainly that of a very carefully arranged digest in which he will find assembled a large mass of psychological data which it would cost much time and trouble to collect and arrange by himself. On the whole, the majority of the topics here discussed touch only in a remote and indirect way upon what may be properly termed linguistic or philological problems. Without wishing to criticize Dittrich for his very elaborate and painstaking exposition of the fundamental facts of nerve-psychology, I cannot suppress the fear that some philologists will be frightened away from a further pursuit of linguistic psychology by such a formidable array of information as is here offered as "Grundlegung."

The Introduction discusses the relation of linguistic psychology to general psychology and to philology. It then takes up the concept of 'social psychology' (Wundt's 'Völkerpsychologie'= Dittrich's 'Gemeinpsychologie') and criticizes in this connection (in agreement with Wundt) Paul's attack on Lazarus und Steinthal's 'Völkerpsychologie,' as well as Paul's own 'Principienwissenschaft.' Strangely enough Paul, in the third edition (1898) of his 'Principien,' has not taken any notice whatever

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either of Wundt's objections to Paul's 'Principienwissenschaft' nor of the fact that Wundt interprets the term 'Völkerpsychologie' quite differently from Lazarus und Steinthal, so that exceptions raised to their 'Völkerpsychologie' are not valid against Wundt's. To the reviewer's knowledge no valid objections have been made to the latter. Certainly Vossler's altogether too summary treatment of this involved and important problem (*Sprache als Schöpfung und Entwicklung*, 1905, p. 98 f.) has not in the least shaken his belief in it. The final section of the Introduction deals with the divisions of linguistics.

It is to be hoped that this first volume may soon be followed by the others in which problems which have a more direct bearing on language will be taken up. The great acumen shown in Dittrich's papers on the psychology of word-composition (in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* XXII) and on "Satz und Syntax" (in Wundt's *Philosophische Studien* XIX) will certainly make these subsequent volumes of great interest and repay the reader for working his way through a somewhat heavy stylistic underbrush.

HANNS OERTEL

De tragoediarum Graecarum conformatione scaenica ac dramatica, scripsit DEMETRIUS DETSCHEFF. Göttingen dissertation. Sardicae, 1904. Pp. 156.

This thesis is devoted mainly to a study of the changes produced in Greek tragedy by the addition of the second and third actor. Directly, the effects were scenic in their nature, since, after this addition, the poet was no longer hampered by being obliged to use the choral songs to give the actor an opportunity of changing his costume, and true dialogue now became possible. Indirectly, they were dramatic, since these changes affected the treatment of the plot. In the main, the work is well done, although many details might be criticized. In particular, such an investigation presupposes on the part of the writer a clear and definite idea of early theatrical conditions; yet no statement concerning this matter is found. More attention should have been given to the silent actor, a subject since elaborated with valuable results by Dr. Dignan in his *Idle Actor in Aeschylus*. The author would have found some valuable suggestions in Maurice Croiset's *Le second acteur chez Eschyle*. The thesis is wretchedly printed, in poor Latin, full of irritating printer's errors. It is to be hoped that, if the author carries out his purpose of extending his studies to Greek comedy and to the Roman drama, he will use a modern language and be more careful with his proofs.

ROY C. FLICKINGER

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Heinrich Brunn's Kleine Schriften. Gesammelt von HEINRICH BULLE UND HERMANN BRUNN. Band II: Zur griechischen Kunstgeschichte. Leipzig: Teubner, 1905. Pp. 532. M. 20.

In 1898 the first of the three volumes of Brunn's collected works, dealing with Roman, early Italian, and Etruscan art, appeared. Twenty essays treat of Roman monuments, but of these only seven are in German, twelve being in Italian and one in Latin, whereas all of the twelve articles on early Italian and Etruscan art are in Italian. According to Brunn's own wish these articles were not translated into German. As a frontispiece a good portrait of Brunn is reproduced, and there are 65 illustrations in the text. The first preface, by Brunn's son, is very interesting, especially where he describes his father's method of work, the pains he took to polish his style, and how diligently he sought for the right expression. He wrote with difficulty and lack of fluency; this conduced to clearness. Brunn's style is never involved.

The second volume deals with the history of Greek art. Those articles which appeared in his *Kunstgeschichte* and in *Die griechischen Götterideale* are omitted, because they form a complete set of essays in themselves. Of the thirty articles in the second volume only five are in Italian, the rest are in German. They are collected from eleven different publications, rarely found in private libraries, and are arranged, as were also the essays of the first volume, not chronologically, but according to subject-matter, though within the separate groups the chronological order is adopted. At the end of the third volume a chronological list and a short summary of the omitted articles will be given.

Bulle makes but few changes in the text. He adds in brackets the years according to our system of reckoning where Brunn merely gives the Olympiad.[1] Another great convenience is that Bulle on p. 104 prints as a footnote a passage to which Brunn in his article as originally published merely refers. In bracketed footnotes he frequently supplements, modifies, or corrects Brunn's text (pp. 110, 368, 373, 399, 403, 423), and, furthermore, renders a great service by giving references bracketed in the text to more recent literature and illustrations, for instance to such standard works as Arndt-Amelung *Einzelaufnahmen* and Brunn-Bruckmann *Denkmäler* (pp. 110, 113, 115, 119, 158, 405, 512 note). Most of the 69 illustrations in the text are from more recent photographs and halftones; nine are reproduced from Brunn-Bruckmann, and fifteen from Winter *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern.* The latter are by far the best. A double plate of the Amazon frieze from the Mausoleum is taken from Overbeck *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik.*

[1] I have noticed only a few miscalculations: on p. 30 after 30.—40 Ol. read [660–620 v. Chr.]; on p. 53 after LX. Ol. fuisse read [540–537 v. Chr.]; on p. 82 after Ol. 96, 4 read [393 v. Chr.]; on p. 96 instead of Ol. 78, 2 read 78, 3. In the footnote on p. 161 instead of S. 1–27 read S. 405–428.

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Bulle and Brunn's son were certainly justified in collecting and reprinting the scattered articles of Heinrich Brunn, because some of them were published in out-of-the-way periodicals, whereas others appeared in publications not easy of access. In fact, the most valuable article in this volume of the *Kleine Schriften*, entitled "Ueber die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der pergamenischen Gigantomachie," first appeared in the *Jahrbuch d. k. preus. Kunstsammlungen*, 1884, a publication not commonly found in our libraries. This article is full of valuable suggestions on the theory of art. It is a learned discussion on the importance of of properly distributing architectural decorations, exemplified in the large frieze of the Pergamene altar, and furthermore contains most instructive information on the architectural importance, purpose, and aim of this frieze. Only second to this article in interest are the two essays in which Brunn discusses his theories "Ueber tektonischen Stil in griechischer Plastik and Malerei" which appeared in 1883 and 1884 in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss.* This, too, is a publication which only large libraries can afford. Thus we see that this collection meets a want long felt by those who are not in the position to have a large library at their disposal. It is, furthermore, an advantage to be able to study Brunn's method, to observe his development, his systematic clearness of presentation, and his unity of treatment.

It is interesting to note how early in Brunn's life certain pet theories became fixed. This is well illustrated in his thesis that Greek art reached its acme not because it was unhampered, but because it strictly obeyed certain laws and principles. We have that maxim laid down as early as 1847 (p. 17), to the effect that the more strictly the laws are obeyed the greater the freedom, and in 1884 (p. 127) we read that fixed principles and laws in Greek art form a restraint to which the artist willingly submits in order to attain freedom. Brunn realized as early as 1848 that there is a grammar of Greek art, but it was not until recently that this grammar was actually written—by Percy Gardner.

Furtwängler[2] in his lecture at St. Louis before the Congress of Arts and Science calls Brunn "unquestionably the greatest archaeologist of the epoch just passed:"

> Before his day archaeology was not a sister but a mere hand-maid of philology, whose aim it was either to explain certain passages of ancient literature by means of the monuments or to expound the monuments with the aid of literary passages. Many renowned savants of the nineteenth century, like Otto Jahn, scarcely advanced beyond this conception of archaeology. Against these Heinrich Brunn . . . . arose and became the champion of the independence of archaeology as a special subject. But even he did not live up to his ideals in his works, for he could not entirely free himself from

[2] *Deutsche Revue*, January, 1905, p. 5; translated by Miss Ethel D. Puffer in Congress of Arts and Science, Vol. III, p. 595.

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that tradition of the past, which saw in archaeology merely a science of exegetical nature, subordinate to philology. He was interested in a Greek vase, for example, only so far as its picture illustrated some legend known to us through literature; it did not occur to him to make the vase itself the real object of his study, to treat it as an aesthetic whole, as a work of decorative art. As a result of clinging to that very tradition he misjudged the whole aesthetic and historic significance of Greek ceramics to such an extent as to advance the theory of their late origin.

On p. 8 of the same lecture Furtwängler shows how Wolfgang Helbig refuted Brunn's thesis of the late origin of the Greek vases by a study of Etruscan tombs and by fixing the date of the objects found therein.

Though some of the results of Brunn's investigations no longer hold good, still the development of his argument is always instructive. Let me in conclusion quote another passage from the letter of Brunn to Welcker written in 1850:

Es scheint mir von grosser Bedeutung, nicht bloss ein Resultat der Forschung zu geben, sondern auch in einer Form, dass selbst, wenn das Resultat nicht das richtige wäre, doch die ganze Fassung der Frage einen Werthe behalte. Ich könnte hier Winckelmann citiren, aus dessen Kapitel über etruskische Kunst, in dem fast kein einziges etruskisches Monument vorkommt, ich mehr gelernt habe, als aus Abekens Buch mit seinem viel gesicherteren Material.

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The Prometheus of Aeschylus. With Introduction, Notes and Critical Appendix. By JOSEPH EDWARD HARRY. New York: American Book Co., 1905. Pp. 358. $1.50.

This handsome volume, including 110 pages of introduction, 200 pages of text and commentary, and 23 pages of critical appendix, with indices, would seem to contain everything which could be demanded in a college textbook. But closer observation reveals the fact that the ample space for notes is occupied for the most part with a vast number of illustrative quotations, not only from ancient poets, but also, and especially, from modern writers. Mr. Harry's acquaintance with English, German, French, Italian, and Spanish literature is remarkable, but the parallels from Lamartine, Theuriet, De Musset, Bürger, and others contribute little to our comprehension of Aeschylus, and the real difficulties of the drama are often too lightly disposed of. See, for example, on 985, 1001.

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Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen. Von FREDERIK POULSEN. Leipzig: Teubner, 1905. 138 pp.; 3 pls. M. 6.

The subject-matter of Poulsen's *Dipylongräber* is largely the same as that of a dissertation presented to the faculty of the University of Copenhagen in 1904, and published in Danish in the same year. It is not, however, a mere translation. The first part has been considerably condensed, and the second part has been expanded, so that, whereas in the dissertation the principal emphasis was laid upon the Dipylon graves and methods of burial in prehistoric Greece, in the German work the most important part is the discussion of the Dipylon vases.

The first few pages contain a brief account of the history of cremation in Greek lands. Poulsen holds that the practice was "autochthonous," though he admits that no certain evidence has as yet been found for the pre-Homeric period. Then follows a very careful account of the discovery of Dipylon graves, not only in the great necropolis outside the Dipylon gate, but also in other parts of Attica, especially at Eleusis and on the slope between the Acropolis and the Areopagus—the oldest Dipylon necropolis yet discovered. Here cremation is the rule; in the graves at Eleusis and those outside the Dipylon it is the exception.

The second part of the book begins with a discussion of the rise and spread of the geometric style in Greece. Poulsen is no friend of the Dorian theory. On the contrary, he holds with Boehlau, Wide, and Wolters that the post-Mycenaean geometric style is the direct descendant of the primitive incised geometric of pre-Mycenaean times, which had persisted as a "Bauernkeramik" during the whole period of the Mycenaean development. In the fact that the Mycenaean citadels appear to have been left desolate after their destruction he sees a proof that the destroyers were not invaders, but "der junge, eupatridische Adel," with whose rise to power the despised geometric style once more came to the fore. Following out this line of argument, Poulsen in his last two chapters enters into a minute analysis of the decoration of the Dipylon vases. He distinguishes two classes, an earlier and a later, the former made up principally of the vases from the slope of the Acropolis and from Eleusis, the latter including the greater part of the vases from the neighborhood of the Dipylon gate and some from other sites. In the earlier vases, the ornamentation is simple; the motives, with the exception of the maeander, can all be derived from the primitive incised geometric or from Mycenaean prototypes; figures of animals and human beings occur but rarely. The class as a whole may not unfairly be called a "Bauernkeramik." In the later vases, the decorative motives are more numerous and more elaborate, and figures of men and animals increase in number. The ultimate development is represented by the well-known large vases with burial scenes.

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To one who still believes in the Dorians, the book bristles with challenges. In spite of the efforts of Poulsen and other adherents of the "Bauernstil" theory, the gap between the primitive incised geometric and the later geometric vases is great, and Poulsen's "eupatridischer Adel" seems an even more shadowy band than the much-abused Dorians. Nevertheless, although one may not agree with its main thesis, the book is full of suggestion, and marks a distinct advance in the study of the geometric style in general and the Dipylon vases in particular.

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Four Plays of Euripides. By A. W. VERRALL. London: Macmillan & Co., 1905. Pp. xii + 292. $2.25.

We are tempted to construct our review of Mr. Verrall's *Four Plays of Euripides* by an application of his method to himself. In his essay on the *Helena*, for example, Mr. Verrall proves that the *Helena* could not have been originally written for the Attic stage. It was composed for private recitation at the villa, on the island of Makronisi, of a maiden lady friend of the poet. Mr. Verrall can name the occasion—the festival of the Thesmophoria, and the lady, Eido, orphan daughter of Proteas, a worthy apothecary. She has reached the parlor-reading and women's-club age, for her locks are touched with gray. How easy and how delightful, by the exercise of a tenth portion of Mr. Verrall's divinatory *Kombinationsgabe*, to show that his essay on the *Helena* cannot possibly have been intended for musty-fusty philologists, but was originally read in a London drawing-room in emulation of Dr. Reich's *geistreiche* Platonic lectures.

Similarly of the *Herakles*. Euripides could not have believed in the legend of Herakles. Therefore the hero does not, cannot, go mad in the course of the drama. He has always been mad. He did not rescue Theseus from Hades, but merely from some coal-pit or subterranean robbers' den. His last injunction about the ἀθλίου κυνός (l. 1386 unamended) does not mean Cerberus. It is a reference to an anonymous pup "which Herakles was bringing from Laconia to Eurystheus" and had inadvertently left at a way station. We are not informed whether he had "eat his tag." Mr. Verrall, with a sympathy for animals as touching as that which he attributes to Herakles and Euripides, reminds us that such a dog "would, if left on the road, be exceedingly unhappy." Now by parity of reasoning—but no! we forbear to apply our method to Mr. Verrall in this instance; that way madness lies.

It would be naïve, then, to take Mr. Verrall too seriously. Yet if he chooses to employ his wit and ingenuity in this way, we may be grateful

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or a book that supplies an hour or two of pleasant reading and sends us back to Euripides with renewed zest. Mr. Verrall's guiding principle is that Euripides, being a great poet, cannot possibly be guilty of the artistic sins which sober criticism discovers in his plays. If, dealing with legendary matter, he destroys the unity of poetic feeling by skeptical innuendo, it must be in the propagation of some deep and consistent philosophy of enlightenment. If he seems to play fast and loose with the unity of time, and puts irrelevant rhetorical tirades into the mouths of his characters, it is not sufficiently explained by the fact that, in Jebb's words, "the genius of Euripides was at discord with the form in which he worked." The perturbations in his artistic orbit are too great for that. They must be accounted for by some cause external to the drama, some consistent inner design apparent only to the initiated, some underplot which ingenuity may detect. These things Mr. Verrall undertakes to reveal to us. Thus in the *Andromache*, to waive other inconsistencies in the plot, we cannot suppose, he argues, that one choric song, and the short scene of Peleus' return, are intended to cover the time of Orestes' journey to Delphi, the murder of Neoptolemus, and the home-bringing of the body. Things are not what they seem or what Euripides explicitly says they are. In reality Menelaus and Orestes have been in collusion from the start to get rid of Neoptolemus and frighten Hermione into eloping with Orestes, thereby in the eyes of the world sharing his guilt.

Space fails to set forth the plot worked out for the *Orestes*, which Mr. Verrall describes as a study in the psychology of despair. In his rendering it is as good as a Zola novel—say *Thérèse Raquin*. It is, of course, impossible to accept all his interpretations. He denies, for example, that the frightened Phrygian is a comic personage, though he is obviously of the same quality as his fellow in *Timotheus*. But the study as a whole is replete with interesting suggestions, and will at least make the play very much more real to the average reader.

There is, however, one grave objection to this fantastic scholarship. It betrays its votaries into mistranslation and misinterpretation of the texts. With regard to the plots and purposes of Euripides opinion is as free as it is in respect to the Homeric question or the dates of the Platonic dialogues. But Mr. Verrall only weakens his case when he asks us to accept renderings which a scholar of his competence could not possibly propose except under the obsession of a theory. Herakles himself in his lucid intervals would have refused to believe that in

τάς θ' αἱματώπους θεὰς ὀνειδίζων ἐμοὶ

ἐμοί is necessarily emphatic and means "to such a hardened skeptic as I am, impervious to vulgar superstitions," or that in

ἦ καὶ πρόσω γὰρ τῶν ἐμῶν ψαύσεις κακῶν;

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πρόσω means "at the farthest distance," i. e., "however little to the purpose," or that the second line of

οὐδεὶς γυναικὸς φάρμακ' ἐξηύρηκέ πω
κακῆς· τοσοῦτόν ἐσμεν ἀνθρώποις κακόν.

is to be translated "when she is evil; so far and so far only are we an evil to mankind." A writer who takes these liberties with his readers cannot complain if his reviewers emancipate themselves a little too.

PAUL SHOREY

De Romanorum iuris publici sacrique vocabulis solemnibus in Graecum sermonem conversis. Scripsit DAVID MAGIE. Leipzig: Teubner, 1905. Pp. 183. M. 6.

The larger portion of this treatise, which emanates from the school of Professor Wissowa, consists of a practically exhaustive tabular list (pp. 43–154) of the Greek expressions used, from the beginning of the second century B.C. to the reign of Diocletian, to represent the Latin official terminology, with full references to writers, inscriptions, and papyri. Extensive Greek and Latin indices follow (pp. 155–83). The list and the indices, admirable in arrangement and typography, constitute in themselves an indispensable aid to the student of Roman political, military, and religious institutions, and will be especially useful in connection with the study of the papyri and of the inscriptions now appearing in *IGR.* under the editorship of Cagnat (see *Class. Phil.* I, p. 193).

The first part of the treatise is a discussion of the origin of the equivalent Greek expressions according to the principles followed in framing them. The author distinguishes three methods, comparison (e. g., *aedilis*=ἀγορανόμος), translation (e. g., *censor*=τιμητής), and transcription (e. g., ἰντερράτωρ, πραιπόσιτος). Some few terms which have the appearance of being translations are found to belong rather to the first category, since they represent analogous functions in Greek states which were in close contact with the Romans, e. g., Neapolitan δήμαρχος = *tribunus populi*. Apart from such words, the origin of which is not always certain, the classification is satisfactory and leads the author to useful generalizations (pp. 23, 33, 41) as to the time of origin and the sphere of application of each method. An additional chapter on hybrid formations and irregular inflections would have been useful, and also an explanation of the principles to be followed as regards accentuation. The reason is not obvious for such variations as βιγουλοί and οὐίγουλοι on p. 136, κανδίδατος, p. 96 (*IGR.* I. 134, -ᾶτος) and δεκοτᾶτος, p. 129, and σίνγλαρις and σινγυλάρις, p. 137 (cf. *IGR.* III. 394, σινγλᾶρις). I have noted the omission of few terms that are found in Van Herwerden and in *IGR.*; but σεβαστοφάντης and ἀτταβοκαός should be added from *IGR.* III. 225. The Latin is fluent and clear. On p. 10, n. 5, read *appellatio*.

EDWARD CAPPS

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Index etymologicus dictionis Homericae. Composuit M. B. MENDES DACOSTA. Leyden: Sijthoff, 1905. Pp. xiv + 594. M. 10.

Part I (pp. 1–327) consists of an etymological grouping of the Homeric vocabulary, similar to the "groups of related words" that are sometimes appended to our school-editions of various authors. Part II, *Pars Alphabetica*, is a complete alphabetical list of Homeric words, each followed by the caption of the group in which it is included in Part I, unless it is one of the comparatively few forms of such obscure origin as to find no place in Part I. The work is not intended as an etymological dictionary in the ordinary sense, and even the most obvious cognates of other languages are not given. The use of external evidence shows itself only in the captions, or rather in the primitive forms sometimes added to them, e. g. "ἀγ (prim. *jaγ*)" the caption of ἄζομαι, ἁγνός, etc., where the *jaγ* is of course due to the evidence of Skt. *yaj*. But there is no discernible consistency in the practice. For example, when a labial or dental stands for an earlier guttural (labio-velar), the author seems to intend to indicate this and often does, e. g. "βι-ο (prim. *gι-ο*)," "πεντ, πεμπ (prim. *penq*)," etc., but as often fails to do this, e. g. "βα," "βορ, βρω," "βου," etc. The captions are verbal roots, noun-stems, full words (all justifiable enough), but sometimes such purely mechanical abstractions as to offend all linguistic feeling, e. g., δᾱμ as the caption for δῆμος with its derivatives, in which μ belongs to the suffix. However, such matters do not seriously offset the real purpose of the work, and need do no harm, if only the student is warned not to attach any real significance to the captions chosen, but to regard them simply as convenient mnemonic symbols. No exception need be taken to the separation of certain groups which ultimately belong together, with an indication of this connection (*cohaeret stirps*—). Only, while some very doubtful connections are suggested with a query, others that are quite certain are ignored, e. g., that between θεν (θείνω) and φεν, φα (φατός, etc.), though parallel to that between τίνα and ποινή, which are given together. It is a more serious error to include too much in one group, e. g. ἴθύς without even a query under ἰ (εἶμι). But on the whole the author is conservative, and the number of such cases is comparatively small.

In general, one gains the impression that the author's acquaintance with comparative grammar, in spite of his acknowledgments to the Greek grammars of Burgmann and G. Meyer, is something superficial and accidental, and that he has missed much that has an important bearing on the work undertaken. At the same time, the amount of positive error is small, most of the groups being made up of obviously related words, and, while certainly capable of improvement, the work may be recommended as an extremely useful one.

CARL D. BUCK

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Studien zur Ilias. Von N. WECKLEIN. Halle: Niemeyer, 1905. Pp. 61. M. 1.20.

In this tract a scholar who has done more than any other living man for the ordinary detailed exegesis and text-criticism of Greek tragedy, presents a view of the composition of the *Iliad* which is based upon Grote's theory of an original *Iliad* and an *Achilleid*. The references and allusions to Achilles in books B–E, H, Θ, Λ–O are made out to be later interpolations intended to refer back to the early books of the *Achilleid* (A, I), or to prepare for its continuation. The *Achilleid* assumes the *Iliad*, while the latter does not assume the existence of the former; hence the *Iliad* is earlier than the *Achilleid*. The primitive *Iliad* (*Urilias*) told how Ilium was assailed by an enemy which arrived with a fleet, and how it was defended by a 'Protector' (*Hector*); how the enemy were driven back to the ships, until after a hard battle Hector fell, and the Trojans fled and their city was taken and burned. Ajax was the Achaean hero of the primitive *Iliad*, and he must have been the original slayer of Hector. The surprise of Thoas (O 286) at seeing Hector return to the field, 'we thought he had been slain by Ajax,' is held by Wecklein to be a naïve indication of the change in the original poem. This *Iliad* was a comparatively commonplace and ordinary poem, and may have been composed by several popular poets, each familiar with the verses of his predecessors. The *Achilleid* was the work of a master-poet with greater range of imagination and a stronger pinion. The idea of a quarrel between the chieftains may have been suggested to the poet by his desire to account for the absence of Achilles from the battles of B–E, H, Θ, Λ–O. The unity of the poem as we have it, rests on the wrath of Achilles and so is due to the author of the *Achilleid*.

The *Iliad* is thought by Wecklein to have had an historical germ or basis—the city of Troy was besieged and captured. But Agamemnon and Menelaus are derived from the Dioscuri, the morning and evening stars, and Helen is the fair moon, who disappeared from the heavens. Stentor is a god of the thunderstorm. The weeping horses of Achilles (P 426) may have been suggested by a natural formation of rocks. Chryses and Çhrysa are related to each other as Apollo to Artemis. The poet wanted a daughter of Chryses, and invented Chryseïs, and devised Briseïs as a companion-piece to her—without mention of Wilamowitz's plausible explanation of Briseïs as the 'Maiden from Bresa.'

Much of this view that has been presented is 'subjective' and unconvincing. Parts of it are almost anachronistic. Another scholar assumes as confidently that Agamemnon and Menelaus are only different epithets of Zeus, and neither understands the *Iliad* better because of such assumptions. Exceptions may be taken to some arguments and statements. The iron mace of Areïthoüs (H 141) is "eine absonderliche Waffe"—but what

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about the club of Heracles and that which was used by the hunter Orion (λ 575)? Of course the club was not wholly of iron, any more than the spear was wholly of bronze, though it was called "the bronze spear;" it seems to have been exactly like those which were carried by the Assyrians in Xerxes' army, *ῥόπαλα ξύλων τετυλωμένα σιδήρῳ* (Hdt. vii. 63). The 'temple' of A 39 is said to determine the Ionic time for the composition of the *Achilleid*, but this "temple" is a mere shrine or little chapel for which the priest often had prepared roofs—very likely a new roof every summer—like what has been found at Gournia. Naturally such a shrine was not mentioned in the account of the visit of Odysseus to Chrysa, when he conveyed the hecatomb to Apollo and the daughter to her father. Attention does not seem to have been called to the fact that in the *Hymn to Demeter* the temple and altar to that goddess, following the most natural interpretation, were erected in a single day, and so this temple, too, must have been a mere shrine (296–304, 384 f.).

This treatise by Wecklein is interesting and suggestive, but not convincing in detail nor very important.

Σ

YALE UNIVERSITY

Index verborum Propertianus. Fecit IOANNES S. PHILLIMORE. Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano, [1906]. Pp. 111. $1.50.

Professor Phillimore was lead to compile this index by the need of such a tool in writing the Propertian commentary upon which, he tells us, he has been for some time engaged. All students of the poet will be grateful to him for sharing with them the fruits of his toil. An index to Propertius had not been forthcoming since the Lemaire edition, 1832.

The new index is practically a register of the words found in the Oxford edition, which is as it should be, seeing that this is the best presentation we have of the traditional text. But room has been found for a fair sprinkling of conjectures, and where, in the editor's judgment, a variant had a chance of being right, it is recorded, as well as the vulgate reading. These citations and the conjectures are starred, and a third class (MSS readings clearly wrong) is obelized. Thus one can learn at a glance the authority for any given citation. Doubt as to case, gender, tense, or the like, is obviated by a sparing use of marks of quantity and abbreviations. The plan appears to me an excellent one, and my experience of the book has brought to light but one misprint. Under the word *bracchia*, in the third line xiv 5 6 should be xiv 5, 9. But there is a fly in the ointment -- the bound copies have uncut edges.

B. O. FOSTER

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

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Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, Vol. I. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1905.

Under this title the Archaeological Institute of America inaugurates, in the name of its Roman school, what promises to take a place of honor among the serial contributions to classical study. It is only eleven years since the School was founded, and those that have followed its growth feel justified in believing that it is exerting a distinct and ever-increasing influence on classical scholarship in America. The same impulse which in former years led American students to seek the German universities is now turning them to our Schools in Rome, Athens, and Palestine, and with still better results; for the German method is already our own, while the Schools alone can give the inspiration that comes from living and working amid the sites and scenes of antiquity.

The contents of this first volume shows the wide field covered by the investigations of the members of the School. Of the nine articles two are technical studies in epigraphy and paleography, two are topographical researches, three criticisms in ancient sculpture, pagan and Christian, one is wholly concerned with a nice detail of history, and one is given to notes on eastern travel.

It is most gratifying to see in these papers how the School, under Professor Norton's management, has gained the good-will alike of the Italian authorities and of the sister-schools of other nations in Rome. The Italians—be it said with all respect by one who knows and admires them—are excessively sensitive and clannish. In regard to their "national patrimony," they are convinced that all others, and especially we of Germanic speech, are barbarians, in somewhat the ancient sense of the word; hence their refusal to grant to foreigners, responsible scientific bodies included, permission to conduct excavations on Italian soil, even though, as in Greece, the objects found be deposited in the national collections. This is irritating to those who view archaeological investigations as a part of historical science and not as a privilege of 'making finds,' especially since permits are readily granted to more or less ignorant Italian speculators, whose only desire is to find what they can and sell it at the highest price. The first article in the present volume represents a friendly concession for which we should be most grateful — the scientific study, by Messrs. Pfeiffer, Van Buren, and Armstrong, of all the brick-stamps in the stretch of the "Aurelian Wall" near Porta S. Giovanni that fell to pieces in October, 1902. It is an accurate and painstaking piece of work that merits high praise. Mr. Pfeiffer also has collaborated with Mr. Thomas Ashby, Jr., vice-director of the British School, in topographical researches on the promising sites of Carsioli and Artena. Such researches, which are Mr. Ashby's chosen field, are interesting in themselves and valuable as pointing the way to future excavations.

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The other articles are due wholly to the members of the School. Dr. Mahler contributes in German an interesting discussion of the celebrated "Aphrodite of Arles," in which he would see a copy of the *catagusa* of Praxiteles mentioned by Pliny *H. N.* xxxiv 69, and hence would restore as drawing the thread in spinning. Mr. Van Buren presents a new collation of two important MSS of Columella. Mr. Cross in "A new Variant of the 'Sappho' type" discusses a marble head from Rome recently acquired by the Art Museum of Worcester, Mass., which, however, many regard as a forgery. Mr. Morey offers some very sane remarks about the reliefs on the Christian sarcophagus found, and still preserved, in S. Maria Antiqua by the Forum. He successfully confutes certain views of his master in Christian archaeology, Marucchi. In a shorter article he discusses the date of the election of Julian. The present writer is of the opinion that corroborative evidence should be sought in the comparative study of the mint-marks on the coins of Julian and his contemporaries. Lastly, the Director himself presents a series of notes of travel on archaeological sites in Turkestan. It seems strange that with such opportunities for research about him, he should wander out to Bactria, notebook in hand, to gather material for the publications of the American School in Rome!

The volume is richly illustrated and beautifully printed and bound. A question naturally arises: These are technical studies for classical scholars, and scholars are notoriously poor. Would it not be wiser, without sacrifice of text or illustration, to make a less luxurious volume, that should not be beyond the means of anyone who wished to own it?

GEORGE N. OLCOTT

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The Metaphorical Terminology of Greek Rhetoric and Literary Criticism. By LA RUE VAN HOOK. Chicago dissertation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1905. Pp. 51. $0.50.

This treatise forms a valuable contribution in a field which especially invites and rewards investigation. In a brief introduction (5 pp.) the writer traces the development of the terminology of ancient criticism, naming the authors who employ metaphorical terms. Among the comparatively few extant, Dionysius of Halicarnassus is the most conspicuous. The difficulty in distinguishing whether terms are being used in a consciously metaphorical sense or not is discussed and the author's plan of classification is presented. Pp. 12–44 are devoted to a classification and definition of terms. These are placed under two main headings: I. Terms derived from Nature—water, heat and cold, light and darkness, weight, height and length, flowers; II. Terms from Human Life—the

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body, its condition, dress, etc., athletics, war, the sea, age and sex, social status, sense of taste, deities and religion, theater and festivals, disposition and morals, trades and arts. The indices of terms discussed in the dissertation add greatly to the practical value of the treatise. Here are listed 686 terms—368 Greek, 157 Latin, 161 English.

There are occasional infelicities of English style, e. g., the use of the word "some" (p. 47 init.) and about the middle of p. 7 where "such as" would naturally replace "which." In the next sentence the reader who is not himself possessed of knowledge of the facts might be puzzled to determine whether it is meant that the examples cited are to be found in Aristotle or are taken from among the terms developed later by less philosophical critics. Throughout the work additional illustrations occur to the reader, e. g., under ὑφαίνειν (p. 35) *Il.* iii. 212 would seem more appropriate than the passage cited, and under ῥεῖν (p. 13) no reference could be found so relevant as Arist. *Eq.* 526 ff., where this verb is twice used and the figure of oratory "flowing with abundant praise" is elaborated through several lines. But it is difficult to tell where to stop in illustrative material and perhaps that given here may be regarded as ample considering the plan of the dissertation.

When a work possesses so many excellent qualities one can not avoid a feeling of regret that the author does not make his scheme and treatment still more inclusive, even exhaustive, but we are well aware that the conditions under which a thesis is brought out often discourage this.

THEODORE C. BURGESS

BRADLEY POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE
Peoria, Ill.

Selections from the Greek Lyric Poets. With a Historical Introduction and Explanatory Notes. By W. S. TYLER. Revised edition. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1906. Pp. xxiv + 191. $1.

The revised edition (including Bacchylides 17 and 18) of Professor Tyler's *Selections* will make a convenient textbook for those American college students who are appalled by the erudition of Smyth. The introductions are pleasantly written and not overburdened with facts. The notes translate some of the hard phrases, give the Attic for dialect forms, and in general furnish about the amount and kind of assistance desired by a sophomore in a hurry to construe. They will not distract his attention from the text by any excess of learning. He is not even told that Simonides' epinikion for Skopas is reconstructed from the discussion in the *Protagoras*. There is much to be said for this theory of teaching and annotation. But it sadly diminishes our office.

P. S.

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Classical Philology

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ON A BODLEIAN COPY OF PLINY'S LETTERS

By Elmer Truesdell Merrill

The book which is the subject of this article was bought at auction in Oxford, in the year 1708, by Thomas Hearne, the learned editor of the edition of Pliny's *Letters* published at Oxford in 1703. The purchase he himself records in an autograph note on the title-page. Hearne fully recognized the source and importance of the MS readings of the book, and collated them with care, as is shown by two copies of his 1703 edition, now in the Bodleian, in which these readings are inserted by his hand, apparently in preparation for an enlarged edition, which was published at Amsterdam in 1709, if bibliographies can be trusted. I have not been able thus far to find a copy.

But Hearne's work seems to have been disregarded by recent editors, and the book rested forgotten in the Bodleian until Mr. E. G. Hardy called attention to it in the *Journal of Philology*, Vol. XVII (1888), and repeated part of his statement in the introduction to his edition of *Pliny's Correspondence with Trajan*, which appeared a few months later. The article from the *Journal of Philology* has now been reprinted in his *Studies in Roman History*. Mr. Hardy appears to have overlooked Hearne's actual use of the book, though of course he notices his purchase of it.

In the course of a summer's work in England in the collection of further material for my forthcoming critical edition of Pliny's *Letters*, I have recently had occasion to study this volume with

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some degree of care, and have arrived at conclusions in certain respects quite different from those reached by Mr. Hardy. These conclusions, and the grounds for them, it is my purpose to set forth here, with grateful recognition of the obligation we are under to Mr. Hardy for calling renewed attention to the book, now so many years ago, and for emphasizing again its importance.

Mr. Hardy judged it proved that the volume under consideration belonged to Aldus himself, was emended throughout in his hand from certain sources mentioned in the preface to his edition of 1508, and served as the copy from which the printer set up the type of that edition in its first form. I, on the other hand, trust that I can show good reason for believing that the volume never was in the possession of Aldus, but was the property, and, in certain of its MS parts, the work, of quite a different man; and that its importance for the reconstitution of the text of Pliny's *Letters* is all the greater on this account.

The volume concerned has the Bodleian shelf-mark "Auct. L. 4. 3," and is cased in a Bodleian binding of only some half a century ago. Three individual books are, however, included within its covers. The first of these is the edition of the nine books of Pliny's *Letters* published at Bologna in 1498 by Beroaldus; the second is the "*Epistolę 46 nuper repertę*" of the correspondence with Trajan published by Avantius in 1502; the third is the "*Opusculum eruditum*" of Beroaldus himself, published at Bologna in 1497. The three books are of the same format, and of the same general character of paper and type, and apparently were included in the same binding long before the present covers were affixed; for a wormhole of antiquarian character has pierced the last pages of part 2 and the first of part 3 in accurate prolongation. But part 3 was added to parts 1 and 2 at a later date than that of the union of these two parts. For parts 1 and 2 have the folios numbered consecutively in the same ink, and apparently in the same hand, that has added many of the marginal and interlinear annotations that are later to be discussed, and furthermore, several of these annotations are cross-references by the number of the folio, and the hand is substantially contemporaneous with the printed text. Part 3, on the other hand, while it shows a num-

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bering of the folios consecutive with that of parts 1 and 2, yet exhibits in this numbering a different hand and ink. It is of no further interest for our discussion.

Some facts concerning the early editions of Pliny's *Letters* must be borne in mind, in order to comprehend the bearing of the later discussion. The first edition (Keil's **p**) was like the large majority of the MSS of the *Letters* that date from the fifteenth century in containing eight books only, the eighth book being omitted without sign or remark, and the ninth numbered as the eighth. But an edition published without indication of place, date, or printer's name, suddenly added to the already well-known eight books a ninth. This edition is now generally ascribed by experts in such matters to the Roman printing-house of a certain Schurener from Boppard, and is believed to have been published about the year 1474. This Roman edition (Keil's **r**) was substantially the basis of a number of other editions that appeared during the next quarter of a century. Of these later editors Pomponius Laetus appears to have used also the Vatican *codex* 3864 (Keil's **V**), which contains Books i–iv only, and he *may* have had access also to the same MS that **r** used, or to one like it. The other editors of this period either repeated their predecessors, or emended them from some of the then common eight-book MSS, or from conjecture.

Roughly speaking, the MS authority of **r** in its first eight books was not substantially different from some of the eight-book MSS (all of the fifteenth century) still extant. But no such MSS known to me have any trace of more than eight books. A Prag MS, to be sure, that was followed by Titze in his edition printed at Leipzig in 1823, and another, and better, copy from the same original, which copy (of the early fifteenth century) I have recently found in the British Museum (*Harleianus* 2497, *olim Cusanus*), contain some letters of the ninth book intermingled with others of the seventh and eighth books, and numbered as Book viii; but these *codices*, lacking in completeness and confused in the order of the letters, are poor relations of the **M**-family, and certainly have no connection with **r**. I have found no trace of any such MSS in Italy.

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What r's source was cannot be at present determined. It has utterly disappeared from human ken. It was certainly not **M** (the *codex Mediceus*, XLVII. 36 of the Laurentian Library), nor any defective member of the **M**-family; for the differences of reading between **r** and **M** are too great to be accounted for on this theory. And furthermore, it is tolerably certain that **M** was brought to Italy in 1508, was not known to editors before that time, and was used by none before the second edition of Catanaeus, in 1518.

Again, the ninth book of **r** is the eighth of **M**, and of the first Aldine edition (Keil's **a**), published in 1508. The reasons for trusting the arrangement in **Ma**, as above that in **r** and the other editions before Aldus, I need not here discuss. The eighth book is complete in **M**. But the book is not complete in **r**. It lacks 8. 3–18. 11, the sentence at the former point running *nauium patiens eodem quo emerat*, without remark or sign of any omission. Now in the edition of Beroaldus, a copy of which forms the first part of the volume I am especially discussing, this same sentence reads *nauium patiens hic mutilus Codex. eodem quo emerat.* Just before *hic* a MS hand has added a cross + in the text, and repeated it in the margin, from which latter place a line with an angle at its middle point, where the word *ua cat* sits astride of it, is drawn in the margin to the bottom of the page. Then are inserted eight leaves of paper similar in general character to that used for the printed book, and on these a manuscript hand, substantially contemporaneous with the date of the book, has written out the missing letters, and, for good measure, to make the last written page end with the text where the printed page that next follows begins, has copied also the last part of the page on which the lacuna occurred, thus duplicating 18. 11–20. 1. (But the copy was not from the text of Beroaldus himself, but from a MS that differed decidedly from his text. Mr. Hardy does not mention this interesting and important duplication, and, to judge from his statement, did not notice it.)

Furthermore, the Beroaldus text thus made complete has many variant readings indicated in the margin, and between the lines of the text. These variants extend over both the printed portions and the written supplement, and are most of them apparently in

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a single hand, and in the same quality of ink, though I suspect they were not all written in a single sitting, or connected series of sittings. Mr. Hardy says that "throughout these nine books there are 155 variant readings inserted . . . . in the margin." I have not verified his count of the readings "inserted in the margin," for there is no possible reason for drawing any distinction between these marginal corrections and those made between the lines of the text in the same hand and ink, which he did not think it necessary to reckon. But as to the total number, interlinear and marginal together, it is well over five hundred, and that without counting mere corrections of spelling, which are not infrequent.

Besides these variants there are very numerous marginal *lemmata* of the sort common in such works that have been used by renaissance scholars. Some of these *lemmata* are in the same hand with the most of the variants. Others I suspect to have been written by the writer of the variants, but at another time, and in a more careless and easy manner. Others yet are in different hands, of which three or four can possibly be distinguished, but unfruitfully.

To turn now to part 2 of the volume under discussion: the first public appearance, after the Middle Ages, of Pliny's correspondence with Trajan was when Hieronymus Avantius, of Verona, printed, in 1502, "*C. Plinii Iunioris ad Traianum Epistolę. 46. nuper repertę cum eiusdem responsis*," explaining briefly in his preface, "*Petri Leandri industria ex Gallia Plinii iunioris ad Traianum epistolas licet mancas deprauatasque habuimus: quas pro uirili mea castigatas impressorum beneficio emittendas censuimus.*" The letters have both subject-headings and numbers, beginning with "¶ *De lacu Nicomedensium Epistola.* XXVII." (i. e., *Ep.* 41, according to Keil's enumeration), and ending with "¶ *De Diplomatibus.* LXXIII." They include all the letters from 41 to 121, as now usually numbered, and in their order as in Keil's edition.

No explanation is vouchsafed by Avantius as to the whereabouts of the missing letters 1–26 (i. e., 1–40, according to the enumeration now prevalent), though other things, I may stop long enough

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to remark, make it likely that the aforesaid Petrus Leander, whoever he may have been, or, at any rate, the unknown copyist, having access to some of the letters, had access to all, and copied all; and that in some way the sheets containing letters 1–26 were lost before they came into the hands of Avantius. Whether Beroaldus and Catanaeus, who issued the same letters in 1502 (a few months after Avantius) and 1506 respectively, had access to anything more than the printed text of Avantius is a question I need not discuss here. At all events their MS authority probably did not go back of the truncated copy that was the source of the edition of Avantius.

But in 1508 Aldus issued the complete works of Pliny as we now have them. The only question concerning his sources that is of present importance for our discussion is the statement in his preface that Iohannes Iucundus (Giovanni Giocondo, of Verona, a well-known priest, scholar, and architect, who went to Paris in 1499 to build the Pont Notre Dâme for Louis XII) brought him seven copies of Pliny's *Letters*, some in manuscript, and some in print, indeed, but collated with manuscripts. Of these the most remarkable was a complete copy made "*in Gallia*" by Iucundus himself of a wonderful MS, which two years later was itself brought from the same country by the Venetian ambassador, and also given to Aldus. This MS Aldus describes as written in characters so different from the current Italian (*adeo diuersis a nostris characteribus*) that only with long practice could it be read, very correct in text, and so ancient that Aldus can well believe it to have been written in Pliny's own age! Any fair interpretation of the further statements in the Preface indicates that this marvel contained ten complete books, the nine books in due order, and the correspondence with Trajan as the tenth. The extreme age that Aldus was disposed to attribute to the MS will of course occasion no wonder in the minds of those who are familiar with the vague notions on such matters that prevailed among scholars before the study of paleography had been developed into somewhat of a science. The MS may have been written in one of the so-called "national" hands—Lombardic, Visigothic, or Merovingian. But if it were in a "gothic" hand of the twelfth or

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thirteenth centuries, it might have appeared sufficiently grotesque and illegible to a reader accustomed for the most part to the exceedingly clear Italian book hands of the fifteenth century. Some allowance must doubtless also be made for rhetorical exaggeration on the part of Aldus.

This wonderful MS, like so many others, appears to have vanished from earth. Early editors saw no especial reason for preserving what was to them but copy for their own better printed texts. Possibly some leaves of it may be lying hid in old bindings; possibly they went to cover preserve-jars, or tennis-racquets; possibly into some final dust-heap. At any rate the MS is gone; the copy by Iucundus is gone; the copy of the correspondence with Trajan that Avantius owed to Petrus Leander is gone; if other editors had any other copies of Book x, in whole or in part, they are gone too.

I must not take space to argue the matter here, but the very great probability is that the manuscript copied (or merely collated, for the letters already extant?) in France by Iucundus, and later brought thence to Aldus by Moncenigo, the ambassador, was the only complete copy that had survived the Middle Ages, the only one of its time that contained Books i–x.

Now in the Bodleian copy of the edition of Avantius, which is bound up with the Beroaldus edition of which I have been speaking, there are bound in, immediately after the preface, nine leaves of paper, similar in general character to those inserted in the Beroaldus. On these are written out, in the same hand that copied the missing letters of Book viii (ix) in Beroaldus, the missing letters of the correspondence with Trajan, from . IIII . , to . XXVI . , as they are duly numbered here (4–40 by our numbering). Another leaf, on which presumably letters 1–3 B stood, has been cut out before the nine. This mutilation was perpetrated in the early years of the book, for the numbering of the folios disregards it, and this numbering was done, as I have already said, by the same early hand that has added most of the variant readings. Futhermore, this same hand that inserted over five hundred corrections in the text (and MS supplement) of Beroaldus, has likewise inserted many similar variants in the text of Avantius, and some

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also in this MS supplement. (A few corrections were also made in the readings of the MS supplements of both the Beroaldus and the Avantius by the hand that wrote them). Furthermore, the same hand that has thus copiously interpolated both the Beroaldus and the Avantius has copied into the margin of the Beroaldus at the proper place (but, as the readings show, not from Aldus, nor from **M**) the letter (ix. 16) that is missing in all the editions of Pliny's letters before Aldus, as in all extant MSS except **M**, and at the end of the text of Avantius has added the following note: "*hę plinii iunioris epistolę ex uetustissimo exemplari parisiensi et restitutę et emendatę sunt opera et industria ioannis iucundi prestantissimi architecti hominis imprimis antiquarii.*"

Now Mr. Hardy observed that a very large majority of the corrections made in the margin of both the Beroaldus and the Avantius (it will be remembered that for some mysterious reason he does not count in the interlinear corrections made by the same hand, and apparently at the same time), and a large majority of the readings of the two MS supplements, agree with the readings of Aldus in 1508, and clearly are not derived from any other edition. He also noted that the same hand (apparently) had made numerous corrections of punctuation in the two books, many of which agree with Aldus. He also observed one other point which seemed to him to clinch the argument; and his conclusion from all the premises was that this book (Beroaldus and Avantius) was corrected in Aldus' own hand from the copy of the Parisian *codex* made and brought to him by Iucundus, and later perhaps from the *codex* itself; that Aldus had the missing letters copied out from the same transcript and inserted; and that the book thus constituted and before us was the printer's copy from which Aldus had the first proof of his edition set up, and struck off. (He thus agrees with Hearne, who accepted all these readings as coming from the Paris *codex* of Iucundus, but goes beyond him in ascribing the book in its present shape to the correcting hand of Aldus.)

I do not think it difficult to show that Mr. Hardy's conclusions, so far as they regard the relation of Aldus to the book, are quite untenable, and in attempting to show this I will treat of his clinching point first; and throughout this article I will

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indicate the MS supplements to both Beroaldus and Avantius (i. e., viii. 8. 3–18. 11, and x. 4–40) by I, and the variants in interlinear space or margins (so far as they are by the hand that wrote also ix. 16, and the note concerning Iucundus at the end of the Avantius) by i.

Mr. Hardy says, as to his clinching point: "A curious misprint in Aldus, otherwise inexplicable, receives immediate and convincing explanation by turning to a marginal reading . . . . , and supposing that the Bodleian copy was before the printer of the Aldine edition." The passage referred to is in viii. 6. 10, where

in

i reads, *cui nulla re*, and Aldus reads, *cui mulla re*. This error of Aldus is clearly due, says Mr. Hardy, to a misreading of the marginal note to the Beroaldus; for in the lack of a caret, and of a dot to the *i*, the printer read *in* as *m*, and supposed it to be a correction of the *n* below, and so printed it, giving us *mulla* instead of *in nulla*.

Now as to the point that Aldus' *mulla* is "otherwise inexplicable," it is reasonable to say that the edition of Aldus is by no means free from evident typographical errors, and that in consideration of the character of the ordinary close running hand of that day (or of this, for that matter), and of the small Italic type used in the Aldine edition, no mistake could be much more easy for a printer to make (even if this *m* was not in the *n*-compartment of his case), and for the proof-reader to overlook, than an *m* for an *n*. What I should think "inexplicable," and impossible, is that Aldus should deliberately adopt the unintelligible *mulla* for the *nulla* to which he changed it in his second edition! But, apart from this, Mr. Hardy is wrong in saying that there is no dot over the *i* in the marginal reading. It is there, plain as day, and, though not so large as an ocean, large enough to be perfectly distinct. It is no accident; it is not a fly-speck; no recent enemy hath done this. To make sure on these points I examined it critically under a microscope. There is no mistake about it; it was put there when the word was written, and the pretty coincidence that Mr. Hardy's fancy built upon does not exist.

As the reading is one of interest, I must stop to explain it, premising that I believe, though not altogether agreeing with

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Mr. Hearne and Mr. Hardy, that Ii go back to the Paris codex discovered by Iucundus. That codex, or the copy of it, read *cui nulla re* in this place—wrongly, of course, for *cui in nulla re*, as is clearly shown by Pliny's quotation of the phrase twice over (but once with a transfer of the negative) just below, in viii. 6. 12, where the preposition incontestably stands (as it does also in viii. 6. 10 in *codex* **M**). But Aldus, following his copy, wrote, and meant to print, *cui nulla re* here, as he finally succeeded in doing in his second edition; and the barbarous *mulla* of his first edition must have irked him. The copyist i also wrote truly from his archetype *cui nulla re*, but saw at once, from his grammatical knowledge, or from the two quotations of the phrase just below, that the reading certainly ought to be otherwise, and consequently he inserted *in* above. This I suspect to be the true explanation of the matter, rather than that the reading of the *codex* was doubtful.

But to take up the next point, *ὕστερον πρότερον*—the matter of punctuation: the punctuation of Aldus is very generous in commas, but is much better than that of the editions before him, which, after all, are not much worse in point of punctuation than MS that I have seen scholars trust to the enlightening labors of the type-setter nowadays. But there were brave men before Agamemnon, and doubtless good punctuators before Aldus, as after him. It is certainly not impossible, nor a great strain upon the imagination or the experience, to suppose that the owner of a book then, as he corrected the readings of his classic text to perfect it for his own use, so might also correct such misleading punctuation as that of Beroaldus and Avantius. What evidence should we find sufficient in the matter of punctuation, considered by itself, to indicate that this book was that put by Aldus before his printer? I should think that in such an uncertain matter anything short of pretty close identity of punctuation would fall short of the quality of evidence. Mr. Hardy contents himself with a general affirmation. I felt bound to count instances, taking passages here and there at random as fair samples. It is difficult to give precise figures, owing to differences of reading that might call for differences in punctuation, but one or two of my results may be given

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as specimens; and in them I have treated as cases of agreement in punctuation every instance where Aldus and Beroaldus (or Ii) put a mark in the same place, whether the marks were the same or not. This was to give Mr. Hardy's argument its best possible chance. If I had insisted on counting as agreements only instances of agreement in the mark itself as well as in the place of it, the case against Mr. Hardy's position would have been stronger. Here is the result in one long letter (vi. 16):

Punctuation of Beroaldus agreeing with Aldus, 127 times.
Punctuation in Beroaldus, but none in Aldus, 11 times.
Punctuation in Aldus, but none in Beroaldus, 61 times.
Punctuation corrected by i agreeing with Aldus, 18 times.
Punctuation corrected by i not agreeing with Aldus, 4 times.

Of course it will be remembered that the uncorrected punctuation in the print of Beroaldus was (on Mr. Hardy's theory) as much a part of Aldus' directions to his printer as the corrected punctuation by i was; but Mr. Hardy entirely ignores this consideration, and insists on counting only the agreement of i's punctuation with that of Aldus. But I venture to submit, on the basis of the showing above, that, though i was doubtless a better punctuator than Beroaldus, if Aldus, with his training, professing to prepare this printed text as copy for his printer, in punctuation as in readings, had to make over seventy corrections of punctuation in his proof of a single letter, he must have been more careless about details of "copy" than so skilled an editor is likely to be, and more haughtily oblivious to the cost of proof-corrections than most editors are likely to become.

Examination of different parts of the book showed results concerning punctuation like the above. Most of the corrected punctuations of i are those any intelligent reader might make, and about three-fourths of these agree with Aldus. But it is to me impossible, in the face of the large proportion of discrepancies existing in the total punctuation between the two books, to see any evidence from punctuation that Aldus could have given this book as copy to his printer. The evidence from punctuation appears to be entirely against Mr. Hardy's conclusion, rather than for it.

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The final point, Ὁμηρικῶς, is concerned with the matter of the readings. Mr. Hardy remarks, as I have said, that a large majority (his figures are untrustworthy, and need not be repeated) of the marginal readings of i (he disregards those that are interlinear) appear in Aldus, and thinks this, in connection with the other evidence that I have already discussed, is sufficient to prove that this book was the printer's copy of Aldus. But, as in the case of the punctuation, it should hardly need remark that the entire text, as corrected, and not the corrections alone, formed the printer's copy. A few specimens of collation will show how far this text of Beroaldus, after correction by i, is removed from the text of Aldus; they will also be of importance for reference later in my more constructive argument. I give the references by page and line in Keil's edition of 1870; the reading before the bracket is that of Aldus, after it that of Beroaldus, as corrected by i, wherever such corrections occur:

p. 3 1 PLINII SECVNDI EPISTOLARVM LIBER PRIMVS] C. CAECILII PLINII SECVNDI EPIST. LIBER PRIMVS
6 C. PLINIVS SECVNDVS SEPTITIO SVO SALVTEM] C. Plin. Septicio. S.
7 accuratius] cura maiore
10 uenerat] uenerāt
12 Vale] *om.*
14 C. PLINIVS ARRIANO SVO SAL.] C. Pli. Arriano S.

p. 4 1 et legas et relegas] et legas
ante] unq̄
2 ζήλῳ] stilo
3 Caluū] *om.*
4 uim tantorum uirorum] uim tantam uerborum
pauci quos aequas assequi possunt] q̄ possum
6 aemulationi] emulationi
7 longae desidiae] longe desidiae
8 qui excitari] ut excitari
9 ληκύθους] τας ληκύθους
quoties] quotiens
10 admonebamur] submonebamur
tristeis] tristes
15 plane aliquid] aliquid plane
17 caussis] causis

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p.	4	19	bybliopolae] bibliopolae
		20	Vale] *om.*
p.	5	2	C. PLINIVS CANINIO RVFO SVO SAL.] C. P. Caninio Rufo. S.
		4	πλατανὼν] platanòn
		7	plurimus sol] sol plurimus
			circumit] circuit
		8	quid popinae] *om.*
			possident ne te] possident te
		11	sin minus] si minus
		13	asseris] adseris
		14	ociū] otium
		17	tuum] *om.*
		18	coeperit] caeperit
			hortor] horter

That is a complete collation of the first three of Pliny's letters. How can anyone, on the inspection of that long list of differences covering a short space of text, believe that the book containing the readings after the brackets was prepared and corrected into that shape for the purpose of serving as printer's copy for the book in which the readings before the brackets finally appeared? It is inconceivable. The differences are too frequent and too striking. Not only is the system of spelling different, but the readings of the two texts in many important instances belong to what we now recognize to be two different families of MSS.

Lest it should be supposed that these first few letters might be, by some mysterious chance, more unfavorable to Mr. Hardy's view than others further on in the book, let me say that a careful collation of large portions of the text in different places throughout the nine books shows precisely similar results. I subjoin collations of vii. 28, and ix. 1, 2, and 39, to make the point doubly certain (omitting addresses):

p. 203	16	quod] tanquam
	20	felicissimo errore] felicissimum errorem
		quales] ut
	22	parum multi] pauci
	24	nimium] nimis unquam

In this brief letter (vii. 28) I has made four corrections, *tanquam si* to *tanquam; qui inuident* to *sed ut norint quid inuident;*

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felicissimo errorem to *felicissimum errorem;* and *praedicentur* to *praedicantur*. Two of these appear in Aldus, the other two do not. Now for ix. 1:

p. 235	6	Plantam] Blateram
	11	constantia et fama] constantiae fama
	13	scribenda] scribendi (app. mere misprint in Aldus, like *mulla* above)
	15	ὁσίῃ] ὅσιον
		scriptum de uiuente recitatum est] scriptum est de uiuente recitatum
p. 236	1	editur si editur statim igitur] aeditur statim igitur
	3	ne res ipsa desyderet] nec res ipsa desiderat
	4	etiam horis ratio praecedit] et temporis ratio praecidit

In this short letter there are only two corrections by i, ὅσιος φθιμένοισιν to ὅσιον φθιμένοισι, and *de uiuente recitatum* added after *scriptum est*. Neither of these occurs precisely in Aldus. In ix. 2:

p. 236	9	quia tuas occupationes uerebar] propter tuas occupationes
	12	nostra] mea
	14	ingenio materia quanta uarietas rerum quam magnitudo] ingenio uarietas quam rerum magnitudo
	15	perspicis] prospicis
	18	arma uestra] arma

And in ix. 39:

p. 265	20	septembribus] septembris
	24	aedem] aedi
		porticus aedi] porticus
	28	uel faciendum uel emendum] faciundum
p. 266	1	sui partibus uetustate] uetustate sui partibus
	3	tamen] tantum
	4	possunt circundari templo] possum circumdare templum
	6	templum ipsum] templum
	7	inueneris] inuenies

I ask again, how is it possible to believe that Aldus, professedly correcting a text for the printing press, would leave it in such shape as this, making a few corrections (and some poor ones)

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in the direction of a certain family of MSS, but leaving the extremely large majority of them to be made in the proof? I cannot believe it.

But Mr. Hardy lays especial stress upon the agreement in text between Aldus and the MS supplement (I) to Beroaldus in the eighth book. Suppose this agreement to be nearly perfect. It might then be explicable in one of three ways; either that the supplement was the printer's copy for the edition of Aldus, that it was copied from the edition of Aldus, or that the two had a common source. But it could not have been the direct printer's copy for Aldus, unless the Beroaldus text with which it is incorporated also was. That point, I think, would be readily agreed to. And I have already shown with sufficient definiteness, I trust, that the rest of the text of Beroaldus + i could not have been such a printer's copy. Therefore the first of the three alternative propositions is untenable. This argument I judge to be quite sufficient, yet the conclusion reached by it will be reinforced by what follows.

Mr. Hardy, being so much engrossed with his theory in the other direction, does not essay to prove that I of Book viii could not possibly be a copy of Aldus; but this will readily appear from the collation of the two that follows. But I regret to be compelled to point out again the untrustworthiness of Mr. Hardy's statistics. He states (*Jour. Phil.* XVII, pp. 102 ff.) that this MS supplement to Book viii, with its few corrections, differs in only 21 readings from the corresponding text of Aldus. In the first place, Mr. Hardy has miscounted his own list; he gives but 20 cases in all. In the second place, three of his instances are wrong; for I reads *supetur* (i. e., *superetur*) and not *supetur* in 217. 3 (I cite by Keil's edition of 1870), and I, in the margin, has corrected its first *eiecit* (225. 10) to *euexit*, while i has corrected *diuidissent iam iam* (222. 6) to *diuidi sententiam*. These three cases are, therefore, of agreement with Aldus, and not of difference, and Mr. Hardy's variants are reduced to 17. But, in the third place, instead of 17 cases of disagreement between Ii and Aldus in this portion of the text, there are 47! The discrepancy between Mr. Hardy's collation and mine was so startling that I went back to the Bodleian and verified anew every one of my

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instances in both Ii and Aldus (finding, however, no errors in my first collation). The collation, which is of importance for comparison, follows, the reading of Aldus preceding the bracket, and that of Ii following it; I have marked with a star the cases cited by Mr. Hardy:

p. 216	28	nisu] nisi
p. 217	4	fluuitantibus] fluitantibus
	5	fraxino multa multa populo] fraxino multa populo
	28	*sedere] secedere
	29	religiosissime] religiossime
p. 218	12	facunditas] foecunditas
	14	*uideo] uideor
p. 219	14	caussa referenda] causa referendae
	17	*soleo] solo
	20	materia] materiae
	33	simiillimum] simillimum
p. 220	3	par] pars
	9	*ignorationem] ignorantiam
	28	autoritas nulla nulla militibus] auctoritas nulla militibus
p. 221	10	simus] scimus
	11	quod iustius] quod̈ (*i. e.*, quo) iustius
		erroris] errori
	12	cui superfuit curae] cui semper fuit curae
	18	laude si potes] laude potes
	25	et relegare et non Hercule] et relegare & non hercule
	27	*absoluerit] soluit
p. 222	14	*prement (not, as H. says, *premant*)] periment
p. 223	18	an iri] et iri
	20	*an abstinere] *om.*
p. 224	8	*quae si scabrae bibulaene sint aut non scribendum] *om.*
	9	scripserimus] scripseris
		deleuimus] delebimus
	26	his] iis
p. 225	5	operit] aperit
	6	*amnium] omnium
	7	inumbratur et fregit] inumbratur fregit
	10	*uiderunt hi (not, as H. says, *ii*) quos] uiderunt quos
	11	*tempestas non deprehendit] tempestas deprehendit
	15	*quidem loca malo] quidem malo
	33	*magis quoniam inexspectata] magis inexpectata
p. 226	3	qui de illo uti de patre] qui de patre
		quasi orbi quaerantur] quasi de orbo querantur

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p. 226	5	decipere] decipi
	6	*prudentia] *om.*
	10	*ut filiam] filiam
		institueret] instituerat
	4	lauandos fricandosque] lauando fricandos
	5	digitos se seruorum] digitos seruorum
p. 227	9	*uenales tabulae Tulli] omnes fabulae Tullus
		exspectatur] expectabatur
	12	quae neglegebatur] quasi neglegebatur
	13	*grauare scribere] grauare (*om.* scribere)

The inspection of the above list will show clearly that Ii was not, in Book viii, copied from Aldus. I think it will also still further confirm the conviction that Aldus did not use this book as his printer's copy.

But it may be imagined that the case with Book x is different, and that this copy of Book x may have been the printer's copy for Aldus. With this question we must now deal.

I have before remarked (p. 130) that these two parts of the Bodleian volume were united at a very early period, and before the notes of i were made; apparently, therefore, when the two MS supplements were bound in. Furthermore, supplements and annotations are in the same hands, respectively, in the two parts. Again, Aldus professes to have had before him a ten-book MS as his most prized authority (and the existence of ten-book MSS is still further substantiated by the title in the *codex* from Beauvais, now among the Ashburnham MSS in the Medicean Library at Florence). The antecedent probability is, therefore, strongly against the supposition that the text of the correspondence with Trajan in this volume formed the printer's copy for Aldus, when the rest of the book did not. A brief examination of the readings of I in x. 4–10, in comparison with those of Aldus, will establish the conclusion in accordance with the antecedent probability, and will incidentally show that neither could Ii have been copied from Aldus. The reading of Aldus precedes the bracket, that of Ii follows it:

p. 270	29	meus] *om.*
p. 271	1	quadringenties] quadragies (*marg.* al quadringenties *canceled*)

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p. 271 4 nam et fundos] nam fundos
7 adit te (apud te *Ald.*²)] aduerte
9 patriis] patris
Ciuitatem Romanam Harpocrati Iatraliptae suo petit] Ciuitatem romanam latraliptae suo petit
19 Iatralipten] latralipten (*and so always*)
22 Harpocras] Arpocras (*and so always*)
23 Thermuthin] thernuthin
Agit gratias] Gratias agit
p. 272 4 eum scilicet] et si eum I esse eum i
6 queror] quaeror
34 Kal. septembris] Kaĺ. septembribus
p. 273 4 locationem alioqui] locationem alioqui I locatio cum alioqui i (*apparently* i, *but perhaps at another time*)
27 institutionem] institutiones
28 Harpocran] arpocrati I arpocratem i
νόμον μεμφύτου] *νόμον μενφίτου add. in lacuna* i
33 occurrere] occurre

This complete list of the variation within a short space of text will serve for a sample. That the text of Aldus and of Ii are on the whole so much alike here (as elsewhere in Book x) will of course occasion no surprise, when it is recalled that there is no evidence of—no probability of—the existence at the end of the fifteenth century of any other source for Book x than that MS discovered at Paris by Iucundus. An examination of even these variants in x. 4–10 will be enough to indicate that Ii was not copied from Aldus; it might also indicate that Ii was not the printer's copy for Aldus. For on the supposition that i is his hand, why did he not correct his copy into still further agreement with his own ideas before sending it to the printer? And is it conceivable that he would finally deliberately reject the reasonable *quadragies* of I for the unreasonable *quadringenties*, which has caused many critics to stumble? That he would reject the intelligible *aduerte* of I for the unintelligible conjecture of his own (as it must under this theory be accounted), *adit te?* That he would finally think *cum scilicet* a more reasonable emendation than his earlier *esse eum* for *etsi eum?* That he would actually substitute the ungrammatical *Kal. Septembris* for *Kal Septembribus?* The only rational

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answer to these questions appears to me to be in the negative. (I have omitted the striking instance of the reading *locationem*] *locatio cum*, because of the possible doubt that the correction was made by i.)

Similar questions may be asked concerning x. 41–121, where the readings of Avantius (**A**) are by no means all corrected by i where the Aldine edition (a) differs from them. Still less are all the important readings of i in agreement with Aldus. Under the latter head the following list will furnish some basis for judgment:

285. 6 heae **A** hae a eae i
290. 19 quem **Aa** quam i
291. 18 quibus illum intelligis **A** qui pusillum intelligit a quibus illum intelligi i
21 conferre **Aa** conferrem i
292. 1 si ingrata **A** si enim grata a sint rata i
295. 6 emendatae **Aa** emendata i
296. 3 huic **A** hunc a hinc i
299. 15 mitteretur dispiciebam **A** mitteret ut dispicias a mitteret dispicias i
27 putauerimus **Aa** si putauerimus i (26 si *om.* **Aai**)
plures enim et quanto infirmiores erunt idem fiduciam **A** plures enim tanto magis eadem requirent quanto infirmiores erunt tibi eam fiduciam a plures enim et quanto infirmiores erunt idem petent fiduciam i
300. 18 senator **Aa** senatores i
in eadem positam **A** in eodem opere positam a in eodem positam i
304. 22 continerent **Aa** continebis i
307. 10 cohaerenti **Aa** coharentia i
308. 16 passumque uenire uictimarum cuius **A** passimque uenire uictimas quarum a pastumque uenire uictimarum cuius i
310. 3 diem quae in tutela **A** diem in quem tutela a diem quo in te tutela i
311. 27 iniuriam **Aa** in iniuriam i
312. 1 boyali et ecclesia **A** et bule et ecclesia a bule et ecclesia i
313. 6 scilicet **Aa** sed i

Now these readings of i that I have quoted are supposed to be taken by Aldus from the copy of the Paris *codex* by Iucundus, if not from the *codex* itself. Moreover, they are all reasonable,

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and some, at least, of them surely right which in the 1508 Aldus are surely wrong. Is it conceivable that, having once set down for printing these reasonable MS readings from Iucundus, Aldus should have changed them in his proof to the no better, and often impossible, readings that appear in his published text? It is not sufficient to say that he may have corrected his proof-sheets from the original MS, having had access only to the copy by Iucundus up to the time when the proof was struck off; for when the entire mass of readings in i–x is reviewed, it appears impossible to believe that many of the readings of Il that are rejected by Aldus, agreeing as they do with the MS tradition that he usually follows, did not stand in the Paris MS. They were rejected by him for other reasons, and too often in favor of elaborate and arbitrary improvements of his own. Even the list from x. 41–121, that I have just given, shows something of this tendency. And it is one thing to know that Aldus doubtless did not accept all of the excellent readings of *Parisinus;* it is quite another thing to believe that he rejected so many of these excellent readings after actually putting them into type.

Mr. Hardy did not hesitate to enunciate his belief that these notes of l are in the handwriting of Aldus himself, but he apparently did not think it necessary to apply the final test of confronting the one with the other, at least in photographic facsimile. My argument appears to me perfectly conclusive against Mr. Hardy's supposition without any resort of mine to the handwriting test, though my memory (which is, to be sure, very fallible) assures me that specimens of Aldus' handwriting which I have seen in Italy are widely different from the hand l. In the three great libraries of England I have been unable to find any specimens of the writing of Aldus, and at this distance from Italy I am compelled to let this desired comparison go. But another I have made, and shall mention further on (p. 155).

[Since writing the above I have been able to compare the writing of l with a facsimile of a letter of Aldus in the Stadtbibliothek of Mainz. As I had thought, the two hands are about as different as two hands could possibly be.]

Thus I have summed up the matter concerning each individual

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part of the volume under consideration, and without finding substantiated the alleged evidence that this volume was the "printer's copy" for even the "first proof" of the 1508 edition of Aldus; finding, indeed, that all the evidence is the other way. I trust, then, that the notion advanced by Mr. Hardy may be finally set down as untenable.

Who, then, did write these notes, and who owned this book at that time? I naturally thought first of Beroaldus, between whose edition of x. 41–121, published in 1502, and this corrected book, there are a number of striking points of agreement. There is no copy of this Beroaldus in the Cambridge University, Bodleian, or British Museum libraries, and I have therefore been unable at the present writing to determine the matter personally, but if the report in Keil's *apparatus criticus* is sufficiently complete, none of the readings of Beroaldus depend on anything more than (1) the edition of Avantius, published a few months earlier; (2) possibly the same copy from the Paris codex that Avantius used, or a copy of it (Avantius, I suspect, did not reproduce it with sufficient faithfulness), and (3) acute conjecture. Of course Beroaldus could not have had this particular book before his edition of x. 41–121 was issued, or he would have printed all the letters instead of merely those that Avantius had already published. But, further than this, he could not have had a source that gave readings like these of i, or he would not have wandered so far from the mark as he seems to do in, for example, the following instances:

301. 18 in aedem positam **A** in eodem opere positam **a** in eodem positam **i** in aede positam *Ber.*

303. 27 debeo quam ea quae speret instructum **A** debeo quam abunde ea quae speret instructum **ai**[1] debeo: ¶ fabium ualentem ualde probo instructum **i**[2] debeo quem ad ea quae speret instructum *Ber.*

304. 22 continerent **Aa** continebis **i** continerem *Ber.*

307. 5 extruere **A** instruere **ai** excutere *Ber.*

315. 21 dandamque quod . . . . debebantur **A** dandumque quod . . . . debebantur **a** dandumque quod . . . . debebatur **i** dandaque quae . . . . debebatur *Ber.*

316. 5 peregerant **A** perceperant **ai** peregerat *Ber.*

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From these and similar instances it is evident that Beroaldus had no other sources than Avantius and perhaps Leander's copy. He was emending on the basis of these.

I naturally thought next of Catanaeus. There are also striking agreements between Catanaeus and i, and a discussion of these I must reserve for another occasion. But Catanaeus, too, printed, from Books viii and x, in his 1506 edition only the same letters as Avantius and Beroaldus before him, and so could not have had this particular book as his basis at that time; and there is so much disagreement between him and i on the whole that the theory that he was the owner and user of the book had to be abandoned.

After other early editions had been fruitlessly compared, only one man known to me seemed to remain as a possible proprietor and sponsor, Guillaume Budé (Guilielmus Budaeus), of Paris, the prodigiously learned reviver of Greek letters in France. His overwhelming *Annotationes in XXIV. Libros Pandectarum* ("*doctis, Iuppiter, et laboriosis!*") were first printed in 1508, the same year that saw the publication of the first Aldine edition. The Aldine edition appeared in November, and the preface to the *Annotationes* is dated: *Parisiis pridie Nonas Nouembris.* There were also no relations, so far as I know, existing between Aldus and Budaeus. It is impossible that the edition of Aldus should have been used by Budaeus in the preparation of his *Annotationes*, nor was there at that time any printed text that contained viii. 8. 3–18. 11, nor any that contained x. 1–40. Yet Budaeus, who quotes copiously from Pliny's *Letters*, quotes from these parts then unprinted and generally unknown, as well as from other parts of the Letters ("*Idem libro nono ad Aristonem, sed in epistola manu scripta quae uulgo non reperitur, ut et aliae non paucae;*" "*Plin. igitur ad prosocerum libro nono epistolarum . . . . Verum haec epistola et aliae non paucae in codicibus impressis non leguntur;*" "*Idem ad Traianum epist. 4, quae uulgo non extat;*" "*Traianus ad Plinium epistola septima, quae uulgo non reperitur;*" "*Plinius ad Traianum in libris integris*"). He is also aware that the printed editions and the common MSS inverted the proper order of Books viii and ix ("*Apud eundem ad Geminum lib. IX., qui tamen in antiquis octauus*

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inscribitur;" "*ut Plinius · VIII · epist.*," quoting from viii. 2. 8: yet he sometimes quotes Book viii as Book ix, as, e. g., above). *Codex* **M**, as I have said, was surely unknown to him. Keil quotes the readings of Budaeus a number of times, especially in the *uaria lectio* on the particular letters unprinted until the issue of the first Aldine edition in 1508. But Keil does not quote the many other passages drawn by Budaeus from Pliny's *Letters*. I have examined them all throughout all the works of Budaeus. The list is of course too long for rehearsal here. There is no especial consistency in the manner of quotation, and apparently no great worriment about text. Budaeus was quoting Pliny for the subject-matter, and generally concerns himself with text only when the subject-matter is clearly involved. Sometimes he condenses a passage by the omission of words to him unimportant; sometimes he adds a word for clearness; sometimes he inverts the order of two successive words, when they might about as well stand in one order as in the other; usually his readings are those of the printed texts of his day (before Aldus), *and especially of Beroaldus*, but very commonly with the incorporation of the readings of Ii, as in this volume, and that, too, in cases where Ii and a do not agree, as in the following examples, in which i may stand for either I or i (I should perhaps warn students that in the Basel edition [1557] of the *Opera Omnia* of Budaeus the quotations from Pliny have often been corrected to read like a; only the earlier editions show the text of Budaeus):

86. 17 Maximo a Metio i *Bud.* ("*Plinius in epistolis ad Metium scribens*")

148. 15 obiit ille a obiit illa (*obiit* corr. from *abiit* and *illa* left unchanged i) i *Bud.*

204. 10 inimica a mimica i *Bud.* ("*quo in loco ex antiquis codicibus mimica legimus;*" Keil also so reads, but does not cite Budaeus)

218. 14 uideo a uideor i *Bud.*

220. 9 ignorationem a ignorantiam i *Bud.*

221. 27 absoluerit a soluit i *Bud.*

222. 14 prement a periment i *Bud.*

223. 20 debuerim an abstinere quemadmodum abstinuit is qui a debuerim quemadmodum abstinuit is qui i *Bud.*

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271. 1 quadringenties a quadragies i *Bud.*
272. 15 iatraliptae a latraliptae i *Bud.*
295. 3 ad eosdem acheos A ad eosdem dein ad Achaeos a ad eosdem et acheos (Achaeos *Bud.*) i *Bud.*
314. 21 concedendum iussi inuitationes (immutationes A) Aa concedendum iussisti inuitationes i *Bud.*

That is, the quotations of Pliny by Budaeus are precisely such as would be expected, if he had used such a book as this, Beroaldus for Books i and ix, with this MS supplement for viii. 8. 3–18. 11, and Avantius for x. 41–121, with this MS supplement for x. 1–40, the whole then corrected as i has corrected this book.

Budaeus certainly used, then, such a text as this, and the ultimate source of his hitherto unknown readings is stated by himself: "*Verum haec epistola et aliae non paucae in codicibus impressis non leguntur: nos integrum ferme Plinium habemus: primum apud parrhisios repertum opera Iucundi sacerdotis: hominis antiquarii Architectique famigerati.*" (*Annot. in Pandectas*, f. 27r. I quote here and elsewhere from my own copy of the first edition of the *Annotationes*, published by Ascensius, at Paris, in 1508.) Compare the verbal form of this statement with that of the note at the end of the Avantius text, quoted on p. 136; to this comparison we shall return briefly later.

It must be conceded, then, that Budaeus used a text like this volume now under consideration, and of the same source. But what proof that he used this particular volume? I might say that the volume is marked in the margin throughout with the same ink as i by dashes, sometimes emphasized by a single dot, above or below, or, in especially important instances, by a dot on either side (÷), opposite certain passages; and these passages are prevailingly such as concern matters of antiquities, precisely those that Budaeus cites in his *Annotationes in Pandectas*, and in his *De Asse*, and other passages of similar sort. But these passages might, of course, have been noted by another student of such matters. The letter viii. 14 has in the margin opposite its beginning the *lemma* in the hand of i, "*De iure senatorio*," and Budaeus refers to it under that title in *Annot. in Pand.* (1508), f. 45v, "*Idem libro nono ad Aristonem . . . . de iure senatorio loquens*

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ita inquit," etc. This, too, and other points like it, may be mere coincidences. Another *lemma* is more striking: in the margin opposite x. 96. 3 there is written in i's own hand: "*O miserum te plini et perditissimum;*" and in commenting on this very sentence from Pliny's letter Budaeus says (*De Asse*, Lib. iv, Basel ed., 1557, Vol. II, p. 193): "*O miserum te Plini*," etc., while just above he has called Tacitus "*perditissimus*" because of his views on this same matter of the Christians. This also might possibly be a mere coincidence, but is hardly likely to appear so, when all the other evidence is taken into consideration. There is also a striking verbal similarity between the note at the end of the Avantius and that in which Budaeus acknowledges his obligations to Iucundus; I have already quoted the two on pp. 136 and 152. There is a similar verbal resemblance between the remark of Budaeus (*Annot. in Pandectas*, 1508, f. 145r), "*apud eundem ad geminum libro nono: qui tamen in antiquis octauus inscribitur*," and the note prefixed by i to Book ix in the Beroaldus, "*in antiquis et emendatis exemplaribus hic liber octauus inscribitur.*" But more striking yet are three readings that are inserted by the same hand, I believe, that wrote the other notes that I have ascribed to i, but in a slightly paler ink, and, I suspect, at a later time. These are as follows:

68. 5 electorumque **a** eclectorumque i^2

131. 23 sestertium sedecies contuli huic quadringentorum millium **a** sestertium sedecies **i** (but following, in the different ink, the comment, "*hic locus corruptus sester · decies contuli huic · CCCC · millia*")

279. 29 sacramento militar **i** nondum **a** sacramentum ita nondum **I** sacramento ita nondum i^2

Now Budaeus quotes and comments on each of these readings as follows: (*Comm. Ling. Graecae*, Opera Omnia, Basel, 1557, vol. II, p. 923) "*Vnde eclecta apud Plinium iuniorem in epistola in qua de auunculo suo loquitur Hac intentione tot uolumina peregit eclectorumque commentarios. sic enim legi debet.*"—(*De Asse, ibid.*, p. 53) "*Illud Plinii ad Caluisium in quinto Epist. An cui de meo sedecies contuli, ita lego. An cui de meo sestertium decies contuli, huic · CCCC · millia paulo amplius tertiam*

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partem ex aduentitio denegem?" etc.—(*Annot. Reliquae in Pand.*, 1551, p. 37) "*Plin. ad Traianum de seruis inter tyrones inuentis, Ipse enim dubito ob haec maxime: quod ut iam dixerant sacramento, ita nondum distributi in numeros erant. Qui locus corrupte legitur in peruulgatis exemplaribus.*"

Now these phrases are those that imply not that Budaeus was here taking his reading from some MS authority, but that he was emending *suo Marte;* they are not, I think, found elsewhere than in i² and in Budaeus (though Sichardus later conjectured *quadringenta millia*); Budaeus gives them in his works published some years after the *Annot. in Pand.* (1508), in which he first quotes the readings of i (the *Comm. Ling. Graecae* was published in 1529, the *De Asse et Partibus Eius* in 1514, and the *Annotationes Reliquae* in 1526).

I take it, then, that most of the readings of i were inserted by Budaeus within a short time after he came into possession of them through the agency of Iucundus; but that these three readings (and, I suspect, some others) that are shown by their writing to have been inserted at a later time, were emendations of his own, added during his later study of the text.

Another reading is of significance in the same direction. In viii. 5. 3 (212. 24) a reads *aduocamenta*, but i, *auocamenta*. The writing of i is in this instance not in the paler ink that, as I think, denotes a somewhat later date, but in the same ink and manner as the large majority of the annotations. It was therefore, we must conclude, written at substantially the same time with them. This reading also Budaeus quotes, as follows: "*ero ergo suspensus . . . . et dies et satietas doloris inducit . . . . Quo in loco in omnibus exemplaribus aduocamenta corrupte pro auocamenta legitur · perperam · d · adiecta.*" The phraseology here also implies that Budaeus was giving, not the reading of a MS, but a conjectural emendation of his own; and the statement occurs, not in his later works, where are mentioned the emendations written in the paler ink in the Bodleian volume, but in his early work, the *Annotationes in Pandectas* (ed. 1508, f. 94r). Word, ink, writing, and date of occurrence in the printed work of Budaeus all combine to indicate that this emendation was jotted down by him

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in his copy of Pliny's *Letters* at about the same time that he entered therein the mass of corrections from the MS discovered by Iucundus, that is, while he was yet preparing his *Annotationes*. The reading in *codex* **M** is also *auocamenta*, but, as I have already said, Budaeus could not have known that MS.

It remains to show by comparison of handwritings that i is really the script of Budaeus. M. Henri Omont has published a list of the MSS now extant that are known to have been in the possession of Budaeus (in *Georges Hermonyme de Sparte . . . . suivi d'une notice sur les collections de manuscrits de Jean et Guillaume Budé*, Extrait des Mémoires et du Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France, t. XII., 1885). Two of these MSS are in the Cambridge University Library, and of these one ("Kk. VI. 23. 2") contains glosses in what M. Omont declares to be Budaeus' own hand. I confronted these glosses with photographs from the Bodleian volume while that was also fresh in my mind's eye. The glosses are but seven in number, and are all in Greek; but the hand is in size, in ink, in every detail, unmistakably the same hand that wrote the Greek glosses in the Bodleian volume, which was, therefore, the hand of Budaeus. It is of course impossible to prove from this that the Latin hand i was also that of Budaeus, though the ink is identical, and considerations of spacing sometimes indicate also that both Latin and Greek glosses were written at the same time. I hope to be able later to confront the unquestionable Latin hand of Budaeus with the photographs of the Latin hand i; but my argument seems to me so conclusive as not to need further confirmation from the handwriting test.

According to M. Omont (*loc. cit.*), the books of Budaeus were sold after his death in 1540, and came into the possession of President François de Saint-André, who bequeathed his library to the Jesuits of the Collège de Clermont. When the Jesuits were expelled from France, in 1595, these books were dispersed. The later history of the Bodleian volume, until it was bought by Thomas Hearne at auction in Oxford in 1708, I have been unable to trace. As to the two Cambridge MSS of Budaeus, they came into the possession of the University Library in 1715 by the gift of King George I, with the rest of the library of the deceased

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Bishop Moore of Ely. One of them ("Kk. VI. 23") has on the inside of the front cover the name J. B. Hautin, which stands also on other MSS in the collection. On "Kk. VI. 24" Hautin has written, "*ex bibliotheca Manteliana, Parisiis.*" This may possibly furnish a clue to the fortunes of the Bodleian volume.

Suppose that this Bodleian volume were, as Mr. Hardy believed it, the printer's copy for the 1508 edition of Aldus. It might then be held to outrank the text of Aldus as a witness to the readings of the lost Parisinus, if only we could be sure that the final readings of Aldus were not due to a correction of this combination of excerpts and transcripts by reference to the original MS. But we could not be sure of that; and therefore the book must have had much less certain value than Mr. Hardy imagined. As the case actually stands, however, it has far more value than Mr. Hardy imagined, even if not as much as Mr. Hearne believed (see his MS notes in the Bodleian copies of his edition of 1703). For Budaeus doubtless did not depend on Giocondo's copy of the Paris *codex*, but had the *codex* itself before him. This *handexemplar* of Budaeus, is therefore, so far as the corrections and MS supplements go, and the few emendations of Budaeus himself, and of others, can be sifted out from among them, a more immediate witness to the readings of the unique and ancient *Parisinus*, and a more trustworthy witness, than the "printer's copy" of Aldus could possibly have been.

It remains to discuss, in the light of this newly gathered evidence, what the character of that lost *Parisinus* was, and what the trustworthiness of the first edition of Aldus as a witness to the original text of the *Letters*. This I hope to essay on another occasion.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CONNECTICUT
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ON THE PROLOGUE OF TERENCE'S HEAUTON

By Roy C. Flickinger

Heauton timorumenos, vss. 46 f.

> in hac est pura oratio. experimini,
> in utramque partem ingenium quid possit meum.

It has long been the accepted view that the style of the *Heauton* is here praised, and this interpretation appears in the notes or introduction of almost every edition of Terence. For example, in so valuable a textbook as the (third) Hauler-Dziatzko edition of the *Phormio* the following words appear as commentary on vs. 5: "Dass auch die Sprache der Terenz. Lustspiele Tadler fand, beweist ausser obiger St. *Haut.* Prol. v, 46;" cf. also p. 22, n. 6. The main objection to this explanation is that it renders the connection with what immediately precedes and follows extremely harsh. Ambivius has just been complaining that only difficult plays that involve much exertion are brought to him. With this complaint an allusion to the pure style of the present play has nothing to do, and it is equally inappropriate to the next line also, no matter what interpretation that receives. Secondly, this play is not appreciably superior in point of language to the two that antedate it.[1] And, finally, a careful study of the full context suggests a better solution.

Purus denotes both that which is free from impurity or filth and that which is free from anything alien or foreign. Thus, in Vergil's *Aeneid* vi. 760, Propertius iv. 3. 68, etc., *hasta pura* occurs, meaning a spear without an iron head. Again, in Vergil's *Aeneid* xii. 771 and Livy xxiv. 14. 6, a field that is free from trees and other obstructions is called *campus purus*. In Phaedrus iii. 10. 10 *toga pura* means a garment without a purple border;

[1] Some scholars maintain that the implied contrast is not with Terence's previous plays, but with those just mentioned (vss. 31–45). It will be noticed, however, that these are criticized for their contents and not for the impurity of their language. If such a contrast is unsatisfactory, that is only another point against the current interpretation.

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and in Pliny's *Naturalis historia* xxxvi. 67 this adjective is applied to an obelisk that is without hieroglyphics. Finally, in Tacitus' *Annals* ii. 16. 3 we find these words: *insurgebat silva editis in altum ramis et pura humo inter arborum truncos*, i. e., earth without underbrush. Sometimes *purus* can be translated "nothing but," as in the last example "with nothing but earth between the trees." In my opinion, it is this second meaning which occurs in the phrase under consideration, and *pura oratio* means discourse or declamation without action.[1]

That this is the proper explanation of *pura* here has already been pointed out by Speijer in *Mnem.* XIX (1891), pp. 50 f. For the application of this meaning he looked to the lines immediately preceding (35–45). The *Heauton* was a quiet piece (*stataria*, vs. 36) that merely required the performers to declaim their parts without indulging in violent actions. Verse 47 would then mean that Ambivius was equally good in quiet and in active plays, *et in statariis et in motoriis agendis*, as Wagner says in his edition. The neatness with which this interpretation fits the immediate context makes it very attractive, and yet it is far from being satisfactory.[2] In the first place, it is doubtful if *oratio* is a broad enough term to include the *cantica* as well as the *diverbia* of a play. Secondly, even if such an application is possible, *pura oratio* would be too strong for the thought desired, since these words would mean delivery not merely without violent gestures, but without any acting at all; and though this is the least demonstrative of Terence's plays, its action is not without effective situations and lacks much of being so tame as to merit such a designation. A broader survey of the prologue as a whole will, I think, reveal a better explanation.[3]

Terence wished Ambivius to be a pleader, not a prologus of the regular type (*oratorem esse voluit me non prologum*, vs. 11).

[1] Of course, the different interpretation of oratio "speech" (the original meaning) instead of "style" (a derived one) affords no difficulty.

[2] Speijer's view is cited (apparently with approval) by Schanz in Müller's *Handbuch* VIII. 1, p. 86, note.

[3] In *Jahr. f. class. Phil.* CXXXI (1885), pp. 805 f. Blümner accepted the traditional interpretation of vs. 46 and suggested that the beginning of vs. 47 meant "et in stataria agenda et in pura oratione"—an explanation which is purely mechanical and quite meaningless.

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The significance of these words has not been generally recognized. It is well known that Terence greatly altered the function of the prologue.[1] Now, Karsten (*Mnem.* XXII [1894], pp. 186 ff.) has proved that the *Andria* had no prologue at its first presentation, and Donatus (Wessner II, p. 192) gives us similar information concerning the first production of the *Hecyra*. Consequently, the *Heauton* contains the first Terentian prologue. After the strictures passed upon the *Andria* and the unfavorable reception of the *Hecyra*, the poet felt himself under the necessity of making a public reply to his critics. No better plan for this purpose occurred to him than to transform the prologue from a mere play bill into a vehicle for self-defense; and, in order that the audience might listen in patience, he intrusted its delivery to the virtuoso Ambivius instead of to a young actor, as was customary.[2]

He does everything to emphasize the idea that he and his opponents are on trial together. Ambivius is a pleader, who is to conduct his case (*oratorem . . . . actorem*, vss. 11 f.); with the audience rests the decision (*iudicium*, vs. 12); his eloquence (*facundia*, vs. 13) is an important factor therein; he is to declaim, not a prologue, but a set speech (*orationem*, vs. 15). Lest his hearers forget this, he returns to it again and again. He reminds them that their judgment will prevail, and that he wishes to plead with them all (*arbitrium vostrum . . . . valebit . . . . omnis vos oratos volo*, vss. 25 f.). Again, he personally appeals to them to consider his cause just (*mea causa causam hanc iustam esse animum inducite*, vs. 41). Finally, he says (vss. 46 f.): in this part (understand not *fabula* but *parte;* i. e., the prologue in contradistinction to the play proper) is a "speech pure and simple," "nothing but declamation;"[3] put to the test

[1] It is now known that literary polemic was occasionally employed also in Greek prologues, and consequently that Terence's innovation was less striking than had previously been supposed; cf. *Hermes* XXXV (1900), pp. 622 ff., and Bursian's *Jahresber. f. class. Phil.* CXXIV (1905), p. 22.

[2] It is noteworthy that only on one other occasion does Ambivius deliver the prologue and similar language occur, viz., at an equally critical juncture—the third performance of the ill-fated *Hecyra;* cf. vs. 1 of the second prologue: orator ad vos venio ornatu prologi.

[3] Similarly, in Plautus' *Amphitruo*, in what is virtually a part of the prologue (cf. vs. 479, dudum quod dixi minus), Mercurius ings his soliloquy to a close with the words orationem comprimam, vs. 496.

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what my talent can do in either part, i. e., in the prologue, where he could display his oratorical powers, and in the rest of the play, where his histrionic ability would appear. Thus, the *causidicus* is seen pleading his cause all the way through.

This fact, however, has not always been observed. Thus, Kriege's rearrangement of these verses (*Jahrbücher f. class. Phil.* CXLI [1890], p. 78) is unsatisfactory because, as Dziatzko (*ibid.*, p. 291) pointed out, he failed to notice that the *oratio* continues beyond vs. 34. And Herrmanowski's attempt (*Quaestiones Terentianae*, Halle, 1892) is equally unsuccessful for the same reason. On the other hand, some arrangements (for example, that suggested by Dziatzko and published in his edition) are rendered more probable by the fact that they increase the *oratio's* effectiveness.

Furthermore, with this interpretation of *in utramque partem* an allusion to the actor's art is in perfect keeping, so that there is now no convincing reason for rejecting the next three verses (48–50). These were bracketed by Wagner and Umpfenbach because they appear also in the *Hecyra* (vss. 49–51) and are lacking in the Bembine manuscript, though this position has not commended itself to later editors; and doubtless their objection was largely due to their not seeing the appropriateness of these lines in this place.

It will be remembered that Bentley saw a similar contrast between the whole prologue and the play proper in vss. 1–3:

> nequoi sit vostrum mirum, quor partis seni
> poeta dederit, quae sunt adulescentium:
> id primum dicam, deinde quod veni eloquar.

With the manuscript arrangement of the lines these verses have proved very troublesome, since Ambivius does not fulfil his promise of *first* explaining his appearance in the prologue, but interpolates other matter, and since the exact application of *quod veni* is a matter of doubt. Bentley explained as follows:

> Hic (sc. Ambivius) et prologi partes agit, et eo peracto, statim in primo actu Chremetis partes acturus est, neque usquam pedem ex scena. Ergo hoc vult Ambivius, *Id primum dicam*, cur poeta me potius quam iuvenem quempiam actorem elegerit, qui prologum dicerem; id vero per

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totum prologum facit: nempe ut vetus histrio et populo notus atque gratus causam poetae ageret contra malevolos. *Deinde quod veni eloquar*, hoc est, fabulam ipsam peragam, ad quam agendam huc veni. Continuo enim, ut prologum est executus, ingrediente altero actore, qui Menedemi personam ferret, illud magno ore orditur.

Fairly close parallels to the phrase *quod veni* are found in prologues to some of Plautus' plays; cf. *Rudens* 31: *huc qua causa veni, argumentum eloquar; Truculentus* 9: *hoc agamus quoia huc ventumst gratia* (the meaning is slightly indefinite, but probably the same as before); *Asinaria* 6 f.: *quid processerim huc et quid mihi voluerim dicam: ut sciretis nomen huius fabulae;* and *Amphitruo* 17 ff.: *quoius iussu venio et quam ob rem venerim, dicam . . . . pater huc me misit ad vos oratum meus* (to ask for impartial attention to the actors). The last instance is the best parallel for Skutsch's contention (*Philologus* LIX [1900], pp. 6 f.) that these words in the *Heauton* refer to Ambivius' defense of the poet against his enemies (i. e., to vss. 16–34).[1] These examples suffice to show that the phrase is susceptible of different meanings and need not be taken narrowly. Yet it must be confessed that none of them approaches Bentley's interpretation,[2] which has been generally rejected by later scholars.

On the other hand, Karsten (*Mnem.* XXII [1894], p. 194) has objected to Bentley's view on the ground that, as Ambivius was dressed as a prologus, and as Menedemus and Chremes come on the scene in conversation together, Ambivius must have retired behind the scenes before beginning his part. There is much plausibility in these objections, for such a procedure was often followed; cf., for example, *Poenulus* 123: *ego ibo, ornabor.* It is also true that upon the somewhat similar occasion of the *Hecyra's* third presentation Ambivius appeared in the prologue's costume (*venio ornatu prologi*, 9), but it must be noted that in that play

[1] Skutsch made a valiant effort to justify the present arrangement of lines. If the attempt is to be made (as it has been made times without number) to secure a well-ordered development of the thought by wholesale transpositions, I judge the most recent suggestion to be the most successful; cf. Hrůša, *Listy Filologicke* XXXII (1905), pp. 415 ff. I think, however, that the rambling and discursive character of other prologues ought to warn us against expecting too much.

[2] A parallel is found, however, in Ausonius *Ludus septem sapientum* 129: ego iam peregi, qua de causa huc prodii.

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Ambivius did not appear in the opening scene. Moreover, that the speaker of the prologue need not necessarily wear a special dress appears, for example, from Plautus' *Amphitruo*, in which Mercurius delivers the prologue neither in the costume peculiar to that part nor in his own divine form, but has already assumed the dress and likeness of Sosia, whom he is to impersonate in the play proper; cf. vs. 117: *huc processi sic cum servili schema*, and also vss. 124 and 143. Again, Menedemus and Chremes do not enter together, but Chremes approaches Menedemus, who is working; cf. vss. 88 f.: *at istos rastros interea tamen adpone, ne labora.*[1] A similar procedure is found at the beginning of Plautus' *Mercator*, which serves at the same time as a prologue and as an opening scene; vss. 1 f.: *duas res simul nunc agere decretumst mihi: et argumentum et meos amores eloquar*, and Dziatzko in *Rhein. Mus.* XXVI (1871), pp. 424 f. At the end of his speech Charinus spies Acanthus (cf. vs. 109), and a conversation between them ensues—the second scene. It thus appears that on this occasion the speaker of the prologue took up his part in the play without going behind the scenes, and therefore without change of costume. In view of these considerations, Karsten's arguments do not seem to me convincing.

In conclusion, I think that Bentley was approximately correct in his idea of what actually happened, viz., that Ambivius began the play at the end of the prologue without change of costume and without going behind the scenes; but my opinion is quite independent of the precise meaning of vs. 3. At least, it may be said that the new explanation of vs. 47 lends his interpretation some support by emphasizing the same contrast.

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[1] Contrary to Bentley, this necessitates Ambivius' taking the part of Menedemus in the opening scene.

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THE SEMANTICS OF MODAL CONSTRUCTIONS

By Tenney Frank

I. NON HABET QUOD DET

The recent activity in syntactical study of languages, ancient and modern, has been unusually suggestive as to methods, though perhaps not so fruitful in actual results. The emphasis laid upon psychological forces and the application of the methods of comparative grammar, the adoption of hints from the sciences of morphology and semantics, the continued patient devotion of a few to the historical grouping of large masses of material, have al contributed much toward creating a hope that chaos contains the possibility of order even in this field. However, the enthusiastic devotion to a single theory that is wont to assert itself in discoverers has often resulted in the overemphasis of partial methods, and has perhaps needlessly postponed a desired synthesis of methods that might bring more abiding results. Furthermore, in modal syntax, with which we are here concerned, the intricacies of the problems presented by the more complex sentences have intimidated many students into confining their researches within the simple sentence. Many of those who have essayed the harder problems of hypotaxis have been satisfied to explain the enigmas of the complex group by a too ingenuous reference to the behavior of the simple ones, not realizing that the compound of two or more simples even in language is often a wholly new entity, not a mere sum of the original forces. It was with this general situation in view that the present studies[1] were undertaken.

I believe that what is most needed at present is a number of life-history studies of phrases, clauses, and idiomatic constructions, just as the larger problems of biological evolution need a great number of life-histories. Such must not only be descriptive in nature, but, to be of the greatest service, must also connect the individual with its cognates in the general scheme of evolution.

[1] A second paper will follow, devoted to expressions like *nulla causa est quin det.*

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The complete story of a highly specialized idiom like this involves three tasks. (1) The idiom must be described as it behaves in the language studied. (2) Its grammatical relationships within its own language must be examined for light upon its immediate provenance. Here care must be observed to search for such forces in its context as may have created, fixed, and preserved the idiom within the language. (3) Cognate constructions in the closely related languages must always be scrutinized lest we explain as of Latin origin a construction that is due to circumstances not existing in Latin. I hope that the paper will not only furnish data in regard to the idioms here studied, but will give some definite proof as to the limits of applicability of the methods now generally used, as well as offer some new suggestions for future work.

I. Expressions like (*non*) *habet quod det*, with potential force, are of frequent occurrence throughout Latin. In Plautus they appear nearly a hundred times; in Cicero the number exceeds this; and they continue to be familiar throughout Latin literature with little change in form or function. The relative clauses contained in them are sometimes grouped in the grammars with so-called consecutive or characterizing clauses. They are like these in that they qualify an indefinite or negative antecedent of the same kind. They differ from them, however, in that they are invariably in the subjunctive mood, whereas ordinary characterizing clauses may at times be found in the indicative, particularly in early Latin and in the poets. Secondly, the character that they express as a consequence of the nature of the antecedent is not expressed as an existing fact, but rather as possible. *nihil est quod det* in this idiom means, "he has nothing that he can give," "he has not the means." The idiom is usually a mere statement of existence or non-existence of some means not further defined, but the nature of which is made evident in the relative clause that follows. (*non*) *est*, (*non*) *habet*, (*non*) *copiast*, (*non*) *paratumst*, are the antecedents in a large majority of the occurrences; often, however, a semi-defining noun stands as antecedent, as in *nil est dotis quod*. In the most characteristic phrases the negative antecedent is somewhat more frequent than the affirmative.

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The most striking peculiarity is one that I do not think has been pointed out. The relative clause in the group *nil est quod det* (except in a limited class of instances) changes its function materially with the change of case in *quod:*

1. When *quod* is the subject of *det*, the clause expresses a fact: "there is nothing that gives, etc."

2. When *quod* is used adverbially, the clause expresses an "obligation": "There is no reason why he should give."

3. When *quod* is the direct object of *det*, the clause is "potential in force": "There is nothing he can give."

We are here concerned with the third type. The second type will be taken up in the next study.

Some data will make the matter clearer. Of the relative[1] clauses in Plautus that express capacity or "potentiality" in modal idioms, almost all use the relative as the direct object of the subordinate clause. In this function *quod* occurs more than forty times; *quem*, *quos*, etc., ten times. Finally the dative and ablative objects appear a few times. This is not saying that the relative never serves as direct object in pure characterizing clauses of fact. It may do so when the action of its verb is not purely momentary and physical in the present time. This exception holds true of most verbs whose action covers more than the immediate present; cf. *nil est quin dixerim* (*Bacch.* 1012), "There is nothing that I have not told him;" of general truths; cf. *quisnam fluviust quem non recipiat mare* (*Curc.* 86); also verbs denoting mental activity and therefore coming under the same rule; cf. *nullast quam aeque amem* (*Am.* 509), "There's no girl I love so much," ". . . . *quem metuam*" (*As.* 111); ". . . . *quod cupiam*" (*Curc.* 172), etc. All of these express actuality, not potentiality, Now contrast these with *nil habet quod det*, ... *faciat*. . . . . *videam*, ... *edim*, etc. The latter do not express actuality. They convey an additional idea, namely, that of *posse*.

This distinction seems so intricate that it will probably be suspected by the grammarians who fear "metaphysical syntax," but it is not a distinction of Latin alone. It holds true in general for other languages also; for it denotes a limitation of thought,

[1] I omit for the time being clauses with unde, ubi, qui-instrumental, and the like.

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and therefore naturally of expression. In English we may say, "There is no one here that I love, ... hate; .... that I wish to see, ... that I have ever seen, ... that I (ever) associate with." "There is nothing here that I wish to eat, ... can eat," etc. But we do not—never have reason to—say in a literal sense: "There is nothing here that I eat" (in the sense of "am eating"), ".... that I see, strike, touch." Nor do other languages use such phrases. The following expressions would hardly be intelligible, except perhaps in some figurative sense: *Es ist keiner hier, den ich sehe; Il n'y a personne ici que je voie; Det finnes ingen her, som jag ser*, etc.

Now, the remarkable fact about the behavior of Latin in the use of this idiom is that, while in other languages we neither express nor possess any idiomatic collocation that might express such a notion, Latin has such a collocation which, taken at face-value, as we understand such values in the Latin we possess, would express that piece of *ἀδύνατα εἰκότα*, which, however, expresses something quite different, i. e., capacity. The phrase *nil habet quod det*, with *quod* as an accusative, could therefore never have been in its present form a pure characterizing clause of fact, as is the case with the nominative *quod*. It may have been an extension of such, adapted to a new function. It may, as I shall suggest, be connected with a relative clause of purpose, or it may have come more directly from independent uses of the subjunctive after *quod* had acquired the power of subordination.

As for the current method of classifying such clauses, it is usual to include them under the consecutive relative clauses without explanation. Mr. Hale[1] believes that they come from an independent "potential." Mr. Elmer[2] thinks that they must either be grouped with volitives or with what he terms the subjunctive of contingent futurity. Such attributions imply certain life-histories, even if these are not given in full. The truth may be that several usages are here included in one group. Whatever the past history may have been, I believe that the expressions described above made up a fairly homogeneous group by the time

[1] Cf. *Cum-Constructions*, pp. 106, 107; *Trans. A. P. A.* 1900, pp. 160 ff.; Hale-Buck *Grammar*, sec. 516.

[2] *Cornell Studies* VI, p. 196.

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of Plautus, and acting together as a definite *Gebrauchstypus*, and that we are doing no violence to the correct conception of language in studying them as one consistent group.

The idiom is fairly stable throughout Latinity. Some later divergencies are noticeable, however. Cicero, while showing no aversion to the idiom, is fond of substituting for it a more explicit expression of capacity; i. e., a characterizing clause whose verb is some subjunctive form of *possum* or *queo*, as for example, *habere se putant quod . . . . queant dicere* (*Lael.* 71; cf. *Off.* 2. 39; *Div. Caec.* 10; *Caecin.* 36, etc.). This habit is no doubt in accord with the equally redundant habit of ending an implied quotation of a reason with a verb declarandi; e. g., *egit quod aequum esse diceret.*

The fact is obvious that the subjunctive was assuming an ever-increasing burden of work, and was becoming so overloaded that an exact writer must unconsciously have used such means for the sake of clearness.

Another novelty is the appearance of *nil habet quid det*, if in fact its non-appearance in Plautus is not to be attributed to a Plautine or colloquial peculiarity. It seems to be a relatively late outgrowth of a semantic change in *habeo*, which verb in this new idiom becomes almost a synonym of *scio*. Plautus has *nil habeo certi quid loquar* (*Mil.* 407), and Terence uses the phrase once in a dependent but "extended" deliberative of the first person: *Andr.* 498, *teneo quid erret et quid agam habeo.* By the time of Cicero the new idiom is frequent. Considering that this use of *habeo* is highly specialized and late, we cannot bring forth *habeo quid* as an explanation of *habeo quod.* It is more probable that the influence worked in the opposite direction. It is also probable that the Greek *οὐχ ἔχω ὅτι* played a considerable part in the creation of (*non*) *habeo quid.* I do not mean to imply that these two expressions were ever perfectly synonymous, but they certainly overlap in function at times.

There is finally an interesting example of "contamination" in the late Latin idiom *non habuit quod* (*quid*) *dicere*, which is obviously due to a fusion of *non habuit quod* (*quid*) *diceret* and *nihil habuit dicere.* Cf. *Je n'ai que faire de lui.*

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I have considered it worth while to give a full list of the Plautine examples to show the early usage of the idiom. For later authors abundant examples may be found in the lexicons. We have not space for them here. I have grouped them according to the nature of the antecedents and connectives, and have separated the affirmatives from the negatives. Such as depend upon other subjunctives and infinitives of indirect discourse are inclosed in brackets.

1. *est quod, -unde, -qui*, etc.:

est domi *quod* edimus (*Poen.* 537); *erit* extemplo mihi *quod* dem tibi (*Capt.* 122); doleat (*Cist.* 67): miserescat (*Ep.* 526); des (*Men.* 492); dicas (*Merc.* 642); gaudeant (*St.* 394); (ut *quod* abrodat *sit* [*Am.* 724]; det [*As.* 83]; edis [*Poen.* 867]).

sunt divitiae? *unde* excoquat sebum (*Capt.* 281); occipiam (*M. G.* 676).

est qui ventrem vestiam (*St.* 376); (*qui* conteram [*As.* 419]; possis [*Trin.* 653]).

est ubi ambules (*Capt.* 12); (ut *sit ubi* sedeat [*M. G.* 82]; essem [*Truc.* 140]; *quem* caederes [*Am.* 377]).

a) Negatives of the same class:

non est quod dem (*Capt.* 121; *As.* 242; *Trin.* 761); (*nega esse quod* dem [*St.* 256]; darem [*Pers.* 119]; det [*Cist.* 737]).

nil est quod respondeam (*Trin.* 188); dem (*Aul.* 238); perdam (*Men.* 665).

nil est qui tergum tegam (*Most.* 992); dimminuam (*Men.* 304); fungatur (*Trin.* 354); vivamus (*Trin.* 561); *quo* recipiam (*Capt.* 103); *quicum* litigent (*Poen.* 587); *qua* possit (*M. G.* 329).

non ubi sedeas locus *est* (*Capt.* 12); (*ubi* possit [*As.* 767]).

unde dent (*Truc.* 146); *quos* emerem (*Pers.* 262); *quibuscum* haberes (*Bacch.* 564); *nec* tibi *qui* vivas *domist* (*Capt.* 581); *qui* ulciscerer (*Men.* 636).

quod dem *nusquam* . . . . *est* (*As.* 631); queat (*Trin.* 801).

nullus est tibi *quem* roges? (*Ps.* 294); *qui* reddatur (*Bacch.* 609) (= quem reddat); *qui* negem (*Capt.* 937); despondeam (*Merc.* 614); procurent (*St.* 200).

2. Other verbs of existence; *habeo, copiast, paratumst*, etc.:

habet quod det (*Poen.* 833); dent (*Truc.* 76); ut *habeat quod* det (*As.* 103); des (*As.* 188); renumeret (*Bacch.* 46); feram (*Trin.* 728); *quod* ames *paratumst* (*Bacch.* 219); edit (*Poen.* 9); *quod* ames . . . . *praestost* (*Ep.* 653); agat (*M. G.* 205); *copiast* . . . . *qui* solvas (*Rud.* 558); *habeo*

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unde dem (*As.* 234; *Trin.* 158); expetam (*Cist.* 671); *qut* utamur (*Trin.* 335, 336); (*qut* possent [*Ep.* 384]).

a) Negatives of the same class:

quod edit *non habet* (*Capt.* 463; *Trin.* 564; *Truc.* 243 [*Truc.* 242]).

neque id *unde* efficiat *habet* (*Poen.* 185); occipias (*Ps.* 399); *ubi* collocem (*Ep.* 531); (*non habere quoi* commendarem [*Merc.* 246]; *quo* intromittar [*Men.* 669]; *qut* nosceret [*Rud.* 393]; *qut* aleret [*Trin.* 14]).

3. Similar expressions conveying a potential idea may follow verbs of action like *dare, quaerere,* etc. A volitive idea is always evident in these expressions, especially when the leading verb is an imperative (or subjunctive of will). Sometimes the volitive idea is the predominant one. Their relationship with the preceding classes will be discussed later.

dat quod edit (*Trin.* 359); raro *dabat quod* biberem (*Cist.* 19); *qut* occideret (*Trin.* 129).

da illi *quod* bibat (*Most.* 344); dem (*M. G.* 692); *monstra quod* bibam (*Men.* 742).

da . . . . *ubi* condormiscam (*Rud.* 571); *ubi* ames (*Poen.* 603; *Curc.* 311; *St.* 752; *Aul.* 407).

quod edit *quaerit* (*Capt.* 461); *quaero* hospitium *ubi* curer (*Poen.* 693).

dum illi *quod* edit . . . . *praebeas* (*Men.* 90).

ratu's *nactum* hominem *quem* defraudares (*Rud.* 1387; *Bacch.* 506, 864).

vix reliquit deo *quod* loqueretur (*Cist.* 150; cf; *As.* 233; *Aul.* 14; *Cas.* 251; *Curc.* 388).

eme lanam *unde* tibi pallium conficiatur (*M. G.* 687; cf. also *Aul.* 672; *Bacch.* 233; *Merc.* 53; *M. G.* 768; *Poen.* 178, 668; *Trin.* 558).

Some negatives of the same nature are: *nec quod* edim quicquam *datur* (*Poen.* 1284); *quem* rogitem (*Rud.* 226; *Trin.* 135, 155).

There is also a peculiar instance with *illud quod:* "blanditur dum *illud quod rapiat videt* (*Men.* 193). It is usually believed that *ille* has not yet assumed the characterizing function in Plautus. Perhaps this is an early instance. The clause is certainly not one of "volition." The meaning of *videt* precludes that interpretation.

II. We have seen that Latin literature exhibits our idiom as well established and almost unchanging. Yet it bears the appear-

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ance of being highly specialized. Latin possesses verbs and collocations of words with which to express capacity and possibility. Why should our elliptical expression with its verb invariably in the subjunctive have invaded this field?

A scrutiny of the material given above, and a comparison of this with similar but more primitive constructions, may give some hints as to its immediate provenance. Its most stable element is the mood of the dependent clause. On the basis of this the comparison should be made.

1. There is a close resemblance between this and relative clauses of purpose. Purpose expressions readily fall into expressions of character and capacity. When one says: "I shall hire a man to do this," his words leave the implication that he will try to get a man who *can* do it. Language constantly reveals phrases that betray this habit of our thought processes. English has frankly adopted an auxiliary of capacity for many of its purpose expressions ("that . . . . *may*," "in order that . . . . *may*"). Even the English infinitive, which is largely a dative of purpose, often expresses not purpose but availability: "Water, water everywhere, nor any drop *to drink*." Greek did not hesitate to express a purpose clause in the optative with ἄν or κεν which is the mechanism most frequent with the various "potential" idioms. Cf. *Od.* viii. 21:

> καί μιν μακρότερον καὶ πάσσονα θῆκεν ἰδέσθαι
> ὥς κεν Φαιήκεσσι φίλος πάντεσσι γένοιτο.

See also v. 166. What is even more surprising, the mechanism is found in a relative clause after a primary tense in *Il.* i. 64,

> ἀλλ' ἄγε δή τινα μάντιν ἐρείομεν . . . . ὅς κ' εἴποι.

Now, returning to Latin, note in the following series the gradual submission of the note of *will* to that of *capacity:*

a) *ut commostremus* locum ubi potes, "to show you a place where you may drink" (*Poen.* 603).
quo furatum venias *vestigas loca* (*Rud.* 111).
b) *quaerit* quod edit (*Capt.* 461).
da illi quod bibat (*Most.* 344).
c) *paratumst* quod edit (*Poen.* 9).
nec quod edit *quicquam datur* (*Poen.* 1284).

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d) *est* domi quod edimus (*Poen.* 537).
nec tibi qui vivas *domist* (*Capt.* 581).

The same change may be observed after the leading verb *relinquere* in the following:

a) *relinque* aliquantum orationis cras quod mecum litiges (*Cas.* 251).
b) satin *vix reliquit* deo quod loqueretur loci (*Cist.* 150).
c) agri *reliquit* non magnum modum quo . . . . viveret (*Aul.* 14).
d) non omnino iam perii; *est relicuom* quo peream magis (*As.* 233).
e) qui me aleret *nil video esse reliqui* (*Trin.* 14).

If the first sentence had been introduced by *est relicuom* (practically equal to *est* or *habet*) instead of by the imperative, which gives a tone of intention to the whole, we should have found a strong potential tone present. In other words, in proportion as intention shades off from the leading verb, and as the leading verb changes into the tense and voice that make it a mere expression of the existence or non-existence of an effective agent, the relative clause shifts from the tone of a purpose into that of a "potential" expression.

Observe again that with a leading verb expressing volition by means of an imperative or subjunctive, the dependent verb even in this form has a predominantly volitive shading; e. g., *Am.* 724, "*ut* quod abrodat *sit*;" *As.* 105, "*ut habeat* filius amicae quod det;" and several others in the list. In fact, in such situations Plautus often finds it necessary to rescue the potential idea from being thus overwhelmed by the volitive of the main verb. This he does by means of the verb *posse*, which is not otherwise necessary. Cf. *Trin.* 653, *ut tibi sit qui te corrigere possis.* In a statement of fact he would probably have written *est qui corrigas.* Other good instances are *As.* 767; *Epid.* 384; *Merc.* 53; *Trin.* 155. This again betrays the very close connection between the two idioms.

I would add an illustration of a slightly different type. Compare "aliquid quod poscas *paras*," *As.* 168, with "quod ames *paratumst*," *Bacch.* 219. In the former an active verb, energetic with intention, fills the dependent clause with purpose. In the latter the verb is passive; the end has been attained, the means secured. Now, means implies capacity, the expression of which becomes predominant in the dependent clause. Other expressions

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like the second one are: *Rud.* 558, "*tibi copiast*. . . . qui rem solvas;" *Epid.* 653, "tibi quod ames domi *praestost* opera mea." (Note how the words *opera mea* keep a reminder of effort, i. e., of a purpose expression, still lingering in the sentence.)

To an intelligent mind, even the words *copia*, *praesto*, and the like are superfluous. "*est qui* rem solvas" becomes fully sufficient to reproduce the idea required.

My conclusion is therefore that the *habet quod det* idiom may well be an extension of the ordinary relative purpose clause,[1] which is more primitive and probably proethnic; or at least that legitimate and natural extensions of purpose expressions readily become "potential." The mechanism of this extension is in the main quite simple. Verbs of effort and intention in the active voice, and particularly in the imperative mood or in the subjunctive of will, are naturally followed by clauses that express primarily will and intention, secondarily a capacity to attain the desired or intended object. Now, when the leading verb becomes a passive expression of the attainment or existence of the means sought for —that is, when the tone of effort or intention wanes—the idea of capacity becomes predominant.

If we are ready to admit this extension of the purpose clauses under certain conditions, there is still abundant room for doubt whether such extensions should still be treated individually as sporadic and remote cases of purpose clauses, or whether they constitute a new and well-defined group with form and function distinct from the purpose clause, acting as a new independent idiom. What follows may help to decide the question. Meanwhile I shall assume the truth of the second supposition.

[1] The extension of function that the infinitive of purpose passed through in most languages furnishes an illuminating parallel for the story I have here sketched as well as for the next study. Note the behavior of the adverbial infinitive in English. It began as a dative of purpose (*to writanne*) governed by the preposition "to." This use still prevails of course. However, in various surroundings the purpose idea weakened and other forces prevailed. It came to suggest destination ("ready *to work*"), result or consequence ("he was so weak as *to yield*"), character ("he is a man *to thrive* in the world"), capacity ("easy *to do*"), availability ("not a crumb *to eat*"), propriety ("worthy *to be read*"), obligation ("there are three *strokes to make;*" at least, the golfer will agree with me that this denotes obligation), necessity ("nothing is *to be done*"), and so on. The road is as long from *da bibere* to *tempus est abire* in Latin, and the extensive use of the infinitival constructions in Sanskrit would furnish an abundance of additional illustrations.

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2. The sketch here given attributes the change of function to forces found within the fully developed complex sentence. It does not explain anything by reference to usages in parataxis. There are signs, however, that some independent usages exerted an influence in the process. A large proportion of the verbs of these relative clauses appear in the first person, and many of them follow expressions like *nil est, non habeo:* "I am at a loss." In both of these respects they resemble dependent "deliberative" expressions. Sentences like *nil est qui tergum tegam* (*Most.* 992), "I have no means of protection for my back;" and *neque unde auxilium expetam habeo* (*Cist.* 671), are not far from the paratactic forms, in which the *qui-* and *unde*-clauses would be taken as "questions of deliberation." Mark the use of *qui?* It is an instrumental ablative, and therefore, even where introducing simply questions of the first person, like *qui ego istuc credam tibi* (*Merc.* 627), it steeps them in a tone of (in)capability. So strong is this feeling that *qui* is found continually associating with various forms of *posse.*[1] The same may be said to some extent of *quo, qua, unde,* and *ubi.* When "deliberative" questions with *qui* (= *quo modo*) appear in hypotaxis, they do not necessarily abandon the tone they had before. A large proportion[2] of the examples of our idiom use *qui* (="how") as a connective.

In this discussion of "deliberatives" I have assumed that independent questions like *qui ego istuc credam tibi?* should not be regarded as independent "potentials," but as deliberatives. Let me illustrate. Here are three questions expressed in the first person: (*a*) *quid faciam?* (*b*) *qui faciam?* (*c*) *cur faciam?* [(*a*) "do what?" (*b*) "do it, how?" (*c*) "why do it?" i. e., "what shall I do?" "how can I do it?" "why should I do it?"] The first would normally be answered by an imperative; the second, by a statement regarding the ways and means, i. e., by some form of *posse;* the third, by a statement regarding the ethics of the situation, i. e., by some form of *oportere.* Now, by a well-respected, but, as I think, a dangerous, rule, the mood of a question

[1] Cf. *Epid.* 414; *M. G.* 1277; *Most.* 643; *Poen.* 986, 1156; *Ps.* 930; *Rud.* 1110; *Trin.* 87, 1145; and many others.

[2] *As.* 419; *Capt.* 581, 987; *Epid.* 384; *Men.* 304, 636; *M. G.* 768; *Most.* 992; *Rud.* 338, 398; *St.* 376; *Trin.* 14, 129, 135, 335, 336, 561, 354, 653.

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is classed according to the nature of the answer. By this rule, the first question becomes a "volitive," the second a "potential," the third a "prescriptive." Is this not reading too much into the mood of *faciam?* To me the verb seems in each case to stand in the subjunctive of "deliberation." In (*b*) the *qui*, "how," raises an additional question of means, and in (*c*) the *cur*, "why," raises an additional question of propriety. It is the *qui* and the *cur* that call for *potest* and *oportet*. *faciam* is innocent.

One more point needs emphasis. Even in such combinations as *neque unde auxilium expetam habeo* it must not be thought that the entire feeling of incapacity comes from the questioning part (*unde expetam?*). The question, to be sure, is originally asked in a tone of helplessness, and therefore implies lack of means; but the new element in the complex sentence, *non habeo*, plainly asserts what the question only implied. The whole expression is now one of incapacity, and it is unfair to say that the mood of the verb or the original question is the part that conveys the meaning. Even had these not performed the function, the new combination[1] could hardly have escaped doing so. As for the mood of the verb, in such cases it is to be explained as continuing into hypotaxis the mood of the original question; and that, as we have just indicated, is the same as that of other questions in the first person, like *quid faciam?*

3. There are some independent constructions in Latin, like *quis putet? vix crederes*, that express various ideas of capacity. Now, obviously our idiom would find its simplest explanation if, when we had resolved these into their paratactic elements, the dependent clause proved to be an ordinary independent usage of the subjunctive. I shall postpone the larger problem of a possible descent

[1] It is impossible, of course, to draw the line where such dependent clauses cease to be reminiscent of the interrogative stage and begin to associate with other relative clauses. At such a time the two classes here discussed (the descendents of relative purpose clauses, and those of questions) must have fused. The *quod* expression in *non habeo quod* must have come from the former source, for it acquires its subordinating function from the *qui*-clauses, and yet the early writers were confusing relatives and interrogatives to an extent that made fusion easy. Plautus may write: scit quod velit (*Cist.* 706), and Cato: quid volet faciat (*R. R.* 148). The persisting forms *quidlubet* and *quidvis* are witnesses, too. In *Poen.* 627, *viam nescio qua veniat ad mare*, a relative pronoun referring to *viam* serves to introduce a quoted "deliberation." The testimony is abundant.

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from a proethnic "potential" to the third part of this paper, and here briefly indicate why I did not simply connect (*non*) *habet quod det* with such independent expressions of capacity as exist in Latin. Such certainly exist. I find it impossible with Elmer[1] to annihilate them by translation. On the other hand, I am not fully convinced by Hale's[2] presentation that the verb in such expressions stands in the "potential" subjunctive. I mean that the expressions as a whole convey this peculiar force, not the mood of the verb alone. Mr. Hale recognizes some eleven[3] distinct usages of this construction in Latin, and connects them with similar expressions in Greek as representatives of an Indo-European usage of the optative.

This is not the place to discuss these in full. I can only indicate by one illustration the reasons for my skepticism. The method I shall apply to the Greek examples will hold in general for the Latin as well. Let us, then, examine the potential expression with *vix* and *facile*. These adverbs obviously have no place except in expressions of capacity. We speak of "difficulty" and "ease" only with reference to the capacity to act. So true is this that in Cicero[4] about one-half of the occurrences of these adverbs modify the verb *posse*, and the rest contain an implication of the idea that belongs to *posse*, whatever the verb or the mood of that verb may be. English says almost invariably: "he *could hardly* do it." Now, be the mood of the verb what it may, if *vix* or *facile* be present, the verb, since the verb is the part that expresses the action of the sentence, will seem imbued with the potential idea. If the verb is, e. g., a characterizing subjunctive, as in Caes. *B. G.* 1. 6. 1, "erant omnino itinera duo quibus itineribus domo exire possent; unum per Sequanos, angustum et difficile, *vix qua* singuli carri *ducerentur*," it seems natural to call it a "potential" subjunctive. By the same token, one would find a "potential" clause of fear in "metuo ne *vix* sibi *constet*," "they can hardly be consistent" (*Acad.* 132); a potential result clause in "tempestates coortae sunt maximae ut non modo proficisci non posset sed

[1] *Cornell Studies* VI. [2] *Trans. A. P. A.* 1900.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 155–60. The statement in the Hale-Buck *Grammar*, sec. 516, is more conservative.

[4] Note, too, the regular presence of *posse* in purpose clauses with *quo facilius* whereas it seldom is found with *quo maturius*, *quo libentius*, etc.

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vix in oppido *consisteret*," "they could hardly hold the port" (*Verr.* i. 46); a "potential" imperfect indicative in "*vix* risum *tenebant*," "they could hardly restrain their laughter" (*Vat.* 20); and so on through the moods and tenses. Is it not true that in such cases the moods and tenses have their *raison d'être* regardless of the "potential" tone, and that this is only an adumbration of *vix* and the general tone of the sentence?

The potential idea, then, seems to belong to the whole expression,[1] and has in no case become associated with the mood of the verb and that alone. This is clear from the fact that the verb when standing alone in the subjunctive is never interpreted in the potential sense. A *vix*, *forsitan*, *facile*, or a peculiar antecedent sentence must be near by. We therefore have no independent "potential" usage of the subjunctive to form the nucleus of our complex phrase. At best we should have to assume as nucleus some stereotyped expression the combined parts of which might perform the function. However, the processes of subordination do not employ such methods, and obviously that is not the constitution of this idiom.

On the other hand, we must admit that we cannot entirely disprove the older hypothesis. It may be that at some time the mood alone without any accessories could do service as a potential expression, and that the usage finally withered away into a few phrases as they appear in historical times. We can only say that the process sketched in the foregoing seems more in conformity with the behavior of modal usages as we know them.

III. We now come to our third task; i. e., to find what light a comparative study may throw upon the provenance and history of this construction.

[1] I have not space to analyze every Latin idiom in order to prove the truth of this. The analysis of the Greek idioms will suffice for the Latin ones, since they are of the same nature. The general principle underlying the statement made above has been expressed by Morris *Aims and Methods*, pp. 96 ff., in a better manner than I find myself able to do.

As for *quis putet*, I would suggest that it was given its function and kept alive by force of *quis est qui putet*. The shorter phrase may have begun as a hypothetical expression, but in Classical Latin it is usually neither hypothetical nor purely potential in tone. It is rather a brief equivalent of *quis est qui putet*, which expresses actuality as all normal consecutive clauses do.

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1. There are in Greek several sentences like *ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκέτ' ἔστιν εἰς ὅ τι βλέπω πλὴν σοῦ* (Soph. *Ai.* 514) which closely resemble our idiom, although they are rarer. These have fortunately received a convincing discussion by Mr. Hale (*Tr. A. P. A.* 1893, pp. 156–205), who has shown beyond a doubt that they are extensions of the so-called "deliberative" usage. The existence of the many modal distinctions through the presence of *ἄν*, and the preservation of the optative, insures the possibility of greater certainty for Greek in such discussion. This proof therefore has no little weight in adding assurance to our assumption of a similar history for the Latin construction.

2. The closest Greek parallels, however, are found in the optative; and these are very similar to our idiom both in form and in function. There are several Homeric examples of this usage, like *Od.* v. 142:

> *οὐ γάρ μοι πάρα νῆες ἐπήρετμοι καὶ ἑταῖροι*
> *οἵ κέν μιν πέμποιεν ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης.*

There are also several instances without *ἄν* (cf. *Tr. A. P. A.* 1893, pp. 158 ff.), but these are too problematical to afford safe ground for inferences. Now, the first question that demands an answer is whether these Greek examples are representatives of a Greek idiom with a "pure potential;" if so, are we to connect these with our Latin idiom? To answer the first part of this question, we must be sure that Greek possesses such a usage in independent sentences. Mr. Elmer doubts it. He says: "I strongly suspect that the potential optative in Greek rests upon the same footing as the potential subjunctive in Latin, so far as the ideas of 'may' and 'can' are concerned, etc." He proposes that they be tested in the same manner as he has tested the Latin idioms. Hale undertakes a refutation of Elmer's arguments in *Tr. A. P. A.* 1900, pp. 138–62; and Postgate in a review of Elmer (*Class. Rev.* 1899, p. 68) says in opposition to Elmer: "The Latin potential does not stand alone. It has the support of Greek." Now, I must confess that I "suspect" this usage of the optative in Greek as "strongly" as does Mr. Elmer, although I should not "test them in the same manner" as he, by means of translations. Such

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idioms must rather be examined one by one as Greek and Latin idioms, not in arbitrary groups determined by the accidental existence of potential auxiliaries like "could," "might," "may," *können*, *mögen*, that differ in connotation in the different languages.

Here, as in the case of the Latin idiom, I shall admit at once that the expression as a whole is "potential"[1] in meaning, and that in translation we usually bring out this meaning through a "potential" verb; for it is the verb that is most often called upon to express the action of the sentence. In making this admission, however, we have not said that the verb of the original was in the *optative mood* because of the presence of such meaning.

The expressions of this nature that are most often produced as evidence are of the following types:

a) *Od.* i. 65, πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ θείοιο λαθοίμην; "How could I possibly forget the princely Odysseus?"

b) *Od.* iii. 114, τίς κεν ἐκεῖνα πάντα γε μυθήσαιτο; "Who could recount all those woes?"

c) *Od.* iv. 78, ἦ τοι Ζηνὶ βροτῶν οὐκ ἄν τις ἐρίζοι, "No mortal man could vie with Zeus."

d) Various expressions in the affirmative that will be illustrated later.

Let us examine these in turn.

a) πῶς as an instrumental particle naturally teems with suggestions[2] of means, capacity, potency. Whatever the mood of the verb that follows, it will be pretty sure to suggest "potentiality"

[1] When I speak of "potential" here, I refer of course only to the narrower sense of the word, as did Messrs. Hale, Elmer, and Bennett in their discussions. If I am right in my conviction that the subjunctive or optative *per se* never expresses this idea, we shall have to revise our terminology again; we must either restore the word "potential" to cover the "hypothetical" usages, or we may banish the word as applied to moods and speak only of "potential *idioms*," "potential *expressions*," but not "potential *optatives*."

[2] I shall have much to say of the "influence of the introductory particles and conjunctions." I do not mean to say that it is the conjunction that gives the peculiar meaning to its clause in any abiding sense. The opposite is true, of course. The clause originally shapes the function of the connective, and even changes that function freely—may in fact instil into the particles contradictory functions. However, when a conjunction has once gained a definite meaning, it may contain the kernel of the sentence-force, and thus at times perform much of the work of other parts of the sentence, even relieving the lexical and modal meanings of the verb of part of their work. Cf. questions like *quidni? τί μήν; qui dum?* where no verbal forms are needed and the lexical meaning is supplied from the context.

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somewhere, unless such suggestion is overwhelmed by strong emphasis upon some other idea. Note the behavior of πῶς-questions in Homer. There are three types: (1) the πῶς-question serves as apodosis of a "contrary to fact" condition or to a statement of cause; (2) the condition lies in a phrase or word; (3) the condition is of universal content. [(1) How do it, *since*, or, *if*—? (2) How do it, *under such conditions?* (3) How do *such a thing—ever?*]. Note that a condition offering obvious difficulties is always expressed or implied. In fact, it is the difficulty of the condition that calls for the question of possibility or impossibility. The examples of these types in Homer are:

(1) *Il.* xvii. 149. πῶς κε σὺ χείρονα φῶτα σαώσειας . . . . | ἐπεὶ Σαρπηδόν' ἅμα ξεῖνον καὶ ἑταῖρον κάλλιπες; "How could you save a lesser man, | when you deserted Sarpedon?" Also *Od.* viii. 352; ix. 351.

(2) *Od.* xviii. 31. πῶς δ' ἂν σὺ νεωτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ μάχοιο; "How could you fight one younger than yourself?" Also *Il.* xvii. 325; xix. 81.

(3) *Od.* i. 65. πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος λαθοίμην; "How could I ever forget him?" Also *Il.* x. 243; ix. 437.

The sentences teem with suggestions of impossibility, but the "potential" mechanism does not lie in the mood of the verb. It lies in πῶς, in the nature of the condition, in the order of the words, in the sentence stress, in particles like ἔπειτα, γάρ, γε, that lie scattered about to prod the reader's memory of these things. The very architecture of the phrases does its part. Mark how the tone of improbability rises with each syllable in πῶς ἂν ἐγώ σε δέοιμι; *Od.* viii. 352. What, then, is the function of the optative in such questions? Since impossible situations are naturally expressed by the mood of an "ideal" condition, the optative is the mood that most frequently occurs with such questions. The verb simply stands in the mood of hypothetical expressions. In fact, similar expressions with the indicative and subjunctive, though these are naturally rarer for the reason I have just given, may readily convey a potential idea, if the rest of the mechanism is present. Note the effect of πῶς with a dubitative subjunctive in *Od.* xvi. 70, πῶς γὰρ δὴ τὸν ξεῖνον ἐγὼν ὑποδέξομαι οἴκῳ; (Palmer translates: "*How can* I take a stranger home?") and with an indicative in *Od.* xix. 325, πῶς γὰρ ἐμεῦ σύ, ξεῖνε, δαήσεαι, εἴ . . . .

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(*Il.* i. 150), "How could you think me better than other women —if you should sit unkempt at table?" Such cases are familiar enough throughout Greek, yet no one has offered to supply an intricate classification of "potential future indicatives," "potential dubitative subjunctives," and the like.[1]

Sanskrit shows even fewer examples than Greek of independent expressions that might be styled "pure potentials." However, *kathá* (*katham*), the cognate and functional-equivalent of πῶς, is prone to impregnate its clauses with this meaning, be they in whatsoever mood. See its behavior with the optative in the frequently occurring question, *kathā dāṣemāgnáye?* "How might we honor Agni?" *R.V.* i. 77. 1; iv. 5. 1; iv. 41. 13, etc. (cf. *Grass. Lex.*, *sub voce* for examples). But the subjunctive with *kathá* is quite as "potential." *kathó nú te pári carāṇi*, *R.V.* v. 29. 13, "How can I comprehend thy deeds?" Cf. also v. 41. 11. The instrumental *kena* behaves similarly with the optative in i. 76. 1 and with the injunctive in i. 165. 2.

In a paper on the "Uses of the Optative in the Eddas" I have brought together some material that will illustrate my point from that later field (see p. 6). The verb in *hví megi svá vera?* "How can that be?" (Mork. 97. 17), was called "potential" by Delbrück (Paul-Braune *Beitr.* XXIX, p. 206). He seems to me to be reading the meaning of *hví* and *megi* into the mood of the verb. For other examples see the paper cited (*A.J.P.* XXVII, pp. 1–32). The optative in independent sentences is too rare in Germanics to furnish many examples of this kind in any of the dialects.

b) Want of space forbids a full treatment of the subject of this excursus. In the remainder I shall limit myself to a rapid review of the material afforded by the *Odyssey*. This poem contains several examples of the type τίς κεν . . . . μυθήσαιτο. See *Od.* iii. 114; iv. 443, 649; xii. 283; xxi. 256; xxii. 12. The

[1] The semantics and morphology of the phrase πῶς ἄν are interesting. In Homer it usually asks the question with an implication of impossibility. In *Od.* xv. 155, there is the beginning of a transition which has been accomplished by the time of Aeschylus. The phrase introduces a wish, thus carrying ἄν into very strange territory. Finally, πῶς sloughs off the ἄν in this optative function, having acquired such a definite optative function in its own right that it may employ *subjunctive* forms in this old meaning. Cf. Stephanos *sub voce cit.*

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conditions described in the context and in the verb itself are depicted as of such a nature that the question can be asked only in a tone of incredulity. The action is never assumed as possible. The verb is simply in the mood of unreality. A typical case is afforded by Aesch. *Cho.* 595 (of the same kind, although without ἄν):

ἀλλ' ὑπέρτολμον ἀνδρὸς φρόνημα τίς λέγοι
καὶ γυναικῶν φρεσὶ τλημόνων
παντόλμους ἔρωτας
ἄταισι συννόμους βροτῶν;

"Who could tell of the overbold purpose of man, or the all-daring infatuation of wretched woman?"

The verb might have been in an infinitive form. There are some things one knows to be impossible "once he has come to Forty Years."

c) The above given questions are in an affirmative form with a negative implication. At times a less rhetorical form is employed; i. e., a simple negative statement; but the conditions are still of the same nature, and the verb is put in the mood of unreality to suit the situation. The occurrences in the *Odyssey* are iv. 78, "No mortal man would (might) vie with Zeus;" iii. 112; ix. 242; xii. 77, 88, 107; xiii. 87; xx. 392. Such statements are found throughout Greek. As for Sanskrit, I believe the *Rigveda* will fail to produce any examples, and in the remaining early writings they will be found very rarely if at all.

d) These negative statements and questions implying a negation constitute the greater mass of sentences that might be called upon to support a theory of a "pure potential" optative in Greek. There are also a few occurrences in the affirmative in which the expression as a whole produces a similar effect. Several of these are of the *vix facile* type which has already been discussed. What was then said will also hold for these. In *Od.* vi. 300, ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίγνωτ' ἐστί, καὶ ἂν πάις ἡγήσαιτο νήπιος, "It can easily be recognized, even a small boy might guide you to it," both clauses convey a tone of capacity; the optative ἡγήσαιτο no more deserves the name of "pure potential" than does the indicative ἐστί. In the first part ῥεῖα (=*facile*) and the nature of the

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adjective produce the meaning; in the second part the phrase *καὶ πάις νήπιος* expresses quite as unmistakably as does *ῥεῖα* the ease of the task. *ἠγήσαιτο* is in the mood of an "ideal" apodosis. *ῥεῖα* gives the same potential cast to an "irrealis" in xxiii. 188; *ῥηιδίως* in xiv. 197; *αἶψα* in xiii. 147, and xvii. 561, though in less marked degree; *ἥμενος* in iv. 595; and the phrase *καὶ εἷς ἀνήρ* in xxii. 138.

I would also call attention to some of the verbs thus affected. They are often verbs expressing such ideas as "reaching," "completely attaining to," etc. Cf. *οὐ δέ κεν εἰσαφίκοιτο*, xii. 84; *οὐ δέ κεν ἀμβαίη*, xii. 77; and the sentence often quoted as an example of the potential, *καί κεν διοϊστεύσειας*, xii. 102, "he might reach it with an arrow." That is, the effort implied in the *διά*, *εἰς*, *ἀνά* colors the whole expression into one of capacity, while the compound verb practically serves as an apodosis to a condition of which the verb in simple form would be the predicate, thus *εἰ ὀϊστεύσειας*, *διοϊστεύσειάς κεν*.

Is it not clear that such "pure potentials" are accidents of context? Of course, it may be that the accidents are frequent enough in a given language to establish a permanent habit or habits; i. e., to create various "potential" idioms. I doubt whether any of those discussed above can be so considered without doing violence to the spirit of the language. In fact, I fear that we have already done such violence in merely grouping these examples together, for such grouping may imply that in Greek usage these examples stood apart from the crowd of ephemeral phrases in a more peculiar and abiding manner than they actually did. There is a later potential idiom not yet mentioned—for it is post-Homeric—that seems so to have stood apart. I speak of the frequently occurring *τάχ' ἄν τις εἴποι* type. This, however, gained its independence at a relatively late date, coming into being with a peculiar semantic change in the word *τάχα* [="quickly > readily > readily (say) > (say) perhaps"]. It appears after Homer and Hesiod, sprouts up and thrives of its own free will, and betrays no connection with a supposed proethnic "pure potential."

In early Sanskrit I have found no certain instances of an inde-

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pendent optative with this meaning. In fact, then, the potential optative is pretty closely confined to the expression of "ideality" in dependent clauses. I suspect that it came into being in that field. The facts of Germanics intimate as much.[1]

We must now come back to the complex sentence for which we were vainly seeking a simple base. The examples in Homer are:

Od. iv. 167, *οὐ δέ οἱ ἄλλοι εἶσ', οἵ κεν κατὰ δῆμον ἀλάλκοιεν κακότητα* (cf. *Il.* xxii. 348).

Od. iv. 560, *οὐ γάρ οἱ πάρα νῆες ἐπήρετμοι καὶ ἑταῖροι οἵ κέν μιν πέμποιεν ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης* (cf. *Od.* v. 142; xvii. 146; ix. 126).

Il. v. 192, *ἵπποι δ' οὐ παρέασι καὶ ἅρματα, τῶν κ' ἐπιβαίην;* cf. xiv. 299; v. 483, *οὔ τί μοι ἐνθάδε τοῖον οἷόν κ' ἠὲ φέροιεν Ἀχαιοὶ ἦ κεν ἄγοιεν.*

I find only one example of this type in Homer with an antecedent in the affirmative. The sentence is quite loosely constructed:

Il. x. 171, *εἰσὶν μέν μοι παῖδες ἀμύμονες, εἰσὶ δὲ λαοὶ καὶ πολέες, τῶν κέν τις ἐποιχόμενος καλέσειεν.*

A longer list of examples from Greek tragedy may be found in Mr. Hale's discussion of "Deliberatives" (*Tr. A. P. A.* 1893, pp. 192, 193), in which paper reference is made to these Homeric examples. The usage is found throughout Greek literature and shows such a fixed and withal peculiar form that it may fairly be treated as idiomatic. An explicit antecedent of the relative is more regularly given than in the corresponding Latin idiom, where simply (*non*) *est* or (*non*) *habet* is quite sufficient. It is also quite regularly a negative, whereas in Latin the affirmative is as frequent as the negative.

Now, if Greek possessed a "pure potential" optative in independent usage in affirmative and negative, and if this were the base of our complex sentence, it would be strange if the dependent form should thus limit itself to the negative. The fact is, as we have seen, that Greek has no such independent usage of the optative mood. In the idioms discussed above (even granting that any of them deserves the name of idiom) there is no type that could serve as a simple base for this complex usage. Much less did they form a compound of similar idioms from which a "potential" *Modusbegriff* could have emanated to create the

[1] See "The Uses of the Optative in the Eddas," *A. J. P.* XXVII, p. 11.

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inspiration of a complex potential idiom. This idiom must therefore tell its own history.

I should interpret these sentences as they were formerly interpreted, before the new names were invented. The verbs are in the mood of the "irrealis." The implication of (im)possibility and (in)capacity comes from the denial of possible or capable means or agents in the antecedent phrase *οὐ παρέασι, οὔ μοι ἐστίν*. The psychology[1] is the same as of the simpler types already discussed. In fact, the mood of the dependent clause matters little, except that indicatives are usually too much impregnated with a precise and matter-of-fact tone to permit of such contamination; and yet this same tone betrays itself frequently even with the indicative, if the same mechanism is present. See the following, together with Jebb's (unprejudiced) translation:

οὐ γάρ τις ὅρμος ἐστίν οὐδ' ὅπου πλέων ἐξεμπολήσει κέρδος ἢ ξενώσεται. Soph. *Phil.* 303; "There is no seaport where he *can find* a gainful market or a kindly welcome."

οὐ γὰρ ἴσθ' ὅπως πόλιν κείνην ἐρεύψεις, *O. C.* 1373; "Never canst thou overthrow that city." Cf. also Pl. *Apol.* 37 *c*, and Soph. *El.* 1480.

Delbrück in his *Altindische Syntax* says under the title "Der Optative in Relativsätzen," p. 339: "Ist dagegen der Hauptsatz *fragend* oder *negativ*, so kommt in die Annahme der Nebensinn der *Unwirklichkeit*. Solche Sätze sind: *té hocur: ná vái sá manushyèshv agnér yajñíyā tanúr asti yáyeshṭvàsmákam ékaḥ syád íti* sie sprechen: unter den Menschen ist die opfermässige Gestalt des Agni nicht vorhanden, mit der opfernd man einer von uns werden könnte, Ç, B, 11, 5, 1, 13. Cf. *ibid.* 12, 3. 3. 5." This goes to the point exactly. It tells the whole story in brief. For some reason the early writers of India did not often employ such phraseology. I cannot find a good instance of it in the *Rigveda*.

These are the reasons for my "strong suspicions" of any "may-," "can-," "might-," etc., "potential" in Greek and Sanskrit. To summarize: The so-called "potential" usages of the optative in independent sentences are accidents of context, hardly reach

[1] It was the very same force that created the idiom *οὐκ ἔστιν* = non potest + infinitive. It first denies the existence of means; this results in an implication of incapacity and impossibility.

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the dignity of idioms, do not show traces of proethnic provenance, do not combine to create a "potential" *Grundbegriff*, and reveal little power to create a more complex potential usage. The complex optative idiom that most resembles the Latin idiom under discussion is itself an isolated growth and itself an accident of context, thongh perhaps possessing a longer individual history than any of the independent usages canvassed. Its potential meaning belongs to its hypotactic stage, a fact which probably precludes[1] its connection with the Latin idiom.

Such is the status of the "potential" modal expressions in the cognate languages. We have found no ground in them for the assumption of a common "potential" usage of the optative from which to derive the construction (*non*) *habet quod det.* Greek has, however, offered some suggestions by way of parallel growths. It has two idioms that seem to be quite well established, though far less extensively than the Latin one. One is in the subjunctive, occurs in both affirmative and negative as does the Latin one, and seems to be an extension of the so-called "deliberative" idiom. This close parallel therefore adds likelihood to our sketch of a similar history for the Latin construction. Greek has a second idiom which is in the optative, usually with ἄν and regularly after a negative. This proves to be in the mood of hypothetical expressions. The existence of such an idiom suggests that our idiom may also have some close connection with the subjunctive of ideality in Latin. Such connection would be likely enongh, but I see no way of proving or disproving the assumption. Greek offers no suggestions regarding a possible connection with pur-

[1] This is an important point, for it discloses the limitations of comparative modal syntax. It may be safe with Delbrück to assume Indo-European modal usages in simple sentences; but as soon as one attempts to do so with the great mass of complex sentences, one is floundering in quicksands. Some of the simpler connectives seem to be proethnic. At least, Greek and Sanskrit are not so far apart in the matter of the relative pronoun. Yet who shall affirm that even Greek and Sanskrit did not independently develop their relatives from anaphoric pronouns? As for Greek and Latin, the danger is even greater. It is hard to compare constructions after relative pronouns which are of such extremely different types as ὅς and *qui*. It may be, of course, that they once possessed the same relative pronoun, and that Latin gradually surrendered its anaphoric relative in favor of the interrogative-indefinite; but in making so radical a change it is more than likely that the whole set of relative constructions underwent a complete change.

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pose clauses. In fact, the relative purpose clauses in Greek betray such inconstancy in modal usage that one hardly expects them to affect other constructions seriously.

We may now summarize very briefly the sketch we have attempted to make. We have found that this complex idiom (*non habet quod det*) employed in potential expressions of a limited nature consists of a collocation of words which, taken at face-value, as we know such values in the historical period, is hardly conceivable. It is therefore an idiom adapted from some other construction to do service as a potential expression. The independent "potential" usages in Latin proved to be functions, not of the mood alone, but of the whole expression, and therefore could not have provided the simple basis of the complex idiom. The various potential idioms of the other languages were such as to preclude the assumption of a common Indo-European potential usage of the subjunctive or optative. It was therefore necessary to seek for the creating forces of our idiom within Latin.

We found that in form the idiom was often identical with relative clauses of purpose, and that in such clauses emphasis upon the expression of means or instrument in the antecedent created a potential idea in the dependent clause, thus tending to make the whole expression one of capacity. We also found many examples that bore the stamp of being compounded from the subjunctive questions of the first person. Furthermore, Greek provided a good parallel for this.

Even in Early Latin all of these expressions showed marked similarities, seeming to constitute a homogeneous group, and with but minor changes, continued throughout Latin, to perform the same function.

The study has also suggested some general conclusions regarding the proper criteria for assuming relationships, the validity of reference to paratactic usage, and the applicability of the comparative method; but the discussion of these must be postponed to the end of the next study, which will furnish additional, and perhaps more tangible, results.

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THE LUCRETIAN INVOCATION OF VENUS

By George Depue Hadzsits

The paradox of the passionate Lucretian invocation of Venus, that constitutes a prelude to a great philosophical system which makes a mockery of old myths and robs old forms and ritual of their mystery, can be interpreted only in terms of the Epicurean theology. The key to the correct interpretation of this famous invocation of Venus must be songht in the fact of prayer among the Epicureans and in a knowledge of the nature of that prayer.[1] Epicurean prayer so easily and so frequently misinterpreted, both in ancient and in modern times, can be properly understood only from the Epicurean point of view. It is from this point of view that the following explanation is attempted.

In spite of the vital differences between the Epicurean theology and the pagan religion, such as a denial by the former of a divine creation of the world, and of Providence, and a removal of the gods beyond the reach of emotional enthusiasm, nevertheless prayer (a seemingly illogical procedure), transformed into an informed worship among the Epicureans, was not incompatible with the spirit of Epicurean philosophy. Says Velleius the Epicurean:

Si nihil aliud quaereremus nisi ut deos pie coleremus et ut superstitione liberaremur, satis erat dictum; nam et praestans deorum natura hominum pietate coleretur, cum et aeterna esset et beatissima (habet enim venerationem iustam, quicquid excellit), et metus omnis a vi atque ira deorum pulsus esset; intellegitur enim a beata immortalique natura et iram et gratiam segregari.

And again:

His terroribus ab Epicuro soluti et in libertatem vindicati nec metuimus eos, quos intellegimus nec sibi fingere ullam molestiam nec alteri

[1] Lucretian scholars have confined themselves to two aspects of this problem, viz.: (1) a study of the contributory motives that influenced Lucretius in the choice of "Venus" for this invocation, and (2) an interpretation of the significance of "Venus" to Lucretius, as a Roman and as an Epicurean; but the important preliminary step—of inquiry into prayer and its significance among the Epicureans—has been neglected.

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quaerere, et pie sancteque colimus naturam [deorum] excellentem atque praestantem.[1]

In place of the *quid pro quo* prayer of the pagan world which sought the material rewards that might accrue, the Epicurean school encouraged prayer representing a disinterested, high-minded admiration and adoration of an ideal. Prayer (in its genesis and in its employment, doubtless representing, at once, for some an individual, emotional need, and for others a social habit) became through the Epicurean rationalization of religion, theoretically at least, an intellectual matter, conducted, according to the Epicurean conception, truly *pie* and *sancte*. The higher aspiration of the Epicureans for an ideal that might be worshiped because of its perfection, found expression in prayer, that necessarily involved the religion of poetry, of mythology, of cultus, and of dogma, while at the same time, it gave to gods and goddesses a new function and character. It is inconceivable that prayer among the Epicureans was wholly or even in large part the result of a concessionary or cowardly spirit; it was rather a psychological necessity and at the same time, as conceived by Epicureans, not inconsistent with the entire Epicurean philosophy of religion. Sincerity in the matter of prayer would necessarily among the Epicureans be a variable matter, as also the degree of attachment to the old religion of which the Epicurean theology was an outgrowth, a purification, and a reconstruction. Plutarch failed to understand Epicurus of whom he said, with irony, *καὶ γὰρ τὴν πρόνοιαν ἀναιρῶν, εὐσέβειαν ἀπολιπεῖν λέγει.*[2] Philodemus' statement[3] also makes it clear that "the Epicureans were willing to

[1] Cic. *De nat. deor.* i. 17. 45; i. 20. 56.

[2] Plut. *Adv. Col.* viii. 7; cf. also R. Heinze's *Lucretius* iii (Leipzig, 1897), p. 47: *τὸν ὕμνον τῷ θεῷ ἀπονέμειν δεῖ, τὸν δὲ ἔπαινον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι* hatte Epikur selbst gelehrt (Gnomol. Paris, ed. Boissonade anecd. i, p. 122. 6).

[3] Philodemus *De mus.* iv. (Vol. Herc. I.), col. 4.

ὅτι τὸ δαιμόνιον μὲν
οὐ προσδεῖταί τινος τιμῆς, ἡ-
μῖν δὲ φυσικόν ἐστιν αὐτὸ
τιμᾶν, μάλιστα μὲ[ν] ὁσίαις
ὑ]πολήψεσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ
τοῖς κατὰ τὸ πάτριον παραδε-
δομένοις ἐ[κ]άστῳ τῶν
κατὰ μ[έ]ρος . . . .

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join in the customary services of religion"[1]—a conduct both natural, and (not despite Epicurean philosophy but because of it) reasonable. The very common hostile feeling that the "Epicureans, although disbelieving in a divine power that governs the world, yet endeavored to keep up an appearance of divine reverence,"[2] while taking into account the necessary character of a national or social religion, is wrong in its interpretation of Epicurean motives.

It is in the foregoing passages and in the light of their evidence, which alone enables us to put the right construction upon it, that we read the true significance of prayer among the Epicureans. It was prayer to which a purified and exalted meaning was given, which, sprung from an intellectual calm, had, however, probably little social adaptability,[3] and was thus related to the essential nature of Epicurean ethics of individualism.

The primarily intellectual character of Epicurean prayer did not, however, exclude an emotional appreciation of the old religious system. A pure, intellectual ideal was quite unattainable, and a complete emotional detachment from the organized religion of the Roman society of the first century B.C. was quite impossible. Prayer among the Epicureans becomes all the more intelligible to us, as it was doubtless originally facilitated, by reason of the numerous points of contact between the Epicurean theology and the older Greek and Roman religion. The Epicureans, while seeking escape from the entanglements of superstition and fear[4] that weighed down the older traditions, yet availed themselves, in prayer, of the ancient terminology;[5] and thus their devotions were allied, in externals, with established customs and institutions. Although the Epicureans denied Providence, although their gods were far removed from man's world, nevertheless the

[1] Zeller *Stoics and Epicureans and Skeptics*, p. 470, tr. Reichel.

[2] Cic. *De nat. deor.* i. 2. 3; cf. Stickney's edition (Boston, 1908), p. 171 (n. 33. 16).

[3] Lucr. i. 80. 945.

[4] Lucr. i. 65, 101, 146, 932; ii. 657, 1091; iii. 37 ff., 978; iv. 7; v. 43, 1207; vi. 50, 379 (v. 80). Cic. *De nat. deor.* i. 16. 42; i. 17. 45; i. 20. 54–56; *De div.* ii. 72; *Tusc. disp.* i. 21. 48. Plut. *Adv. Col.* xxx. i. *Non posse suav. vivi sec. Epic.*, c. 8. Diog. L. x. 118, 123, 142.

[5] Lucr. ii. 652 ff.; Cic. *De nat. deor.* i. 15. 40; ii. 28. 71; Plut. *Adv. Col.* xxii. 3.

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indebtedness of the new theology to the old was so great that in many respects the Epicurean gods might have been recognized by any pagan worshiper as gods of the ancient worship, since the Epicurean gods were after all but the ancient gods of legend, purified, refined, and subtilized;[1] the national habit and form of prayer remained a possibility for the Epicurean school. "No positive religion that has moved men has been able to start with a *tabula rasa*. . . . . In form, if not in substance, the new system must be in contact . . . . with the older ideas and practices which it finds in possession."[2] The Epicureans, indeed, prided themselves, as Zeller says, "in contrast to the Stoics, on their agreement by means of their theology, with the anthropomorphic views of the popular belief."[3] The Epicureans' theology was a polytheistic theology and their polytheism anthropomorphic. The evolution of Epicurean religion out of the older premises had not proceeded to the point of elimination of prayer, albeit there was a reconstruction of the conception of the object and nature of prayer.

The Lucretian invocation of Venus, as a typical Epicurean prayer, must be interpreted in the light of Epicurean theory and practice—a prayer, then, with a deep, complex, religious significance to the sincere Epicurean himself, a prayer that included an emotional attachment to older traditions, to established customs and beliefs, and also an enlightened intellectual, Epicurean interpretation of such religious material.[4] "Lucretius felt with the intensity of genius all the misery which perverted conceptions of the divine nature had inflicted on human life."[5] The remarkable lines:

> nec pietas ullast velatum saepe videri
> vertier ad lapidem atque omnis accedere ad aras

[1] Schoemann *De Epic. theol.*, *Opuscula* IV, p. 336 (1871); Philodemus Περὶ εὐσεβείας (ed. Gomperz, 1865).

[2] W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, Lect. i, p. 2 (1894).

[3] Zeller, p. 470; cf. Cic. *De nat. deor.* i. 18. 46; ii. 17. 45. The Epicurean theology was also closer to the old religion than that of Antisthenes; cf. Cic. *De nat. deor.* i. 13. 32; Philodem. (Hercl. Fr. 21, 72 Gomp.).

[4] Cf. Pater *Marius the Epicurean;* Tennyson's "Lucretius."

[5] S. Dill *Roman Society*, p. 445.

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nec procumbere humi prostratum et pandere palmas
ante deum delubra nec aras sanguine multo
spargere quadrupedum nec votis nectere vota,
sed mage pacata posse omnia mente tueri,[1]

also reveal the truth of the Epicurean attitude—the Epicurean ideal of religious worship, a piety essentially intellectual in character, the Epicurean hope of salvation through wisdom.[2] In the case of Lucretius, an emotional attachment through poetry, art, and ritual[3] existed, that bound him to the old religion by subtle associations and obscure longings, the force of which no one can measure exactly, while at the same time to the old forms new meanings were given, and a prayer that elsewhere might be the noblest hymn of the orthodox faith must be regarded as the sublimest expression we have of Epicurean worship.

Unique in its character, this invocation is not conceived in the same spirit as the hymn of Cleanthes to Zeus,[4] back of which there is a totally different philosophy and religion of Stoicism; it is not parallel to the Sapphic verses to Aphrodite, nor akin in spirit to the Venus invocation we find in the *Fasti* of Ovid,[5] whose religion lay so light on his conscience. It is wrong to suppose that the Lucretian invocation is a mere red rag to attract attention. There is no proof whatever that it represents a return to the old religion. It is quite impossible (despite the psychological rivalry between reason and feeling that is responsible for many contradictions in the *De rerum natura*) to lift to the dignity of an argument the hypothesis that in the impetuous and impulsive nature of the Venus invocation, representing a high tide of passion, we are to read a reaction in favor of the old order on the part of Lucretius, who surrenders an intellectual system for an inherited national religion of the Roman race. Nor is it merely a concession to popular prejudice. Religious freedom in

[1] Lucr. v. 1198–1203.

[2] The Lucretian lines do not imply an abolition of ceremonial practices, and vs. 1203 may, perhaps, even mean "to guard, or cherish all with serene intelligence."

[3] The influence of formal ceremonial on Lucretius is sufficiently evidenced by the majestic description of the Cybele cult (ii. 581–660); see Sellar *The Roman Poets of the Republic*, p. 368, and the reference to the *Life of Diderot*.

[4] Cleanthes' Hymn (Stob. *Ecl.* i, p. 30).

[5] Ovid *Fasti* iv. 90 ff.; cf. "expedit esse deos, et ut expedit, esse putemus."

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Rome, in the first century B.C., relieved heretical opinions of danger, and besides, Lucretius was incapable of hypocritical parade. It is equally false to consider it simply a conventional literary ornament.[1] It is utterly unthinkable that in the Venus invocation Lucretius has been untrue to himself, and that a literary monument to fearless honesty should have as its preamble a prayer as meaningless as the mumbling of priests.[2] On the contrary, the Venus invocation of Lucretius, striking a note of the deepest and most sincere religious experience, is the frank and outspoken *supplicatio* of an Epicurean, wholly in accord with the spirit of Epicurean philosophy and religion, and from the Epicurean point of view, truly *pia* and *sancta*.

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[1] It would, if purely conventional and imitative, rather be a literary blemish (Hor. *Ars poet.* init.); neither Varr. *De re rust.* (init.), nor Ovid *Met.* (init.), nor Catull. lxvi. 15, etc., nor Aratus' *Phaenom.* (proem.), nor Emped. (address to Calliope), nor Verg. *Aen.* i. 8, nor Hor. *Carm.* i. 35, i. 19. 1, etc., is more than a literary parallel.

[2] Lucretius was rather of "intrepid audacity and noble sincerity" (Tyrrell "Lucretius," *Atlantic Monthly* LXXIV 1894, p. 56), and one who was "too truth-loving to condescend to rhetoric" (Symonds "Lucretius," *Fortnightly Rev.* XXIII 1875, p. 44).

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MARON: A MYTHOLOGICAL STUDY[1]

By Charles B. Newcomer

In the ninth book of the *Odyssey* Homer makes Odysseus describe at some length that wonderful wine with which he subdued the Cyclops Polyphemus. It had such strength and sweetness that it was drunk mixed with twenty parts of water. Soon after setting out homeward from Troy, Odysseus and his men landed on the coast of Thrace and plundered the Ciconian city Ismarus (later called Maronea).[2] As a reward for sparing the shrine of Apollo, Odysseus received twelve jars of this wine from his priest Maron, Euanthes' son. Odysseus says *Od.* ix. 196 ff.:

ἀτὰρ αἴγεον ἀσκὸν ἔχον μέλανος οἴνοιο
ἡδέος, ὅν μοι ἔδωκε Μάρων Εὐάνθεος υἱός,
ἱρεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος, ὃς Ἴσμαρον ἀμφιβεβήκειν.

The scholiasts thought it strange that Homer did not connect Dionysus, the wine-god, with this passage, which treats especially of wine, and that he did not make Maron the priest of Dionysus rather than of Apollo. This perplexity was caused, as I believe, by their misunderstanding the word *εὐανθής*, originally an epithet of Dionysus. Now, *εὐανθής*, "blooming," might easily become, with changed accent, Εὐάνθης, the "Blooming One," a fitting name for Dionysus, the god of vegetation. Athenaeus, quoting from Phanodemus, gives evidence in favor of this view. He says, xi. 465 *a*, that the Athenians *ἡσθέντες οὖν τῇ κράσει ἐν ᾠδαῖς ἔμελπον τὸν Διόνυσον, χορεύοντες καὶ ἀνακαλοῦντες εὐανθῆ καὶ διθύραμβον καὶ βακχευτὰν καὶ βρόμιον.* Here *εὐανθής* is manifestly an epithet of Dionysus.

But not all the ancients misunderstood the name "Euanthes." Euripides in the *Cyclops* makes Maron a son of Dionysus, following, as I think, the Ὀδυσσῆς, a lost drama of Cratinus. For Pollux vi. 26 says that Cratinus called wine "maron," quoting

[1] Read at the Classical Conference at Ann Arbor, Mich., March 30, 1906.

[2] Cf. Newcomer *De Cyclope* (Berlin, 1899), p. 20.

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the following, which Bergk correctly ascribes to this play (Kock *C.A.F.*, Cratini 135): *οὔπω ἄμεινον τοιοῦτον οὐδὲ πίομαι Μάρωνα.* Here we must suppose the Cyclops acquainted with wine, but not such as Odysseus had doubtless just mentioned under the new name of "maron." Similarly in Homer the Cyclops calls the wine given him by Odysseus "a distillation of ambrosia and nectar" (*Od.* ix. 359). Since, therefore, the name "maron" can signify wine, it must have been associated in some way with Dionysus; as, e. g., the name of his son or priest. Cratinus then followed Homer; for this is in accord with Homer's very words, "Maron, son of Euanthes, priest of Apollo," if, as we contend, Euanthes is Dionysus.

But we have further testimony. Theophilus (*Ad Autolycum* ii, p. 94) makes Satyrus call Maron the son of Ariadne and Dionysus. This in turn agrees with the scholium on *Od.* ix. 197: *Μάρων Εὐάνθους υἱός, ὁ δὲ Εὐάνθης υἱὸς Διονύσου.* Hesiod, too, seems to have associated Maron with Dionysus; for the scholiast on *Od.* ix. 198 says: *ἡ δ' ἀπόστασις πρὸς Ἡσίοδον λέγοντα τὸν Μάρωνα εἶναι Οἰνοπίωνος τοῦ Διονύσου.* Further, the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius iii. 997 says that according to some both Euanthes and Oenopion were sons of Dionysus and Ariadne: *καταλέλειπται γὰρ ⟨ἡ Ἀριάδνη⟩ ὑπὸ Θησέως ἐν Νάξῳ· διαπεπαρθένευται δὲ ὑπὸ Διονύσου κατά τινας, ἐξ ἧς παιδοποιεῖ Οἰνοπίωνα, Θόαντα, Στάφυλον, Λάτραμυν, Εὐάνθη, Ταυρόπολιν.* From this series of old traditions we learn that Maron was the son or grandson of Dionysus.

But how might Maron, son of the wine-god, become priest of Apollo, the god of soothsaying, at this ancient shrine of Ismarus? Let us consider the association of Dionysus with Apollo at other shrines.

In Greek religion the gods were largely made after the image of the worshipers. While they were anthropomorphic, they were also superhuman—mightier than men, whom they might benefit or harm according to their pleasure. Men courted their goodwill and invoked their assistance, feared their wrath and sought to appease it. Thus many men of various needs and in various circumstances and places prayed to one god, who then came into

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the possession of many attributes. Witness the numerous epithets and by-names applied to any popular divinity.

Apollo.—The attributes and characteristics of Apollo are especially manifold. He appears as sea-god, sky-god, and earth-god. The meaning of the word "Apollo" is uncertain; hence we get no light as to the origin of the god from its derivation. There is a tradition that sailors carried the worship of their protecting sea-god to Crisa and Delphi; cf. Preller-Robert *Griech. Myth.*, pp. 257 f. Possibly they came from Crete, where Apollo Delphinius was worshiped; *CIG.* 255. 4: *ἐν Κνωσῷ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶ Ἀπόλλωνος τῶ Δελφινίω.* At Delphi the cult of Apollo superseded that of the chthonic oracle god Pytho. Poetically expressed, Apollo slew the python. But as god of oracles he only expressed the will of Zeus, and that too through the priestess Pythia. Much missionary work was done from Delphi. Wherever the worship of Apollo was introduced into other parts of Greece, he was said to kill the native god or hero and take his place. But in each case he would assume some of the functions of the native god. Thus Apollo appears as the god of farming, vegetation, spring; of cattle-raising, the chase, growing youth; of the palaestra, strife, and battle; of oracles, oaths, treaties; of expiation, healing, as dispeller of all evil; of music, dancing; of death; of sea-faring, capes and mountains, colonization, commerce; of light, the sun.

Dionysus.—More is known of the origin of Dionysus. Kretschmer derives the name from *Διός* and *νῦσος*, the Thracian word for "son." See *Aus der Anomia*, pp. 22 f.; cf. *νῦσᾱ* = *νύμφη*, *κόρη*, and *Νῦσαι*, the "Maidens" on the Sophilus vase, *Ath. Mitth.*, XIV (1889), Taf. I; also the inscription *Διὸς φώς*, "Zeus's man," "hero," applying to the child Dionysus on a black-figured vase, Minervini *Monum. Ined. de R. Barone*, tav. I. Semele, the reputed mother of Dionysus, as Kretschmer has shown (pp. 18–22), was a Phrygio-Thracian earth-nymph, whom the Greeks localized at Thebes. In fact, the word *Σεμέλη* means "earth;" cf. Slav. *zemlja* (in *Nova Zembla*, "New Earth"), Gk. *χθών* (*χαμαί*, *χθαμαλός*), Lat. *humus* (*humilis*), "earth," *homo* (*humānus*), A.-S. and Goth. *guma*, "man."

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There is manifold evidence that Dionysus came comparatively late into Greek religion, and that he immigrated from Thrace. He is pre-eminently a nature-god and, like Demeter and Cora, comes and goes with the seasons—has his epiphanies and recessions. Homer mentions Dionysus in but one passage, the Glaucus episode in the sixth book of the *Iliad*, considered by some critics as a late addition. Here he is not yet an Olympian, but may be frightened by the wrath of the mortal Lycurgus, and flees to Thetis for refuge. Later we find him represented among the Olympian gods—e. g., on the frieze of the Parthenon. Vase-painters of the sixth century B. C. picture his triumphal entry into the assembly of the Olympians; cf. Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, pp. 366 f.

The historians all ascribe to Dionysus a Thracian origin, while the poets—influenced, no doubt, by the patriotism and vanity of the Greeks, who were averse to acknowledging a barbarian origin for so popular a divinity—make him a native of Thebes who returns in triumph after wandering to the far East. Herodotus (v. 7) says of the Thracians: *θεοὺς δὲ σέβονται μόνους τούσδε· Ἄρεα καὶ Διόνυσον καὶ Ἄρτεμιν.* In another passage (viii. 111) he gives an account of a famous oracle shrine of Dionysus situated upon the mountain heights of the unconquered Satrae. The priests were chosen from the tribe called Bessi. As at Delphi, it was a priestess that pronounced the oracles. Since this people remained unconquered for hundreds of years, we may believe that Dionysus was their native god. His oracle, which remained famous till Roman times, is referred to by Euripides in *Hecuba* 1267: *ὁ Θρῃξὶ μάντις εἶπε Διόνυσος τάδε.*

Pausanias (ix. 30. 9) says that the people of Libethra, a city on the Macedonian side of Mount Olympus, received an oracle sent from Dionysus in Thrace. This must be the famous Thracian Dionysus just considered. Amphiclea was an ancient city lying to the north of Mount Parnassus. In x. 33. 11 Pausanias tells of an oracle shrine situated there, *πρόμαντις δὲ ὁ ἱερεύς ἐστι, χρᾷ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ κάτοχος.* The fact should be noted that Dionysus advances southward upon Grecian territory, and that he still preserves his prophetic gift. We find him next on

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Mount Parnassus sharing with his brother Apollo the temple at Delphi.

The worship of Dionysus greatly fascinated the Greek mind, and soon spread over all Greece. The ruins of theaters in every considerable Greek city are witness to the spread of his religion; for the performances of dramas in his honor were acts of public worship. In Attica Dionysus was more especially the god of intoxicating wine and the accompanying joys; while in the Delphic cult-myth he was still considered rather as a nature-god, the god of vegetation and animal life; and as such he died and had to be called back to life every second year by the thyads. Pausanias says (x. 4. 3): *αἱ δὲ θυιάδες γυναῖκες μέν εἰσιν Ἀττικαί, φοιτῶσαι δὲ ἐς τὸν Παρνασὸν παρὰ ἔτος αὐταί τε καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες Δελφῶν ἄγουσιν ὄργια Διονύσῳ.* And again (x. 32. 7): *καὶ αἱ θυιάδες ἐπὶ τούτοις ⟨τοῖς ἄκροις τοῦ Παρνασοῦ⟩ τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι μαίνονται.* Note the words "rave in honor of Dionysus *and Apollo*." The worship of Apollo is not only partly superseded by that of Dionysus, but is contaminated as well.

At Delphi the three winter months (*Dadophorius*, *Poetropius*, *Amalius*) were sacred to Dionysus. During this time Apollo was said to be banished among the Hyperboreans, and the Delphians invoked Dionysus back to life, especially under the name Zagreus. Cf. Plutarch *De εἶ apud Delphos* 9:

⟨Διόνυσος⟩ ᾧ τῶν Δελφῶν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἢ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι μέτεστιν. . . . . Διόνυσον δὲ καὶ Ζαγρέα καὶ Νυκτέλιον καὶ Ἰσοδαίτην αὐτὸν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ φθοράς τινας καὶ ἀφανισμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀποβιώσεις καὶ παλιγγενεσίας οἰκεῖα ταῖς εἰρημέναις μεταβολαῖς αἰνίγματα καὶ μυθεύματα περαίνουσι.

During the rest of the year they sang paeans to Apollo at their sacred festivals. Recent excavations at Delphi have brought to light an inscription containing a paean to Dionysus. This is further evidence that the conception of the two gods was confused. See Weil *Bull. corr. hel.* XIX (1895), p. 398. Dionysus then was the vicar of Apollo, and, as Plutarch says, had no less interest in Delphi than Apollo himself. The grave of Dionysus was shown at the omphalus in the cella of the temple, where the priests brought secret offerings about the time of the winter

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solstice, when the thyads raise up Licnites (the babe Dionysus); cf. Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 35 (p. 365 *a*); Philochor. *frag.* 22:

ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τὴν ταφὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν χρυσοῦν. βάθρον δέ τι εἶναι ὑπονοεῖται ἡ σορός, ἐν ᾧ γράφεται· Ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν Διόνυσος ὁ ἐκ Σεμέλης.

On the east pediment of the Apollo temple at Delphi, Apollo and the muses were represented; on the west, Dionysus with the thyads. On a vase in the St. Petersburg Hermitage Museum (*Cat.* 1807), Apollo and Dionysus are represented shaking hands in front of a palm tree, surrounded by Bacchic worshipers, and with a filleted omphalus in the foreground. This represents a brotherly meeting of the two gods—perhaps Dionysus welcoming Apollo upon his biennial return; see Helbig *Archaeolog. Zeit.* XXIV (1866), pp. 185 f., with Pl. 211. In the Athenian festival known as the City Dionysia the lyric preceded the dramatic performance. The victorious choregi of lyric choruses received a tripod. These facts show reminiscences of an older Apollo cult.

The relationship of Dionysus to Apollo at Delos was on a similar footing. Hauvette-Besnault *Bull. corr. hel.* VII (1883), pp. 103 ff., gives ten choregic inscriptions from Delos, all of similar formula, being a record of the annual religious festival. In each case after the date, given by the archon's name, and the words *ὑγίεια καὶ εὐετηρία ἐγένετο* ("there has been good health and a prosperous year"), there follow: *οἵδε ἐχορήγησαν εἰς Ἀπολλώνια* (names of choregi); *εἰς Διονύσια* (names of a chorus of boys); and finally, *οἵδε ἐπεδείξαντο τῷ θεῷ* (names of actors, musicians, and other performers). It is to be noted that here again the Apollonia, always mentioned first, correspond to the older lyric portion of the Athenian state festival, and the Dionysia to the later dramatic portion.

An inscription (*IG.* II. 570) giving an account of disbursements of the Attic deme Plothea contains the items: "for the *Apollonia* 1,100 drachmas, for the *Pandia* 600 drachmas." The Pandia at Athens were the last act in the City Dionysia; Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen*, p. 433, n. 1. If the same may be inferred for Plothea, we have here again the same order of

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development as at Athens: first the lyric, then the dramatic part of the celebration.

Phlya was a rich Attic deme situated some five miles northeast of Athens in a fertile district capable of supporting a large population. This was the birthplace of Euripides, and, I think, the home of the old Attic family of the Lycomids, who performed mystic rites here. The orgies of the Great Goddess, Earth, with Bacchic mysteries, were said to have been celebrated here even before the mysteries were instituted at Eleusis. Here were altars and temples of many gods and goddesses. Pausanias (i. 31. 4) mentions altars of "Flowery" (Ἄνθιος) Dionysus and of "Dionysus-given" (Διονυσόδοτος) Apollo. This Apollo has been identified with the "Laureled" (Δαφνηφόρος) Apollo at Phlya mentioned by other writers; cf. Plut. *Them.* 15; Herod. viii. 11. Just what relationship this Dionysus-given Apollo had to Dionysus himself may not be evident, but the epithet proves some association of the two gods.

The Homeric instance of the union of Dionysus and Apollo is too early either to explain their connection in Greece or to be explained as the result of missionary influence from Delphi. For Rohde (*Psyche*, pp. 295 ff.) gives much ancient testimony and cogent arguments showing how the orgiastic worship of the Thracian god was introduced comparatively late into Greece; and how it contaminated the cult of Apollo.

But at Ismarus it is not at once evident which god first possessed the shrine. If Ismarus was originally a Greek colony with pure Apollo-worship, Dionysus doubtless won his claims as he did later in Greece. But if Dionysus was the original possessor of the shrine at Ismarus, the Apollo-worship must have been introduced by Greeks. This might have been a slow and peaceful conquest, a matter of education. If so, the partisans of Dionysus had sufficient influence to retain their priest Maron, the reputed son or grandson of Dionysus (Euanthes), while Apollo became the god of both parties.

But conquest also might bring about a similar result; for conquerors often reverently spared the shrines of peoples they subjugated. Thus Apollo, the god of the victorious invaders,

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might take up his abode in the old Dionysus temple, retaining the old servants and even the priest. At any rate, such a custom prevailed in the middle of the fifth century B. C., for the Athenian decree establishing a colony at Brea in Thrace expressly commands the colonists: *τὰ δὲ τεμένη τὰ ἐξῃρημένα ἐᾶν καθάπερ ἔστι, καὶ ἄλλα μὴ τεμενίζειν*; *IG.* I. 31; Hicks[2] 41; Dittenberger[3] 19; Roberts-Gardner *Inscriptions of Attica* 8.

We have seen that Apollo and Dionysus were brothers, and as such possessed many attributes in common. They might share a common temple or receive the homage of the same worshipers at religious functions. The shrine at Ismarus presents us the most ancient instance of their union.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

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NOTES FROM SINAITIC PAPYRI

By E. O. Winstedt

The Sinaitic papyrus fragments containing a curious Greek commentary on Sabinus have been more often discussed than examined; indeed, for all but one page, which has been recopied by Gardthausen, the only available copies are those of their discoverer, Bernadakis. I venture therefore to think that any fresh details, however imperfect, taken from the MSS themselves, will not be entirely devoid of interest. For two reasons the few variants which I am printing must necessarily be regarded more as notes than as the results of a fresh collation. My spare time in the monastery fell in Holy Week, and anyone who has spent Easter in a Greek monastery will know that the monks' time, morning, noon, and night, is so occupied with devotions that there is practically none left for so profane—and I think I may add, so uncongenial—an occupation as visiting the library. Lack of time therefore prevented me from more than copying, and that very hastily, eight out of the twenty pages. Besides—though perhaps I should be ashamed to confess it—it was not until I had already reached Alexandria and was asked by my friend M. Seymour de Ricci to examine the papyri, that I was aware of their existence. Then it was much too late to procure any of the printed editions; and so there was nothing for it but to copy what I could, in blissful ignorance of what Bernadakis had done, and, what is much more important, of what he had left undone.

One of the chief difficulties of Bernadakis' copies is that, though some of the papyri have writing on both sides, it is impossible to identify those pages with any certainty in his copies. Not that there is any lack of numeration in those copies—there is God's plenty of it;—but it does not appear to apply to anything in particular. Each of the pages of his notes bears a letter of the alphabet; but then, as some of the pages contain more than one side of the papyri, and others are blank or contain extraneous matter, that numeration has long been abandoned as a snare and

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a delusion. Again, some of the copies of the papyrus columns bear numbers, and in one or two cases they are even marked as recto and verso of the same number.[1] As I was not aware of these difficulties, and as Bernadakis most culpably nailed the papyri to boards so that the verso is no longer visible, I am afraid I can do nothing to throw light on the mystery. I can, however, render confusion worse confounded by showing that even the most probable of those three systems of numeration, and the only one to which the latest editor, Krüger, still clings, is as unreliable as the rest. Krüger very reasonably contends that, when one page is numbered "3 recto," and another "3 verso" (= Krüger's 9 and 10), Bernadakis must have meant that they were recto and verso of the same page. It is difficult to conceive what else he could possibly have meant; but, if he meant anything at all, he certainly must have meant something else, because I saw and copied both of those pages, and, as I have already explained, it was impossible for me to see the verso of any page. Again, if my reading of x, 5,[2] *ἐν τῷ παρόντι* Γ *κεφαλαίῳ διαλέγεται*, is right, then that page must be placed considerably earlier than Krüger has placed it, as the fifteenth chapter has already been mentioned on the ninth page.

For the rest I leave the variants to speak for themselves.

Rv. 2 (= Bern. H, p. 7; Dar. 8, Zach. 2): Of the two lines visible above the first line of Bernadakis' copy, all I could read was:

. . . . . NANЄICTIO . . . . . .
. . d . ΛΦO . I . CAN . . THdA . PЄ . . .

L. 1 T-TWdЄ] T . IWdЄ (= τοιωδε)
8 ЄΠЄP̈ΘIO] ЄΠЄP̈ΘIC
13 PAULBIEP̄] PAUL . BIЄ . P̄ . Bernadakis' copy (which I must thank M. de Ricci for putting at my service) has PAUL P̄ BIЄP̄
14 – – – dЄ] t . . dЄ confirming B.'s suggestion THCΔЄ

[1] In reply to a question of Krüger, Bernadakis stated that, to the best of his remembrance, very few of the papyri had writing on the verso; but, unless some have been lost, most of them must have it, as Bernadakis copied twenty columns, and I found only eleven of these legal fragments and one other nailed to two boards.

[2] The numbers used are those of Krüger, *Zeitschr. der Savigny-Stiftung* IV (1883), pp. 1–31.

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Kr. 3 (= Bern. H, Dar. 8 bis, Zach. 5): Fragments of two lines are visible above the first line of Bernadakis' copy. I read

. . ACINA . . . O . C . . ϵTITN . . .
THCHN . . . . . ωC . . . . . .

L. 1 TAAYTA——dIOC——] TAAYTA . . ωVL$\bar{\bar{P}}$A . dIOCd̲ϗ . . .
No doubt τὰ αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ VL$\bar{P}$ should be read.

2 TϵN] T^{a}ϵN Undoubtedly τὰ ἐν is correct.
HCH—PXIM] HNCH . . PXHC . . .

3 TOTOYTON] TOTOYTONC . .

4 – – – ION] KINΛAION TAM——] TAMHKTH

5 ———ΛΛΛA] ΠOIHCINΛΛΛA refuting Zacharias' τὰ μ[ὴ κατὰ ἀπάτην] ἀλλά.

6 ϗ——ϕ] ϗIϵϗMAd

7 ——] . . . TϵOΛBIOYR$\bar{U}$. PAUL . T$\bar{\Theta}$ϵAIONKAI

8 —— ΘϵMA] . . IΛAΘϵMA The Θ might be d.

10 ΘYΓATHP^{THN}FICTO] ΘYΓATHPTHNFICTOdI . . .

11 This blank line is a product of the editor's fancy; it exists neither in B.'s copy nor in mine.

12 – – H] . . AR$\bar{U}$AR . . ΠICH ϗ ——] ϗ . . PAΓ . . .

13 ω] C . . dω

Kr. 4 (= Bern. I, Dar. 9, Zach. 6):

L. 2 Above the ϵN of l. 3 and again above Πϵ I seemed to see ϗ

3 dϵN] MϵN

4 Ϛ – – ULϚINI] . . . UIRϚINI
ROϮ] RUL I marked the L as very doubtful, and no doubt Ϯ is right; but I think $\overline{RU}$ should be read, as that is found in these texts (e. g., 8. 5) for *rei uxoriae*.

6 $\overline{UERA}$] MERA, my copy, and also Bernadakis' with the note "καὶ μ καὶ υ."

12 OOON] OCON. Bernadakis adds a note on the 2d ο "ἴσως καὶ σ."

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Kr. 9 (= Bern. M, 3; Dar. 11, Zach. 7):

L. 1 Above the RI of l. 2 I read ЄN.
2 BOLUMPTARIA]. So my copy; BOЏM Bern.
5 AΦЄΛI—OCΘAI] AΦЄΛIΤЄICΘAI.
6 BЏ] BAA confirming the conjecture *βλάπτοντι*.
8 INCENSAS] INPENSAS, as already conjectured.
IЄ] TЄ. It should no doubt be IЄ̄)
10 dIE] dId confirming the conjecture *διδάσκει*.
13 MA-Є-] *μαθε*, as already conjectured).

This fragment has also been copied by Gardthausen, whose copy presents two important variants from that of Bernadakis; l. 8 Gardthausen adds *η* after donatas, and l. 10 reads ARBITR′ not ARBITER′. In both cases my copy agrees with Gardthausen's.

Kr. 10 (= Bern. N, 3 verso; Dar. 10, Zach. 3):

L. 2 ЄЄH] KЄH
3 2MITTEUEHN-A] My copy agrees with this, except that I could read only the first stroke of the N, and have placed the A farther to the right. This disagrees with the monstrous conjecture *committeu θῆν*[*αι*] which has found favor with the editors. As there are several instances of *cedeue* for *cedere* (e. g., 18. 6), it seems simpler, and at any rate avoids a hybrid word, if we interpret *committeue* as *committere*.
5 ΠAPONTITACЄOdIAΛEC - -] ΠAPONTIΓKЄΦdIAΛЄΓ I was not certain whether to read Γ or C; but there is little doubt that *παρόντι κεφαλαίῳ διαλέγεται* is the correct reading of the rest.
6 BЄ-IΠUC] ΠEPIT . C confirming Zacharias' conjecture *περὶ τῆς*.
8 ΠONΦЄ] . . ΠONOЄ
9 According to my copy, there is no stop after *ρηθεντας*, and the rest of the line had writing, but I could distinguish only a *θ* and possibly a *ν*.
11 ЄPXЄTAI] TЄPXЄTAI At the end of l. 10 I seemed to read in Bernadakis' gap . . PK . . . Could it be some abbreviated form of *ἡ πρόξ*, which has been conjectured to fill the gap to complete the sense, followed by *κ*[*α*]*τέρχεται*?
12 OTI] KOTI

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12–13 ΠΟ– | G–HCAI] ΠΟΙ . . | . . . PHCAI A longer word than the editor's ποιῆσαι seems to be required.

14 O[O]SIM̄] ᶜ⌢HM̄ The bottom of the first two letters is lost. The first letter, if a letter at all, is in the margin. Could it be merely a repetition of the σημ of the line before?

15–16 ΛdΓΩΠΡΙΝϟ | Є] ΛdΓΩΠΡΠΚ | C The C rather confirms Krüger's λόγῳ προικός.

16 ЄCTI——] ЄCTI . . dUTI confirming the conjecture *aduenticia*.

17 ЄN——] ЄNY . . ЄTA . . I

A few letters from the middle of two more lines are visible, but very indistinct. In l. 18 I seemed to read ΙΙЄPΩΙHO[? ЄΠЄPΩTHΘЄIC], and l. 19 CΠΙΙΩ

Kr. 15 (= Bern. K, Dar. 10, Zach. 10):

Above the first line the beginning of another line C̄HM̄Є is visible.

L. 3 –ЄN–ICIN] . . ICΠAICIN Perhaps δ[ιδοὺς | το]ῖς παισίν, unless I misread ι for ν.

5 THTΩN] THCTΩN

8 –T℘] . . IT℘

Kr. 17 (= Bern. P, 4 verso; Dar. XIV, Zach. 15): Bernadakis says there are traces of four lines above those he copied; there are actually traces of five, but the top one is quite illegible, as only parts of the letters remain. Of the rest I read very uncertainly:

. . . TOIIЄCIAΓACIN
. . . N̈IS . PΩM̈AI . COIN . T . . . IN . .
. . . OYMHNϟREC . OINŌNdIЄ . . . Є̈ . .
ЄΩC

6 OTI] UTI

8 OIĊINqSITIONA] OIĪIINq . SITIONA

KAN̄Π – ΘH – –] KANΠ . . ΘH . . KA

9 ΠAPЄΛAĪIЄΠI] ΠAPЄΛΘAN̄ЄΠH

Kr. 18 (= Bern. O, p. 6; Dar. 13; Zach. 17):

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L. 1 ——P .] O̤I̤OP .

2 —UANOS] . . . ILIANOC confirming Atilianos.
After l. 3 Bernadakis omits a line consisting of ЄΠΙΤΡ:· and nothing more.

5 Γ̄.] F̄. Bernadakis' copy has Ḟ

6 ΔΥΝΑΤΑΙ—RE] ΔΥΝΑΤΑΙΙΝΙVRE

8 ЄΠΙΤ̣ΡΟΥЄΤЄΙ] ЄΠΙΤΡΟΠ . . NЄΙ Probably Krüger's suggestion (*Coll. Ubr. juris ant ejust.*, III, pp. 265–82) ἐπιτροπευει is right.

12 X] ϯ

Nailed to the same boards is a Greek fragment in quite a different hand. I copy what I could read in a hasty examination of it.

. . . . . ος
. . . . . .
. . . ασαφ . . .
. . θε̤ . . ις
. ομ . . δεκαταπραυνησοθ̄ς
οιοησ . . ισου . . χησαν
ουν . . σει . . . ανκεφαλην.
δο̤υ̤ . . κατεπανουργο . . ιο̤ γνωμη̄
λ . ευσαι . . ισκατατωναγιωνσου
δ . ουται . . αιεκ̤ . αλοθρευων . θ
λεξεθνους
μνησθη . . ονομαιηλετ
ισε . . σαντοενομονοιαεπι . . σαν . το
η . . δεθαντο
ε . ων . . καιοσση

In conclusion I may mention, as I believe it is not generally known, that the monastery possesses a box full of Greek papyri. Most of them, if I remember rightly, were letters in Byzantine writing; but there are a number of pages—thirty or forty at least, I imagine, though I did not count them—of some theological work, in a sloping uncial of about the seventh or eighth century. I could not find a title, and unfortunately the greater

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part of it was very illegible. The leaves must at some time have been stuck together; and now the writing of almost every page is much obliterated by the impression of the ink of the page from which it has been separated. I copied hastily one of the most legible pages, and in the hope that someone may be able to identify it, I reproduce my copy. The column is complete at top and bottom, and on the left, but some letters are lost on the right; to save space it is printed in double-column.

υποτ
τωναιωνο
λαισεκωβυ
μακαρισισε
γοστη . . . . κα
δϊηγησεγα
νηενγυνα
καρισαστον
πρεσβευσα
τωνψυχων
Πασαιαιγενε[αι
σεπαρθεν[ε

ημινσωτη[ρ
τησμεναλη[ς
λονδρ . . ομε
σασααυτοντ[ον
ευλογημεν
καιευλογ
πλ . . τησκυ
Χαιρεκαιχαρ
. . τασου . ε . . α
ογαβριηλ .
. . ααξινευ
τωγοε . . οι

This page appears to come from some litany or doxology addressed to the Virgin.

L. 7 No doubt [εὐλογημέ]νη ἐν γύνα[ιξίν] should be read.
7–8 [μα]καρίσας.
11 Probably πᾶσαι αἱ γενε[αι μακαριοῦσιν].
15–16 [μακαρί]σασα.
23 Possibly [ἐν γυν]αιξὶν εὐ[λογημένη]

UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS, SCOTLAND

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

Πόστος

Wie man auf die Frage "der wievielte?" mit einem Ordinalzahlwort antwortet, so haben die meisten indogermanischen Sprachen die formantische Gestaltung jenes Fragewortes und seines demonstrativen Korrelativums "der sovielte" nach der Bildungsweise von Ordinalia und gleichartigen Superlativen eingerichtet. Die nhd. *der wievielte*, *der sovielte* sind nach *der vierte*, *fünfte* usw., die daneben oft vorkommenden *der wievielste*, *der sovielste* nach *der erste*, *zwanzigste* usw. gebildet, franz. *le quantième*, *le tantième* nach *le deuxième*, *troisième* usw. Ai. *kati-thá-s*, *tati-thá-s* (zu *káti* "quot," *táti* "tot") zeigen das Formans von *caturthá-s* "quartus," *ṣaṣṭhá-s* "sextus," *saptátha-s* "septimus" usw. (vgl. Verfasser *Morph. Unt.* 3, 69, Joh. Schmidt *Plur.* 344 f.). Diesem *kati-thá-s* entspricht der erste Teil von lat. *cotti-diē*, dessen ursprüngliche Bedeutung gewesen ist "am wievielten Tag auch immer": *cotti-* aus **quotitei* durch Synkope der zweiten Silbe (vgl. Solmsen *Stud. zur lat. Lautg.* 34. 79). Auch *quotus* darf auf **quotitos* zurückgeführt werden, woraus es haplologisch entsprungen wäre (Fick Kuhn's *Ztschr.* 21, 10). Dass dieselbe Form **quotitos* teils durch Synkope, teils durch Haplologie verändert wurde, hätte man auf Verschiedenheiten der Satzbbetonung zurückzuführen. Aber ebenso gut lässt sich mit Lindsay (Lindsay-Nohl *Die lat. Spr.* 518) annehmen, dass *quotus* durch Überführung von *quot* (aus **quoti*) in die *o*-Deklination hervorgegangen ist, wobei etwa *septimus decimus* neben *septem decem* als Vorbild in Frage käme. Von dem bereits des Schlussvokals verlustig gegangenen *quot* aus ist auch das plautinische *quotumus* (*Pseud.* 962. 1173) geschaffen; als Muster dienten *septumus*, *postumus* u. dgl.

Eine Formation der besprochenen Art war denn offenbar auch das zuerst Od. ω 288 auftretende, nur im ionisch-attischen Dialekt nachgewiesene πόστος, dem sich aus der nachhomerischen Sprache ὁπόστος ὁποστοσοῦν und ποσταῖος ὁποσταῖος anschliessen. Noch nicht befriedigend beantwortet aber ist die Frage, in welchem formalen Verhältniss πόστος zu dem urindogermanischen **q*ᵘoti = ai. *káti* lat. *quot* steht und zu πόσσοι πόσοι, welches aus dieser Grundform durch Übertritt in die *o*-Deklination entstanden ist (πόσσος = *ποτιος).

Von der augenscheinlich verfehlten Ansicht, die Fick a. a. O. und Wörterb. 1³ S. 33 geäussert und der sich Curtius Grundz.⁵ S. 466

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angeschlossen hat, πόστος sei aus *ποτι-τος entsprungen, ist Fick in der 4. Aufl. des Wörterbuchs (1 S. 27) abgegangen. Hier setzt er ein *ποτ-τος voraus. Dies ist jedoch ebenso unhaltbar wie *ποτι-τος. Denn einerseits hat man kein Recht, ein urindogermanisches *qᵘot-to-s neben *qᵘoti-to-s anzusetzen, und anderseits hätte ein erst auf griechischem Boden entsprungenes *ποτ-το-ς keine Form mit -στ- ergeben, sondern hätte -ττ- beibehalten. Man wird demnach πόστος als von πόσ(σ)οι aus geschaffen zu betrachten haben; wie denn auch die meisten neueren Sprachforscher tun, indem sie Ordinalia wie εἰκοστός, πέμπτος für die vorbildlichen Formen halten. Siehe u. a. Kühner-Blass *Ausf. Gramm.* 1 S. 616, Vogrinz *Gramm. des homer. Dial.* 82. 201. 203, Joh. Schmidt *Plur.* 344 f. Der letztgenannte Gelehrte meint, man habe bei der Bildung von πόστος den Stammauslaut von πόσσο- nach dem Muster von πέμπτος, εἰκοστός unterdrückt. Aber wie man das flektierte πόσσοι so mit den indeklinabeln πέντε, εἴκοσι in Parallele setzen konnte, ist nicht wohl einzusehen. Ich schlage daher einen andern Weg ein.

Nach τριᾱκοστός τετταρακοστός usw. sind ἑκατ-οστός, διᾱκοσι-οστός usw., χῑλι-οστός, μῦρι-οστός gebildet worden (vgl. ἑκατ-οντάκις nach τριᾱκοντάκις, und ἑκατ-ονταετής ἑκατ-οντακάρηνος u. dgl. nach τριᾱκοντα-ετής usw.), und nach dem Verhältniss von διᾱκοσιοστός zu διᾱκόσιοι entsprang πολλοστός "einer von vielen" (vgl. bei Lucretius *multēsimus*, wie *centēsimus*, nach *vīcēsimus* usw.), auch "der letzte von vielen," dem man ein ὀλιγοστός entgegenstellte. Nach der Art nun von πολλοστός neben πολλοί schuf man, wie ich vermute, zu πόσ(σ)οι ein *ποσ(σ)οστος, das als Interrogativum sofort den Wortton auf die Anfangssilbe nehmen musste. Die haplologische Verkürzung zu πόστος, die alsdann erfolgte, ist von derselben Art wie die von *Μελαν-ανθος *Μελαν-ανθιος zu Μέλανθος Μελάνθιος (*Griech. Gramm.*[3] 135, Grammont *La dissimilation* 150). Insbesondere vergleichen sich die homerischen Aoristiterativa ῥίπτασκον, κρύπτασκε, ἰσάσκετο, οὔτασκε, die zu ῥιπτάζω, κρυπτάζω, ἰσάζω, οὐτάζω gehören und, wie die unverkürzten δασάσκετο, ἐλάσασκεν, οὐτήσασκε, ἐξερύσασκεν zeigen, auf älteren *ῥιπτασσασκον, *κρυπτασσασκε usw. beruhen (*Indog. Forsch.* 13, 274 f.). Da es bei Homer zwar Formen auf -σασκον, aber keine auf -σσασκον gibt, ist anzunehmen, dass die Verkürzung von *ῥιπτασσασκον zu ῥίπτασκον stattfand, als -σσ- noch nicht zu -σ- geworden war; die Formen auf -σασκον, wie δασάσκετο, kamen erst im Anschluss an die Aoristformen mit einfachem -σ- (bei Homer δάσασθαι neben δάσσασθαι, ἔλασαν neben ἔλασσαν usw.) auf. So ist wohl auch schon *ποσσοστος, nicht erst die Form *ποσοστος, in πόστος übergegangen.

KARL BRUGMANN

LEIPZIG

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ON SOME PASSAGES IN PROPERTIUS

i. 16. 19 ff.:

> cur numquam reserata meos admittis amores,
> nescia furtivas reddere mota preces?

It is usually said that *reddere* means "deliver," i. e., to the poet's mistress. Rothstein, however, thinks that it means "die Bitte zurückgeben in Gestalt der Erfüllung." Mr. Butler justly objects that for this meaning of *reddere* no parallel is forthcoming, and that the Ovidian *conceptaque semina coniunx reddat* (*Fast.* iv. 771 f.) is wholly irrelevant. It is possible, nevertheless, that Rothstein's conception of the general sense of the line is the correct one. But, if so, the peculiarity of the expression consists in the use of the word *preces*. Translating it not "prayers," but "things prayed for," "boons," we come to the same thing in the end, and this meaning of *preces* seems to be vouched for by Tibullus i. 5. 17 f., who says of the rival who has supplanted him in Delia's affections,

> fruitur nunc alter amore,
> et precibus felix utitur ille meis.

"Another now has her love, and he, happy man, enjoys the things I prayed for," "the boons I craved." This use of *preces* seems to be very rare (Plaut. *Rudens* 258: *qui sunt qui a patrona preces mea expetessunt?* is possibly an instance of it, though it is more likely a cognate acc.). But a similar concrete sense is abundantly exemplified for other words of like nature. So Horace *Sat.* ii. 6. 1: *hoc erat in votis, modus agri non ita magnus;* Ovid *M.* viii. 80: *voti . . . . potentem; ibid.* xi. 527: *spe potitur;* etc. The use of *reddere* is no way peculiar. It is like that in Caes. *B. G.* vi. 13. 7: *neque his petentibus ius redditur.* With this modification, Rothstein's interpretation appears to me simpler and better than the old one, for the following reasons: (1) It does not necessitate the supplying of an indirect object to *reddere*. (2) It is clear from vs. 19 that what the lover desires of the door is that it should open, not carry a message. Both in vs. 18,

> quid mihi iam duris clausa taces foribus?

and in vs. 26,

> respondes tacitis mutua cardinibus,

the door is reproached with its silence, and the creaking of its hinges, announcing that its leaves are about to open, is evidently the reply for which the youth listens in vain. (3) When the lover has finally given up all hope that the door may relent he exclaims, vss. 27 f.

> o utinam traiecta cava mea vocula rima
> percussas dominae vertat in auriculas!

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and not until then, apparently, has this alternative—so much less attractive than actual admittance—occurred to him.

ii. 3. 21 f.

et sua cum antiquae committit scripta Corinnae,
carmina quae quivis non putat aequa suis.

The pentameter, which I have given according to the text of O, Professor Ramsay thinks we may possibly interpret "'poems which any author, however famous, cannot deem equal to his own,' i. e., only equal: he must deem them superior." But this heroic attempt must be dismissed as far-fetched. Rothstein also (followed by Mr. Butler) thought the line could be interpreted as it stands above. He punctuates

carmina, quae quivis, non putat aequa suis.

and paraphrases thus: *carmina quae quivis suis aequa putat, illa non suis aequa putat.* But, had this been the poet's meaning, he must have seen, as well as Rothstein, that *illa* or an equivalent was absolutely essential to point the antithesis. Professor Phillimore likewise prints the traditional reading, but his translation (Propertius, translated by J. S. Phillimore, Oxford, 1906)—"she does not allow your common, anybody's verses to be a match with hers"—involves the improbable ellipse of *scribit* or some equivalent verb. Professor Postgate, too, retains the reading of the MSS, with the slight change of *putet* for *putat*, and places the line within inverted commas. But, while it is doubtless possible that the idea of saying implied in *committit* should be sufficient to introduce such a quotation, there is a real difficulty in the way of accepting this solution of the problem. One who heard the passage read aloud would not suspect the line in question of being a quotation, but, assuming at once that *suis* was a direct reflexive, would understand the verse to mean "poems which nobody would think equal to his own." With modern punctuation and its inverted commas the true meaning can be made clear to the eye, but Propertius had no means of accomplishing this for his readers, any more than for his hearers, and we may, therefore, safely conclude that he did not intend the line to be taken as Professor Postgate takes it.

The conjectures proposed have been as little convincing as the attempts to interpret. Perhaps the best of them is Palmer's

carmina quae quaevis non putat aequa suis,

but the *quae quaevis* is distinctly cacophonous. My own notion is that Propertius wrote

carmina quoiusvis non putat aequa suis,

"she does not think anybody's poems equal to her own." The difficulty of accounting for the corruption is not insuperable. I fancy that *quo* was first miscopied *que* (the change of *o* to *e*, or vice versa, is extremely

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common), which was later read *quę;* and that the next copyist, finding the meaningless jumble *iusvis*, emended it to *quivis*, which, as we have seen, yields what some modern scholars regard as sense.

For the older spelling *quoiusvis* there is the following evidence in the MSS of Propertius, as reported in the apparatus of Bährens: i. 20. 45 *quoius* DV; ii. 6. 26 *quoius* D *quovis* V (corruptions of *quoivis*), and *quoilibet* DV; ii. 23. 1 *quoi v*; ii. 24. 3 *quoi* DV. For *quoiusvis* in a negative statement, cf. Lucr. ii. 371 ff:

> postremo quodvis frumentum non tamen omne
> quique suo genere inter se simile esse videbis,
> quin intercurrat quaedam distantia formis.

ii. 6. 31 ff.

> a gemat, in terris ista qui protulit arte
> iurgia sub tacita condita laetitia!

Rothstein says: "Durch diese Kunst sind die Zwistigkeiten entstanden, die unter dem scheinbar ruhigen Liebesgenuss . . . . eine Zeitlang verborgen bleiben, bis sie plötzlich hervorbrechen." *laetitia* then is the happy love of the beholder. Mr. Butler's notion of the meaning is slightly different. "The contemplation," he says, "of such pictures, though it may give silent pleasure, contains hidden away in germ the severance of lovers through infidelity." It would seem better to take *laetitia* of the joy of the pictured lovers. It is a strong expression, and in "silent ecstasy" we have almost the effect of oxymoron. It is as though Propertius meant us to feel that the pictured lovers lacked nothing but speech to make them live before us. *The Ode on a Grecian Urn*—that "foster-child of Silence and slow Time"—owes much of its subtle charm to this same motif. *iurgia* must, of course, refer to the quarrels in which the beholder is involved by the passions which the painting awakens.

ii. 17. 7 f:

> vel tu Sisyphios licet admirere labores,
> difficile ut toto monte volutet onus;

Mr. Butler (following Rothstein[1]) takes *toto monte* "up the whole mountain," thus making *volutet* transitive. But in the only other Propertian instance of *volutare* (ii. 29. 36),

> apparent non ulla toro vestigia presso,
> signa volutantis[2] nec iacuisse duos,

it is intransitive, and that it should be taken so here also, making *toto monte* mean "*down* the whole mountain," is indicated by the context. In

[1] "Properz betont nicht sowohl die Enttäuschung im letzten Augenblick, wie die während der ganzen Arbeit fortgesetzte Kraftanstrengung."

[2] volutantis FL: voluntatis NF: voluptatis DV. There can hardly be any question that the first reading is correct.

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difficile onus we have a sufficient hint of the difficulty in getting the stone up, while *toto monte volutet* accentuates the real essence of the punishment, the obstinacy with which the stone persists in tumbling down again. This is the aspect of the punishment which Vergil singles out in his *non exsuperabile saxum* (*Geor.* iii. 39). So, in the distich just preceding,

vel tu Tantalea moveare ad flumina sorte,
ut liquor arenti fallat ab ore sitim;

the quasi-human malice of the water, which ever, as Tantalus stoops to drink, shrinks back and balks his thirst, constitutes an essential feature of his torment, as Horace recognized when he wrote, *Sat.* i. 1. 68 f.,

Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat
flumina.

ii. 19. 23 f.

haec igitur mihi sit lepores audacia mollis
excipere et stricto figere avem calamo,

There has always been a difference of opinion amongst scholars as to the meaning of the pentameter. Does it refer to liming or to the use of bow and arrows? Allusions to lime-rods are numerous in both Greek and Latin, and the articles by K. Zacher (*Herm.* 1884, pp. 432 ff.) and O. Crusius (*ibid.* 1886, pp. 487 ff.) may be referred to for a discussion of the art as practiced among the ancients, and a collection of the references to it. It is clear that the lime-rod was so contrived that it might be insensibly extended; and thus brought near the game, without alarming it (see, e. g., Martial ix. 54. 3, *crescente arundine*). Salmasius believed our *calamo* to be a rod of this sort, and changed *stricto* to *structo*, to make it allude to the several sections of which the instrument was composed. Crusius, being unable to accept the emendation, was inclined to give up the interpretation of Salmasius, and render *calamo* "arrow." This seems to me quite unnecessary. *stricto* "grasped" goes quite as well with a word meaning "lime-rod" as with one that signifies "arrow." Nor do I feel that a second argument, also adduced by Rothstein, is a whit more conclusive. His reason for adopting the "arrow" interpretation is the presence in the line of the word *figere*. But though *figere* is unquestionably used at times in the sense of *transfigere* (for which Rothstein might have cited Prop. ii. 9. 38 f.,

tela, precor, pueri, promite acuta magis,
figite certantes, atque hanc mihi solvite vitam!

cf. also Verg. *Aen.* v. 513 ff., quoted below), its proper meaning is to "fix" or "fasten," cf. Verg. *Aen.* x. 700 f.

armaque Lauso
donat habere umeris et vertice figere cristas,

and Prop. ii. 14. 25,

magna ego dona tua figam, Cytherea, columna.

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"To fix (or catch) a bird upon a lime-rod" would fairly translate *figere avem calamo*. Thus, though the words of the pentameter will bear the arrow interpretation, it is by no means necessarily involved in them, and there is evidence for the contrary view from which it is hard to escape.

In the first place, we read in Prop. iii. 13. 43 ff.:

> et leporem, quicumque venis, venaberis, hospes,
> et si forte meo tramite quaeris avem;
> et me Pana tibi comitem de rupe vocato,
> sive petes calamo praemia, sive cane.

Here the word *calamo* might seem to labor under the same ambiguity as in the other passage, but the meaning "lime-rod" is proved beyond question by the word ἰξευτής in an epigram of Leonidas of Tarentum (*A. P.* ix. 337), of which the lines just cited form a free translation:

> εὐάγρει λαγόθηρα, καὶ εἰ πετεεινὰ διώκων
> ἰξευτὴς ἥκεις τοῦθ' ὑπὸ δισσὸν ὄρος,
> κἀμὲ τὸν ὑληωρὸν ἀπὸ κρημνοῖο βόασον
> Πᾶνα· συναγρεύω καὶ κυσὶ καὶ καλάμοις.

That one of these Propertian passages was suggested by the other seems certain, if only from the identity of the game specified in both, and *calamo* would appear to have come straight from the καλάμοις of Leonidas.

Again, in Prop. iv. 2. 33 f., we have:

> cassibus impositis venor: sed harundine sumpta
> Faunus[1] plumoso sum deus aucupio,

Rothstein notes: "Die Vogeljagd mit Leimruten wird hier dem Faunus zugeschrieben (Faunus plumoso aucupio gehört zusammen), nach dem Vorbilde des griechischen Pan." It is strange that Rothstein should refuse to connect this passage, and that in iii. 13, with the verse under discussion.

Moreover, the evidence, such as it is, afforded by the glossaries points to liming as the regular way of taking birds. Thus we have in the *Glossae Latino-Graecae; aucupatur* ἰξευει, *aucuputor* ἰξευτης, *aucupium* θηρα· ἰξευτης (*Corp. Gloss. Lat.* ii. p. 25), and again in the *Glossarium Leidense: aucupatur ixeui, auceps ixeutes, aucupatores ixeutae* (*ibid.* iii. p. 399).[2] Nowhere do I find a gloss indicating the use of bow and arrows.

Finally, I can myself call to mind only two allusions in Latin literature to shooting birds with arrows; if there are others, it is certainly incumbent upon the upholders of the "arrow" interpretation to produce

[1] Faunus is the reading of DV. If we accept Rossberg's *fautor*, a plausible inference from the *faunor* of FL, and the *favor* of N, we may perhaps assume that Propertius had in mind not Faunus, but Pan himself.

[2] The *Glossae Graeco-Latinae* likewise indicate that the words for liming and fowling were interchangeable terms. Cf. *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* ii, p. 332. There are also occasional glosses showing that nets were sometimes employed. These I have disregarded as immaterial to the present question.

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them. The thing is ascribed to Philoctetes in a fragment of Accius, preserved in Cic. *De fin.* v. 32: *propagabat tamen vitam aucupio "configebat tardus celeres, stans volantis" ut apud Accium est.* The other place is in Vergil *Aen.* v. 513 ff.:

> tum rapidus, iamdudum arcu contenta parato
> tela tenens, fratrem Eurytion in vota vocavit,
> iam vacuo laetam caelo speculatus, et alis
> plaudentem nigra figit sub nube columbam.

One would hardly be justified in inferring that the skill possessed by these Robin Hoods of the olden time was so common among the sportsmen of the Augustan age as to suggest to Propertius the adoption of bow and arrows for his hunting kit, in place of the regulation lime-rod.

ii. 23. 21 ff.:

> et quas Euphrates et quas mihi misit Orontes
> me iuerint: nolim furta pudica tori;
> libertas quoniam nulli iam restat amanti,
> nullus liber erit, siquis amare volet.

The insufferable tautology of the last distich led W. Fischer[1] to pronounce the pentameter an interpolation, and one need only look at Rothstein's painful attempt at interpretation to be convinced that the line cannot be genuine as it stands. Of the corrections suggested, that of Bährens,

> stultus liberam erit siquis amare volet,

best satisfies the requirements of the context, but a less violent change is the transposition of *nullus* and *siquis*. *nullus* would then be used in the sense of an emphatic *non*,[2] as in Plaut. *Rud.* 143: *qui vocavit nullus venit;* Catull. 8. 14: *at tu dolebis, cum rogaberis nulla;* and in Propertius himself, i. 9. 23 f.

> nullus Amor cuiquam faciles ita praebuit alas
> ut non alterna presserit ille manu,

and i. 17. 7,

> nullane placatae veniet fortuna procellae?

and, five lines below,

> ossaque nulla tuo nostra tenere sinu?

The sense of the distich, as thus corrected, is excellent, if it be granted that the words *amanti* and *amare* refer to liaisons with demi-mondaines, such as Cynthia, and are not regarded by Propertius as applicable to chance intercourse with women of a yet lower social stratum, like the daughters of Euphrates and Orontes, mentioned in vs. 21. *amare, ama-*

[1] *De locis quibusdam Prop.* (Bonn, 1863).

[2] A modern parallel to this colloquial idiom is not unknown in Ireland, if we may trust the veracious testimony of Mickey Free. In *Charles O'Malley*, chap. cvii, that hero exclaims, in answer to a question of Mr. Meekins, "Devil a one o' me knows!"—as it were, "*id equidem ego nullus scio!*"

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tor, etc., are, in fact, constantly employed by the elegists in precisely this restricted, almost technical, sense. Ovid's *Ars*, for instance, deals as little with women below, as with those above, the demimonde. We shall have, then, in the last two distichs, a return, quite in the manner of Propertius, upon the thought expressed in the first two:

cui fuit indocti fugienda haec semita vulgi,
ipsa petita lacu nunc mihi dulcis aqua est.
ingenuus quisquam alterius dat munera servo,
ut promissa suae verba ferat dominae?

iii. 9. 43 f.:

inter Callimachi sat erit placuisse libellos
et cecinisse modis, dure poeta, tuis.

The epithet *durus* is quite unsuited to Philetas or Callimachus, and we doubtless owe it to some careless copyist in whose head was running the *dure poeta* of ii. 34. 44. Beroaldus' *Coe*, making the line an address to Philetas, is the reading which the editors have most favored. If we could be sure that Propertius had Philetas (and not Callimachus) in mind, it would be an acceptable conjecture. But the Latin poet knew no canon compelling him to mention both his Greek masters whenever he mentioned one of them. In fact, he has twice alluded to Callimachus alone (ii. 1. 40; iv. 1. 64). Closer to the MSS than *Coe* is the *pure* of Scaliger, which, if read, should certainly be taken not, as he intended, of Philetas—for there would be nothing to show that the poet so meant it—but of Callimachus, as Valckenaer and Lachmann saw. But the adjective *purus*, which Propertius has, commonly enough, in other senses, seems not to have been used by him in reference to style. In its stead I venture to propose *docte*, which, though not so near *dure*, is yet near enough to have been easily mistaken for it by a scribe who was thinking of the phrase in ii. 34. *doctus* is a favorite epithet with Propertius, being used, for example, of Athens (i. 6. 13), of Vergil's lyre (ii. 34. 79), and the wand of Bacchus, who is surrounded by the Muses (ii. 30. 38). Moreover, we get it twice in the same metrical position which it would have here, viz., iii. 21. 26, *hortis, docte Epicure, tuis*, and iii. 21. 28, *tuos, docte Menandre, sales*. I do not know that the abrupt transition from the third to the second person has been urged against taking both lines of Callimachus, but it may be worth pointing out that this is so thoroughly Propertian a trick as to be by no means an objection to this understanding of the passage. See, for examples, Lachmann on iii. 13. 42, or Hertzberg *Quaestiones*, p. 116.

iv. 1. 17 ff.:

nulli cura fuit externos quaerere divos,
cum tremeret patrio pendula turba sacro;
annuaque accenso celebrante Parilia faeno,
qualia nunc curto lustra novantur equo,

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Vesta coronatis pauper gaudebat asellis,
ducebant macrae vilia sacra boves.

The above text is that of Professor Postgate's edition. The *celebrante* of vs. 19 is Professor Housman's conjecture, based upon *celebrate*, the reading of D. The other MSS give *celebrare*, and those editors who follow them put a full stop after *equo* (vs. 20). Lachmann's *at* (for *que*) seems necessary, if we would read *celebrare*, for it will not do to class the Parilia with the new observances which nobody thought of seeking out in those primitive days which the poet is picturing for us. Propertius must obviously mean to imply that the Parilia *was* one of the good old festivals which sufficed for the Romans of the days of yore. This meaning is given the passage by the substitution of *at* for *que*, and the change is paleographically easy. We need only assume that the original *at* became corrupted to *ac* owing to the proximity of *accenso*, and that this *ac* was subsequently omitted by haplography. The final step would be the conjectural insertion of *que* to fill the gap. Very few conjectural emendations admit of so satisfactory an explanation of the process of corruption as does this one.

But slight as is the change involved, it is greater than that required upon the hypothesis of Professor Housman. If *celebrante* had been written in the archetype with a nasal stroke over the *a*, this might easily be omitted in the process of transcription, and we should then have D's *celebrate*. To account for the *celebrare* of the other MSS we need only assume that the letter *t* was misread or intentionally altered to *r*. This is a common blunder, if blunder it was. Professor Postgate, in adopting this reading, altered the punctuation after *equo* to a comma, and *que* was thus made to connect *fuit* with *gaudebat* and *ducebant*, giving very satisfactory sense.

Mr. Butler, however, after discussing the relative merits of the two readings gives in his vote for the vulgate *celebrare* with Lachmann's *at*, seeing that "but" rather than "and" is required by the context, even though we were to accept *celebrante*. It seems to me that his point is well taken. It would undeniably be more forcible to say: "In those days men cared not for strange gods, *but* Vesta delighted in her simple ceremonial." Yet this objection of Mr. Butler vanishes, if we make one little change in the punctuation of the text, as printed above, and place a comma where Professor Postgate has put a semicolon. In this way *que* is made to connect *tremeret* with *gaudebat* and *ducebant*, all three verbs being introduced by *cum*. Thus punctuated Professor Housman's reading gives irreproachable sense, and since it involves practically no departure from the MSS tradition, it must, I think, be regarded as being, in all likelihood, the reading of the archetype. It is true that my punctuation involves the coupling of indicative and subjunctive in the same

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cum-clause, but Propertius is notorious for mingling indicatives and subjunctives, without the slightest difference in meaning, and in iv. 4. 9 ff. occurs an exact parallel to the construction I propose to give the passage under discussion. We there read:

> quid tum Roma *fuit*, tubicen vicina Curetis
> *cum quateret* lento murmure saxa Iovis,
> *atque* ubi nunc terris dicuntur iura subactis,
> *stabant* Romano pila Sabina Foro?

iv. 3. 11 f.:

> haecne marita fides et parce avia noctes
> cum rudis urgenti bracchia victa dedi ?

The above is N's reading of a well-nigh desperate passage. FL have *et pacatae mihi noctes;* DV give *hae sunt pactae mihi noctes.* Haupt, seeking to recover the reading responsible for N's, wrote *et pactae in savia noctes.* Mr. Housman has pointed out that neither this reading nor that of DV is possible, seeing that they are incompatible with the pentameter—"as if the bride who according to her own account '*dedit bracchia urgenti*' can represent herself as there and then bargaining for *noctes*" (*Journ. of Philol.* XXI, p. 148). But his own *et primae praemia noctis* disregards the unmistakable witness of the MSS to an archetypal *pactae.* Dr. Postgate approves of *praemia*, but constitutes the passage thus: *haecne marita fides? pacta haec mihi praemia noctis*, etc. The reading of the Naples MS is, however, too patently honest to be so far tinkered with, and *pactae*, as I have said, was clearly in the archetype. If Mr. Housman's *praemia* may be accepted (and it is at least a plausible conjecture) I would read:

> haecne marita fides, et pactae praemia noctis,
> cum rudis urgenti bracchia victa dedi?

"Is this wedded faith, and my reward for the night I pledged when a raw recruit in love, I surrendered to your attacks?" The pentameter will depend upon *pactae*, and will signify, metaphor apart, "when, new to love, I agreed to your proposal of marriage." Mr. Housman, who paraphrases his reading, "Is your desertion the reward I merit for my surrender to *your embraces*" (my italics), makes the pentameter depend upon *noctis* and takes *urgenti* differently. For the interpretation I have given the line there is rather a striking parallel in the third book of the *Fasti.* Anna Perenna has been besought by Mars to win over Minerva to his love. Verses 685 ff. run:

> dixerat [i. e., Mars]. illa deum promisso ludit inani,
> et stultam dubia spem trahit usque mora.
> saepius instanti "mandata peregimus," inquit
> "evictas precibus vix dedit illa manus."
> credit amans, thalamosque parat, etc.

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A REPLY TO PROFESSOR TARBELL

In reviewing my monograph on *Brygos* in *Classical Philology* I, pp. 191 ff., Professor Tarbell has so adversely criticized my work that it is impossible for me, with justice to myself, to let his remarks pass unchallenged. He says, in the first place, that I "blundered egregiously in reporting Hartwig," when I claimed that this writer assigned to Brygos thirty-eight characteristics. I find, after verifying my work, that all but one of those which I cite are given by Hartwig. I should be glad to furnish the references. My error in attributing to Brygos the characteristic that "figures reclining on couches are covered to the waist by the himation" is not so much a misunderstanding of Hartwig as an error in note-taking. On p. 74 I say that "Hartwig illustrates this characteristic by Pl. XXXV of his *Meisterschalen*," whereas I should have given Pl. XXXIV, where the feature discussed by Professor Tarbell does appear. I was thus led to interpret Hartwig to fit what I thought he was illustrating on Pl. XXXV.

Mr. Tarbell further states that a somewhat close scrutiny of my citations "from Furtwängler, Hauser, and Kretschmer has revealed similar inaccuracies sown broadcast." I had hoped by this time to have in my hands letters from these scholars relative to the matter. I lack one from Furtwängler. I have therefore examined my citations from him and find them correct. Kretschmer's reply is to the effect that I have not cited him "ganz genau," inasmuch as I make him say that "Brygos may have come from Crete," whereas he actually says that the writer of the inscription of the vase under discussion "aus Kreta stammte." As it is generally accepted that this vase is by Brygos, and as Kretschmer himself, without dissent, mentions Dümmler's attribution of it to Brygos, it seems to be rather a question of terms than of ideas. Hauser's answer is: "Der Unterschied zwischen dem, was Sie mich sagen lassen und was ich sagen wollte, ist ein geringer and doesn't matter. This remark was in reference to the only citation on which Hauser differed from me—p. 115, n. 3, of my monograph.

Mr. Tarbell's criticism of my method as mechanical expresses his personal opinion of a method of work not peculiar to myself, and therefore hardly demands an answer. But it is worth noting that the characteristics which he used in describing a kantharos "from the factory of Brygos" are in part those that I obtained by the method he describes as mechanical.

OLIVER S. TONKS

REJOINDER

In Upper Egypt, where Dr. Tonks's communication reaches me, it is impossible for me to make a detailed rejoinder. The points at issue must be left to the judgment of those who care to examine them.

F. B. T.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Die Kultur der Gegenwart. Die griechische und lateinische Literatur und Sprache. Von U. v. WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, K. KRUMBACHER, J. WACKERNAGEL, FR. LEO, E. NORDEN, F. SKUTSCH. Teil I, Abteilung VIII. Berlin und Leipzig: Teubner, 1905. Pp. vii + 464. M. 12.

The monumental work to which this book belongs is announced to appear in three parts, comprising twenty-five volumes. The bare enumeration of the titles would consume too much of the space at the reviewer's disposal, and a general idea of the purpose of the work, which must constantly be borne in mind, may be gained from the general title and from the contents of this volume. In a country where most publishers will not consider a work the pecuniary success of which cannot be demonstrated in advance, one cannot but admire either the liberality of the firm of Teubner or a book-buying public which makes such a work a profitable venture.

To write anything like an adequate critique of this single volume is well nigh impossible, especially for one who, like the writer, has been prevented by our unhappy division of the field of Classical Philology between Latinists and Grecians from being *doctor*, even though he might claim to be in a modest degree *doctus utriusque linguae*. One is tempted, as some reviewers have already done, to limit one's remarks to the subjects about which one is best informed, but that would be to give a very imperfect idea of the contents of the book.

It would be difficult to select a group of writers better adapted to treat the subjects comprised in this volume, which are, following the order in which the names are given in the title: "Die griechische Literatur des Altertums," "Die griechische Literatur des Mittelalters," "Die griechische Sprache," "Die lateinische Literatur des Altertums," "Die lateinische Literatur im Uebergang vom Altertum zum Mittelalter," and "Die lateinische Sprache." More than half the volume is occupied by the first article — an allotment of space which is justified by the length of the period covered, as well as by the relation of the Grecian literature to the others. The treatment, which is not genetic but chronological, embraces five periods extending from the earliest times to the year 529 A. D. It is not limited to the greater names, and nearly two-

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thirds of the article is devoted to the post-classical literature. Stress is laid on the unique position of the Grecian literature as an independent creation, while it is at the same time the source of the literatures of Europe as well as of those of many extra-European peoples. The Homeric question is fully and sanely discussed, and the characteristic differences between the literature of Asiatic Greece and that of the mother-country are pointed out. The specific features of the latter are regarded as in a great measure due to Dorian influences. The brief but brilliant period of the supremacy of Athens in literature was the result, not of any unique advantages which that land or that age possessed, but of the rise of a series of men of genius, a phenomenon which baffles investigation and must simply be accepted as a fact. An appendix gives a summary of the literature of the subject, and, besides, suggests a number of lines along which research would be fruitful. In this latter feature, as well as in general interest and suggestiveness, the article of Wilamowitz is easily first among a number of treatises of unusually high quality.

The Byzantine literature is related to that of Greece and that of Rome, since it is the most important witness to the intellectual influence of the Greek nation from the close of the ancient period down to modern times, while it owes its existence to the protection afforded by the Roman church and state, and is strongly colored by their influence. The Byzantine culture was a mixture of these three elements, Greece, Rome, and Christianity — each of which is discussed at some length — strongly affected also by oriental influences, which still show themselves in Russia and the southern Slavonic races. A brief treatment of the development of the κοινή, and the influence of Atticism, is followed by a survey of the literature in five periods, ending with that of the Turkish domination from 1453 to 1821.

The treatment of the languages, as compared with that of the literatures, seems at first sight somewhat elementary and incomplete, but to trace the influence of the languages on modern culture does not demand an exhaustive account of their phonology and inflection. Greece rendered an important service to the modern world by the development of a complete phonetic alphabet, as distinguished from the syllabic alphabet of Phoenicia. Wackernagel regards the Greek language as giving, on the whole, the truest representation of the parent tongue, since it was least affected by external influences. The effect of Greek on the modern languages is discussed, as well as the advantages of the former for scientific terminology. In the Appendix the need of a thoroughly satisfactory Greek grammar is pointed out, as well as of a great lexicon or thesaurus, for which, however, the time has not yet come.

While the sketch of the Grecian literature might almost serve as a

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manual for students, Leo limits his treatment to the great writers in the closest sense of the term. The Latin literature is regarded as the means of transmitting the culture of antiquity to the Middle Ages. While the Romans did not lack creative intellectual power, their literature was essentially Graeco-Roman. Grecian influence is as old as the history of Rome, and appears even in the Twelve Tables. Except for these and the other early legal literature the so-called national literature is wholly ignored, which is proper enough in view of the purpose of these sketches. Leo's treatment, too, is chronological, and is brought down to the sixth century, though the greater part of the article deals with the periods from the Punic Wars to the death of Hadrian. The Appendix is confined to a brief survey of the literature, but the article itself, as might be expected, is highly suggestive.

Norden's article overlaps that of Leo, but without repetition. He practically begins with the second century, and treats the subject in two divisions, one preceding and the other following the Carolingian renaissance. A brief chapter discusses the literature of the Middle Ages and the effect of the Revival of Learning. The first division is treated from the geographical standpoint, and the literary activity of the great divisions of the Roman world is discussed in turn. The thorough and early Romanizing of Spain checked the literary career which began so brilliantly in the days of the early empire — only Prudentius and Isidore receive mention as second-rate writers — while the mixture of races in Africa and Gaul gave new life to their literatures, though the latter was retarded for some two centuries by internal disturbances. Norden differs somewhat from Skutsch in his estimate of the so-called African Latin, one of the very few divergencies of opinion which are to be found in the different essays. A generous amount of space is given, as is natural, to Augustine, whose *Confessions* is regarded as a work unique in literature. The importance of the Carolingian revival of learning for the transmission of the classical authors is pointed out, and the principal writers of the following period are briefly noticed. Norden regards Latin as a dead language, which is of course true only in the sense in which he uses the term, and he attributes its death to the efforts of Petrarch and his followers to revivify it by a return to classical models. They thus, however, left the way open for the unrestricted development of the Romance languages, in which the colloquial Latin still lives.

The sketch of the Latin language by Skutsch is an exceedingly interesting one. A brief account of the relations of Latin to the other languages of the Indo-European family, and to those of the Italian peninsula, is followed by a survey of the literature in four periods from the stylistic point of view. The early Latin is happily characterized as Cyclopean on account of its remarkable power of terse and vigorous

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expression, a feature which was employed as a stylistic device by the later poets and rhetorical writers. The differences between the literary and the colloquial language are emphasized, and it is shown that many of the views which have been expressed about the characteristics of Latin are erroneous, since they are based on the former exclusively. Latin is not essentially a logical tongue, nor is it meager, but it is capable of expressing all the emotions of the human heart. The influence of Latin on the modern languages is discussed and the Latin writings of mediaeval and modern times are briefly noticed. He closes with the words of Schopenhauer (*Parerga* II § 299) on the narrow horizon of one who has no Latin, as compared with the breadth of view which a knowledge of the language and literature gives.

It is hoped that this very brief and inadequate review has at least made it clear that the book is one which is full of inspiration for the classical scholar, as well as a storehouse of arguments to support the faith which is in him. In the course of a careful reading of the book, with a rereading of many chapters, the reviewer has noticed no misprints, which may be, however, because the interest of the work prevented his thoughts from dwelling on typographical details.

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The Religion of Numa, and Other Essays on the Religion of Ancient Rome. By JESSE BENEDICT CARTER. London: Macmillan & Co., 1906. Pp. viii+189. $1.

American classical scholarship has usually busied itself with the editing of texts, or with the writing of monographs dealing with some phenomenon or group of phenomena in the domain of grammar or exegesis. Such labors, useful and necessary as they are, afford little scope for the display of literary ability, and seldom give much evidence of that refinement of style and power of sympathetic appreciation which the study of ancient culture is supposed to develop. It is therefore with great satisfaction that we turn the pages of Professor Carter's book, in which the results of accurate scholarship are presented in a style that is unusually graceful. The author has the artist's faculty of introducing details only so far as they serve to emphasize the effect of the whole, and we rise from the perusal of his book with clear and definite conceptions.

The book contains five essays—"The Religion of Numa," "The Reorganization of Servius," "The Coming of the Sibyl," "The Decline of Faith," and "The Augustan Renaissance"—each of which "deals with

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a distinct period and is in a sense complete in itself; but the dramatic development inherent in the whole forbids their separation save as acts or chapters." In the first essay the author describes the animism that was the basis of the earliest religious ideas of the Romans, the formalism that consisted in the careful discharge of one's whole duty toward the gods, and the ways in which the cults originating in the family became those of the state. The essential character of the Roman as distinguished from the Greek idea of divinity is cleverly sketched, and the discussion is illuminated now and then by apt *sententiae* like this (p. 8): "The potentiality of the gods overshadowed their personality." In the second essay is traced the gradual change that came over Roman religion in consequence of the coming of Greek trade from the south and of Etruscan art and handicraft from the north, and of the influence of that political rivalry that was springing up between Rome and other Latin cities. As this oldest form of native Roman religion could not adapt itself to new conditions in the way of organic development from within, it was forced to suffer an external reorganization to some extent during the latter part of the regal period. The difference, however, between the religious movements in this period, such as resulted in the introduction of gods like Hercules, Castor, Minerva, and Diana, and the later importation of foreign divinities, is clearly brought out. The author seems inclined to accept without question the statements of the Roman historians with reference to the religious history of the early republic, and his treatment of Diana, for instance (pp. 55 ff.), forms interesting parallel reading to Pais' recent discussion (*Ancient Legends of Roman History*). The Decline of Faith is a sad picture — the least interesting period in the history of Roman religious movements. The last essay on the revival under Augustus is the best brief presentation of the subject that we have seen.

In common with other recent students of the subject, Carter ascribes the religious development from the beginning of the republic to the Second Punic War, to the direct influence of the Sibylline books, which are regarded as the sufficient cause of the introduction of foreign cults. It seems to us that this influence has been somewhat exaggerated, and that other causes were also at work. There are a few statements in the book that might be called in question, such as that about the Servian wall on p. 34, or that on p. 84 where "the war with Pyrrhus was on" in 293 B.C.; but they are slips of little importance, and in general the author deserves nothing but praise. Many passages display an unusual power of felicitous expression, such as the summing-up of the second essay (pp. 59–61) and the incidental portrayal of the early Greek conception of the gods (p. 69).

SAMUEL BALL PLATNER

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Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius. By SAMUEL DILL. New York: Macmillan, 1905. Pp. xxii+639. $2.50.

In a series of brilliant chapters Mr. Dill has given us a graphic picture of the more important elements in Roman society in the Antonine age. Some of the chapter heads are: "The Aristocracy under the Terror," "The World of the Satirist," "The Society of the Freedmen," "The Circle of the Younger Pliny," "Municipal Life," "The Colleges and Plebeian Life," "The Philosophic Director," "Superstition," "Isis and Serapis," and "The Religion of Mithra." In the trend of Seneca's philosophical teaching, in the lives of many of the Cynic philosophers, in Neoplatonism, in the various forms of superstition, and in the vogue of the cults of Isis and Mithra, Dill sees the signs of a struggle for a higher spiritual life. The systematic development of this idea, that the age was marked to an unusual degree by a passion for spiritual reform, gives an unexpected unity to a book that at first sight seems to be, like many of its predecessors in this field, a collection of essays on widely diverse topics. Dill knows his Latin authors well, interprets them acutely, and where their records fail, has drawn extensively on the inscriptions. His conclusions are, in the main, sound, and his presentation has the additional merit of a style of unusual effectiveness.

That a book with so wide a range of subjects should here and there show inaccuracies, slips, and occasionally even a failure to grasp the significance of some of the social conditions of the period, is not surprising. For example, many readers will be disappointed in the treatment of the colleges. Of the attitude of the government toward the formation of these organizations the author does, it is true, speak from time to time; but of the relations which existed between the municipalities and the colleges on the one hand, and between the central administration and the colleges on the other, almost nothing is said. That many of the colleges were burial or religious societies, that in all of them the social tie that united the members was a strong and enduring one, that in a considerable number of the clubs the protection of a particular trade was a motive of the organization — this is the sum total of the impressions that the chapter on this subject leaves. Of the important part that many of these organizations played in the municipal and even in the imperial administrative system, and of the privileges which they enjoyed as a return for their services, no mention is made. Indeed, Dill's view of the subject is sadly antiquated. Apart from his own study of the inscriptions and texts, it seems to be based on nothing more recent than Mommsen's treatise *De collegiis* and Gaston Boissier's *La religion romaine*. Waltzing's monumental work, *Les corporations romaines*, is apparently unknown to him.

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There are a few inaccurate statements which should be corrected in a second edition. Julius Caesar's attitude toward Laberius' appearance on the stage was not one of encouragement (p. 73), but of coercion (cf. Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 7). The title of the tutor was not *litteratus* (p. 96), but *litterator*. The *quinque tabernae* to which Juvenal refers in i. 104 were probably five banking-houses in the Forum (cf. Liv. xxvi. 27); they were certainly not taverns (p. 104). The capacity of the Colosseum was not 87,000 (p. 235), but, as Hülsen has shown in *Bull. Com.* 1894, pp. 312–24, about 45,000.

On the whole, however, the book is a remarkable one, and deserves the attention of all who are interested in this side of Roman life.

G. J. LAING

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Griechische Papyri medizinischen und naturwissenschaftlichen Inhalts. Bearbeitet von K. KALBFLEISCH und H. SCHÖNE. Mit 9 Lichtdrucktafeln. Berliner Klassikertexte, herausgegeben von der Generalverwaltung der kgl. Museen zu Berlin, Heft III. Berlin: Weidmann, 1905. Pp. 40. M. 5.

The third part of the Berlin Classical Texts contains nine rather fragmentary papyri and one parchment, dealing with medical and kindred subjects. These belong for the most part to the first and second centuries after Christ. A few of them have already been published, but are reprinted in connection with the unpublished pieces of similar character. The most considerable of these fragments preserve parts of the letters of the Pseudo-Hippocrates and of a physiological (neurological?) work of the Alexandrian period. The fragments of Pseudo-Hippocrates are the only texts of those published that are extant in other manuscripts. Dr. Wilhelm Schubart has assisted in the publication of the texts, by comparing the editors' copies with the originals at Berlin. There are full indices, and good facsimiles of all the papyri included in the part are appended, thus greatly increasing the palaeographical value of the publication. A consecutive numbering of the texts would have facilitated reference to them, the museum designations (P. 9764, etc.) being too cumbrous for the purpose, even if the papyri were arranged in the order of those numbers, as they are not. The Berlin literary papyri should receive publication numbers, just as the Berlin *Urkunden* do.

American students of papyri will welcome these Berlin texts, and regret afresh the dearth of such material in this country.

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The Idle Actor in Aeschylus. By FRANK W. DIGNAN. Chicago dissertation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1905. Pp. 43. $0.75.

It has doubtless occurred to many scholars, in reading the witty attack upon Aeschylus for the portentous silence of his characters, which Aristophanes (*Frogs* 908 ff.) puts into the mouth of Euripides, that the cause of the tragedian's practice is not merely the desire to be impressive but also the limitations imposed upon the poet by the primitive theater, and the crude conventions of the drama, during at least the earlier years of his activity. Mr. Dignan deserves great credit for his careful investigation of this problem. He defines an "idle" actor as one who neither speaks nor is addressed for a space of at least twenty consecutive verses. A detailed study of all the occurrences of this phenomenon in the extant plays of Aeschylus leads to the following conclusions: (1) Though we find a number of striking cases of the idle actor, not one of these was introduced as a dramatic device, such as the Euripides of Aristophanes professed to see in the *Phrygians* and the *Niobe*. (2) The most frequent cause for the idleness of an actor was the primitive theater. The lack of a building as a background for the action made it necessary to assume that the characters came upon the scene from a distance, and hence it was not possible to motive their easy and natural withdrawal and reappearance. So in the case of Danaus in the *Suppliants*, Atossa in the *Persians*, Eteocles in the *Septem*. Even the consummate art of Sophocles could not avoid the same difficulty, so soon as he departed from his usual palace (or other) background. There are more periods of silence in the *Oedipus Coloneus* than in any other extant tragedy. (3) Other causes were the traditional preference for dialogue between two speakers only, and the historical prominence of the chorus. (4) In various places Aeschylus was at great pains to *avoid* an idle actor; cf. *Suppliants* 480 ff., 968, *Persians* 290 ff., 523, 849. (5) All this is not to deny that Aeschylus does sometimes make a virtue of necessity, and secures a striking effect from a situation which would have baffled a lesser poet.

Mr. Dignan has not confined his study to Aeschylus, but includes the two other tragedians as well, and his comparisons and summaries are highly interesting and useful. If (as pointed out by Professor I. T. Allen, at a recent meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast) Dr. Dignan is inclined to attach too sole importance to external conditions, in accounting for the facts in question, and to ignore the poet's free artistic *choice*, as seen in the *Oedipus Coloneus*, the dissertation is none the less a substantial contribution to our knowledge of an important subject. It is accurately printed and well written, though

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purists may object to the expression "making the action *transpire* before a palace" (p. 24), and lovers of Aristophanes would deny the existence of "comic *verbiage*" (p. 8) in their favorite poet. For "Dindorf" (p. 15, n. 20) read "Dindorf-Mekler."

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Glossemata de Prudentio. Edited from the Paris and Vatican Manuscripts by JOHN M. BURNHAM. University of Cincinnati Studies, Series II, Vol. I, No. 4, Cincinnati, 1905. Pp. 102.

The preface of this work contains a careful investigation into the date and origin of the two codices, Paris *fonds latin* 13953 and *Pal. Lat.* 237, with the conclusion that the former belongs to the tenth century, the latter to the eleventh century, and that both come from a common archetype, of Celtic origin, of the period of 650–750 A. D. A valuable feature of the Preface is the incorporation of a list of 27 words which do not appear in any of the dictionaries or collections of Glosses, of 40 rare words from the *Glossemata* and 10 from the *Val. Pal.* 1715 which have not received adequate treatment heretofore.

The *Glossemata*, besides rendering assistance to the interpretation of the poet and the editing of the text[1] also throws light upon the Latin language in its later development in form and syntax and contains much that is of interest to the student of Roman history, mythology, and religion. By their publication the editor has rendered a valuable service.

In spite of these merits the edition still leaves much to be desired both in point of accuracy and completeness. The reader would naturally question the advisability of publishing an edition in which, to use the editor's words (p. 102), "explanatory references need completion" and in the preparation of which the editor "has not had access to the Vienna *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*," and it may also be added, has not made use of the edition of Servius (an important source of the *Glossemata*) by Thilo-Hagen. The edition bears all the marks of a premature appearance. The list of rare words (pp. 12 f.) could easily be extended with profit.[2] One of tho least satisfactory parts of the book is p. 18, where but nine lines are devoted to peculiar syntactical usages, the rest of the page being left blank.[3] Two of these are especially note-

[1] The latest is that of Dressel, 1860, which has one conspicuous defect (cf. Lease *Syntax and Style of Prudentius*, p. 3). A new edition by Huemer has been promised since 1893.

[2] E. g., *chisila* C. 5. 114 (App.), *conculatus* S. II. 1047, *dominicalis*, Epil. 22, *edales* A. 711, *eugenes* C. 3. 31, *formidaliter* H. 296, etc. etc.

[3] "Of interest for the Romance scholar" are also *cotes* et *cautes* dicimus H. 745; Clodus et CLAVDVS simul D. 183 and *habens* with a perf. part., H. 498; S. II. 322. Noteworthy also are: *animabus* H. 874; *E contra* A. 9; *fortassis* C. 6. 18 (cf. Ps. 501 FORS *fortassis*); *causa* before its genitive, C. 10. 154; *aliquando* . . . . *aliquando* Ps.

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worthy: *dignus* with a dative C. 2. 34 and *ex generis humani* S. I. 286. The remaining notes are less happy; *quod* in Ps. 684 is clearly causal; the two citations for *putat ut* are incorrect; *designat ut* Ps. 614 is incorrectly interpreted; *dictum ut* is not found in A. 822.

The *Glossemata* do not always accurately represent the "concordance of A with Dressel's text" (the first three pages show 10 exceptions). The numbering and the order of the glosses are frequently confused. (If this represents the condition in the codices, a note to that effect would be in order.) The following variations in the spelling of the same word in different parts of the glossemata are interesting: *apostropha* p. 90, but *apostrofa*, p. 84; *genitivus*, p. 42, but *genetivus*, p. 46; *ironicos*, pp. 61, 76, but *yronicos*, p. 92, and *yronice*, p. 94; *theatri*, p. 42, but *teatri*, next line; *Virgilius*, pp. 72, 74, 87, but *Vergilius*, p. 71 etc., etc.

In the explanatory references extensive use was made of the various collections of glosses, but greater attention should have been given to Festus, Servius, and St. Augustine.[1] The edition would be greatly improved by the addition of cross-references to glosses where the editor has given a more detailed criticism, as: at Ps. 744, cf. l. 184; S. I. 461, cf. Ps. 606; H. 587, cf. 3. 128, etc.

Such division of words at the end of the line as the following is startling: p. 32 *liber-ator*, p. 35 *geneal-ogia*, p. 47 *cum-ulum*, p. 49 *numer-abant*, *reper-iuntur*, p. 78 *Christicol-am*, p. 79 *scil-icet*, p. 89 *interfection-ibus*, p. 92 *Vestal-ibus*, p. 99 *reg-ulam*, and p. 84 *nost-rum*, p. 87 *des-tituit*, etc.

The following typographical errors were noticed: p. 5, bottom, "to" omitted; p. 7 *Archiv*, followed by a period and VIII for IX; p. 12 passagcs; p. 22, l. 11, 1 for 8 and l. 17 *Archiv* V for VI; p. 36, l. 35 insidiosls; p. 38, l. 10, *Aen.* i. 204=?; p. 43, l. 33 tranquilatatem; p. 49, l. 25 qualicmmque; p. 55, l. 7 venditiomum; p. 56, l. 37 vetuti; p. 63, l. 23 ponitnr and l. 36 *quomdo;* p. 85, l. 8 *sci!icet* and l. 14 VIRTVVE; p. 90, l. 14, capud*;* p. 93, l. 2 NOVM. Note also p. 26, l. 4, "Cff." and l. 5 "*ad haec loca*"*!* Lactantius is referred to by *Inst. Divin.* p. 39, I. D., pp. 71 and 84, and Lact., simply, p. 20; Servius *ad versum* p. 40, *ad vers*, p. 44, *ad* vs., p. 63, and *ad loc.*, p. 37, etc. The editor's query, p. 97, l. 17, "*Confund cum Promuscis?*" needs a glossema.

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569; S. II. 1108; *promittit ut* S. II. 974; etc. etc. The reading of *numne* (a word whose existence is disputed; cf. Lease *Class. Rev.*, 1897, p. 348) in Prud. S. II. 940 is corroborated by the lemma of the Glossemata.

[1] E. g., p. 23. l. add Serv. *Buc.* iii. 30; p. 38, l. 36, add Plin. *N. H.* 18. 12. Aug., *C. D.* iv. 23; p. 86, l. 6. add Festus, p. 383 (Th.), etc. On p. 25, l. 5. Lucr. v. 1084 or Cat. 64. 263 is a better reference than Verg. *Aen.* ix. 122. The following comments could be made more complete by consulting the notes to my edition of Livy, as on p. 72, l. 19, Livy i, l. 95 n.; on p. 77, l. 3, Livy i, l. 445 n., and on p. 91, l, 35, Livy i, l. 134 n.

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Die Altertumswissenschaft im letzten Vierteljahrhundert, im Verein mit mehreren Fachgenossen bearbeitet von WILHELM KROLL. Leipzig: Reisland, 1905. Pp. vii + 547. M. 14.

The wonder of the layman, that there is still left anything to discover concerning Greek and Roman antiquity, is a familiar thing, not without its justification, not altogether easy to satisfy, and deserving of considerate attention. It would seem, therefore, peculiarly gratifying that a work is here at hand to which the curious may be referred for a record of the progress of classical studies during the past twenty-five or thirty years. But the contributors to this volume are fighters in the ranks, and they write rather for the information of their fellows in other parts of the field than for the enlightenment of the non-combatant. The book is not for the general reader, for, except in some few fields, the progress which it records is the slow movement which characterizes the advance of science as a whole; it is rather like the growth of an irregular spiral, the rise of which is at some points conspicuous, and again is scarcely distinguishable, if at all, from fruitless revolution in circles. Striking progress, apparent to all the world, is discernible only in some few fields, those especially which have received access of important new material—archaeology, epigraphy, and, thanks to the explorations of the archaeologist, Greek literature and history.

On the whole, surveying the record which is here set forth with varying skill, it can be said confidently that the period has been a fruitful one, and it would doubtless be recorded as such even without the discoveries which in certain fields lend it conspicuous brilliancy. To compare it with the period (say of forty years) which preceded is difficult. Each age is the heir of its predecessor, and it will be found in general that the period under review has occupied itself chiefly with the execution of the tasks which the classical philology of the middle of the nineteenth century had outlined. It has been a time of orderly settlement and occupation, rather than of pioneer exploration and conquest. Names to place beside those of Lachmann, Ritschl, Madvig, Cobet, Droysen, Grote, Zeller, Mommsen (who belongs of right to the earlier time) it can scarcely show. But the period has not lacked independence and initiative. The great discoveries in epigraphy, in art, and in Greek literature have shown that it could rise equal to tasks as great and difficult as those which confronted the heroic race of an earlier time.

A survey of classical studies emanating from any source would of necessity be largely a review of the results of German scholarship, and it cannot be wondered at that a book of German authorship should lay itself open to the charge of neglecting somewhat the labors of non-German workers. But the matter is one which cannot be urged graciously in view of the conscientious labor which all of the contributors have devoted to

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their respective fields. A decent gratitude forbids it. One regret, however, I shall not repress—that some competent contributor was not found to put together in large outline the general points of view which characterize the present study of classical antiquity and in a measure differentiate it from the period preceding. For even so general a summary as this does not escape the danger of losing sight of the whole in contemplation of particular conquests. But some points emerge with sufficient clearness to be easily observed. First, and most conspicuous perhaps (though no allusion, I believe, is made to it), is the disappearance of the conception of a unified science of antiquity, an *Altertumswissenschaft*—though that is the title which the work bears. But the term no longer means what it meant to the middle of the nineteenth century. The once stately edifice has fallen into ruin, and yields up its material to be lost in the construction of a still larger whole. For classical antiquity can no longer be interpreted (to change the figure) as a well-rounded and orderly plot observing the dramatic unities. It has lapsed from the position of idealization which it inherited from the early Renaissance, and which was reinforced by the romanticists of German scholarship at the beginning of the nineteenth century; it has taken its place as a segment of universal history which many sciences have to cross without either beginning or ending within its limits.

This change of conception is the result of a developed historical sense, which is perhaps the chief advance in point of view that the period under consideration as a whole has to show. In practical application it has meant that one subject after another—grammar, literary and stylistic history, the so-called antiquities—has passed from the domination of the restricted classical (or dogmatic) point of view to a treatment genetic and evolutionary. Even history has had to free itself from the prejudice of inherited habit and (for example) to restore to its rights the political, social, and economic importance of the period of Hellenism, recognizing that history could not well stop at the very point where the wider mission of Hellas as the civilizer and intellectual unifier of the ancient world began.

One result of this development of historical vision is the great change which has taken place in the general attitude toward the criticism and interpretation of ancient texts. Conjectural criticism, which still flourished with scarcely diminished pre-eminence in the middle of the nineteenth century, has been relegated to a more subordinate position. Higher criticism no longer finds an audience so credulous of light-hearted skepticism, which was the mode fifty years ago. The historical study of grammar and style has banished many a triumphant "emendation." The evidence of the texts has been vindicated against many venerable suspicions of spuriousness. Investigation into the history of the transmission of literary works has led to an increasing realization of the

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complexity of the problems involved; it has begun to banish the simplified critical apparatus which since Lachmann's time has been the ideal of most editors; the papyri of Egypt have risen up to vindicate in many instances the testimony of the despised *deteriores*. But, most of all, patient investigation and widening knowledge have exalted the function of interpretation, have shown that many of the hardest knots are to be untied, not cut. What is here said of criticism and interpretation in relation to single passages or works applies in similar manner to the larger treatment of whole movements and periods of literary history.

The execution of the several chapters which make up the book is naturally uneven, in conception of the task, in method of treatment, and in skill of presentation. A few of them I shall select for brief comment or characterization. The chapter entitled "Antike Kunst" (by Sauer, of Giessen) seemed to me the most eloquent and interesting of the whole book. The great opportunity which the theme afforded has been used by the writer for an impressive and admirable survey of the great advance which classical archaeology has made since 1875. Another such opportunity was afforded by "Greek Literature," but the chapter (by Gercke, of Greifswald), though instructive, fails of an impressiveness worthy of the subject and the time. For Gercke has aimed rather to illustrate method than to record results, and, choosing for this purpose naturally those subjects in which he has himself worked, he unconsciously focuses the light not less upon himself than upon his subject. The chapter on "Greek History" (by Lenschau) is very instructive and interesting. It is one of the few fields in which large and comprehensive interpretations of the material have been undertaken—in the histories of Holm, Beloch, Pöhlmann, Busolt, Meyer, Niese, and others—a circumstance due doubtless to the great modifications which historiography in general has undergone through the influence of new political, economic, and sociological points of view. The chapter on "Roman Public Law" (by Stein) devotes much space to the analysis and characterization of Mommsen's great work. Although the writer's estimate is in the highest degree laudatory, yet I could not but feel that his description of Mommsen's bold constructive and subjective method must awaken suspicion concerning the validity of such method, and inspire a sympathy for Madvig's valiant protest, which for Stein is essentially a retrogressive step. The brief chapter on "Greek and Roman Metric" (by Radermacher), with which the work opens, is a disappointing performance. No adequate conception of the present trend of this chaotic subject can be gained from it, though there was much here both of presentation and criticism to invite treatment. The review of "Roman Literature" (by Kroll) is painstaking and thorough within the limits of space prescribed, though it fails somewhat of its opportunity to illustrate in a large way the historical continuity of Greek and Roman literature. The chapter on

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"Latin Grammar" will disappoint American scholars from the fact that syntax is treated only very cursorily by Kroll, who at the last moment was compelled to assume the subject which Skutsch had undertaken, but through illness was prevented from treating. The other chapters which make up the book are: "Greek Grammar," by Hoffmann; "Greek Philosophy" (a very thorough review, though rather from the standpoint of literary history), by Prächter; "Mathematics, Mechanics, and Astronomy," by Heiberg; "Greek Medicine," by Wellman; "Roman History," by Holzapfel; "Greek Public Antiquities," by Swoboda; "Private Life of Antiquity," by Blümner; "Ancient Geography," by Ruge; Ancient Religion," by Bloch.

Where so much is offered it will seem ungrateful to complain that anything is wanting. But, surveying the developments of the past twenty-five years, nothing is more striking than the fact that out of classical philology have grown several new and quasi-independent "philologies," so to speak. Surely nothing could more justly challenge the interest of the devotees of the mother-science than to follow the development of these lusty offshoots of the parent stem. I have in mind such subjects as the Greek papyri, Byzantine literature and history, and—a subject especially difficult to survey—the new mediaeval Latin philology.

G. L. HENDRICKSON

Bacchylides, The Poems and Fragments. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Prose Translation. By R. C. JEBB. Cambridge: University Press, 1905. Pp. xviii+524. 15*s*.

It is neither desirable nor possible in our space to discuss the endless questions of text and interpretation suggested by Jebb's *Bacchylides* The reviewer can only express his gratitude for this, the latest of many gifts of the master from whom we shall receive no more. If the word "definitive" is ever in place, it applies to Jebb's editing. This does not mean that he is infallible, but it expresses our recognition of a finish of form that may well be the despair of imitation, and a fulness of well-ordered content that supplies all the materials even of divergent judgments. His translations are as idiomatic as Jowett's, as exact and inevitable as Munro's. His astonishing virtuosity fills long lacunae with verse which, if not what Bacchylides actually wrote, is what he would gladly have signed, and his modest common-sense offers these *tours de force* as mere indications of the probable meaning. He unites German critical erudition in the constitution of a text and the compilation of a commentary with French skill in the presentation of his matter and the instinctive poetic feeling that ought to be, if it is not always, the birthright of English scholarship. Of "investigators" and investigations there is no lack. But we shall not soon see another such editor.

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The introduction presents first a life of the poet, including an account of the island of Ceos and of the court of Hieron, and a convincing, though reluctantly maintained, argument that the spiteful allusion ἄκραντα γηρύετον (O. 2. 96) is aimed at the pair Bacchylides and Simonides. Bacchylides' place and rank in Greek literature is then defined in a lucid sketch of the history of lyric poetry from Terpander to Timotheus and the feeble successors of Philoxenus. The decline of Greek lyric is not, in accordance with the fashionable doctrine of the *évolution des genres*, attributed to the rise of the Attic drama—itself largely lyrical—but to the spirit of musical and aesthetic παρανομία that Plato deprecates in the *Republic* and in a notable passage of the *Laws* (700, 701), which Jebb brings into due prominence. A chapter "well nourished with facts" is devoted to the style of Bacchylides, his vocabulary in detail, his new compounds, the inevitable comparison with the more sublime but harsher genius of Pindar, his reputation and popularity in antiquity down to the sixth century, his influence upon Horace, and similar topics. One is pleased to observe, in passing, that Jebb does not accept the prevailing sentimental overestimate of "Longinus," "who sometimes enlarges rhetorically on propositions which now seem platitudes." About 100 pp. are given to details of dialect, grammar, metrical schemes, and the papyrus, including two autotype plates and the text of the whole.

The metrical schemes are judiciously presented in simple longs and shorts, with an occasional ⏑—. Blass, Schröder, and Wilamowitz can never stir us to the rapturous enthusiasm and naïve faith aroused by our first discovery of Schmidt. We cannot learn a new theory of Greek metres every twenty years—especially if we have come to distrust the ears of the gentlemen who invent them. Jebb is admirably discreet: "Professor Blass prefers to describe" dactylo-epitritic "as being κατ' ἐνόπλιον εἶδος for reasons fully given in the preface to his Bacchylides"—"οἶμαι δέ με ἀκηκοέναι οὐ σαφῶς ἐνόπλιόν τέ τινα ὀνομάζοντος—καὶ διάμβον καὶ κρητικοὺς κατὰ τροχαῖον καί—Choriambic dimeter," he seems to say.

The introductions to the odes are printed together in fifty-five pages. They are accompanied by chronological tables of the chief epinikia and of the reign of Hieron. In accordance with the now generally received chronology, Pindar *Pyth.* i is assigned to 470, *Ol.* i with Bacch. v to 476.

The translation and notes are what we expect from the editor of Sophocles. There is space only to quote a few felicities, and to note the treatment of some doubtful or disputable points: i, str. 7, βαθυδείελος, "steeped in sunshine."—i. 34, χρει[ός τι συμβο]λοῖ μάχας, "when a call to fight came upon him."—i. 64, τὸ δὲ πάντων εὐμαρεῖν οὐδὲν γλυκὺ, etc., "mortals find no sweetness in *opulence*" is perhaps too restricted. Is not the idea rather akin to that of Heraclit., fr. 110 (D), ἀνθρώποις γίνεσθαι ὁκόσα θέλουσιν οὐκ ἄμεινον?—iii. 13, οἶδε πυργωθέντα πλοῦτον μὴ μελαμ | φαρεῖ κρύπτειν σκότῳ, "knows how to keep the lofty fabric of his fortunes from being

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wrapt in a mantle of darkness." "The image is that of a lofty and stately edifice made strong against assault." This can hardly be got out of the Greek. The idea is rather that he knows how to make a generous use of his wealth; cf. Pind. *Isth.* i. 67, *N.* i. 31.—iii. 18, *ὑψιδαιδάλτων*, "high tripods, richly wrought." "Deep-chased" is rejected.—iii. 22, *θεόν τις ἀγλαιζέτω, ὁ γὰρ ἄριστος ὄλβων*, "that is the best pledge of welfare." —iii. 51, *ὁ γὰρ προφανὴς θνατοῖσιν ἔχθιστος φόνων*, "for the violent death which is foreseen," etc. Is it not rather "imminent," "apparent" death, *προφανής* being a synonym for the idiomatic *φαινόμενος*?—iii. 96, *σὺν δ' ἀλαθείᾳ καλῶν*, "and along with thy genuine glories."—v. 26, *νωμᾶται δ' ἐν ἀτρύτῳ χάει*, etc., "he plies his wing of delicate plumage in the illimitable void, sped by the breath of of the west wind, conspicuous in the sight of men."—v. 40, *χρυσόπαχυς Ἀώς*, "morning with her golden *ray*."—v. 172, *χλωραύχενα*, "in the fresh bloom of youth;" cf. the interesting discussion, Appendix, p. 473.—vii. 9, *ἐπ' ἀνθρώποισιν*, "among men," with *πολυζηλώτατος*.—vii. (5), *σὺν ἀλαθείᾳ δὲ πᾶν λάμπει χρέος*, "for only [?] by the voice of truth can anything be set in a full light."—viii. 28, *ἄστρων διακρίνει φάη*, "makes the rays of the stars seem pale beside her own."—ix. 43, *ἐπὶ πάσι | ποικίλον τόξον τιταίνει*, "aims his wily shaft at wealth."—xiv. 47, *τίς πρῶτος λόγων ἄρχεν δικαίων*, "who was the first to plead the righteous cause." Rather: "to plead his claim of right."—xvii. 43, *οὐ γὰρ ῥᾴδιον αἰὲν ἔρ | δοντα μὴ 'ντυχεῖν κακῷ*, "for it is not easy to achieve deed after deed without chancing upon evil." "The unbroken series of his victories argues that Theseus is under divine protection." This is, of course, a possible reference of *γὰρ* to *θεὸς αὐτὸν ὁρμᾷ* above. But it is much simpler to refer it to *δίκας ἀδίκοισιν ὄφρα μήσεται*. This better suits the associations of *ἔρδοντα*, and yields a familiar and pertinent Greek moral; cf. Pind. *Nem.* iv. 32, *ῥέζοντά τι καὶ παθεῖν ἔοικεν*. [Plato] *Epist.* 8. 352 *d*, *τὸ δὲ οὐδαμῶς ῥᾴδιον πολλὰ κακὰ δρῶντα τοὺς ἄλλους μὴ οὐ καὶ πάσχειν αὐτὸν πολλὰ ἕτερα*. *Rep.* 365 *c*, *οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἀεὶ λανθάνειν κακὸν ὄντα*. Antiphon, fr. 58 (D). This interpretation is confirmed by the following line, *πάντ' ἐν τῷ δολιχῷ χρόνῳ τελεῖται*, which applies much more fitly to the evil end that surely awaits the wicked, than to the possible misfortunes that might have befallen Theseus but for the protection of God.

I have already spoken of the skill displayed in the conjectural filling-out of lacunae. Jebb's verses fit smoothly and naturally into their places, and are free from the elaborate ingenuities and harshness that mar most efforts of this kind. A typical example is iii. 72. Jurenka excogitates: *τί σοὶ Μαλέᾳ ποτὲ τερπνὸς αἰὼν | ἔψειν ὃς ἐφάμερον ἁλίου σθέ | νος σκοπιεῖς βραχυχρονιώτατ' ἄλλων;* adding the delicious comment: "Wahrscheinlich gab es also dort Sanatorien." Jebb simply writes: *ὡς δ' ἐν Μαλέα ποτὲ χεῖμα δαίμων | ἐφ' ἕθνος ἐφάμερον αἶψ' ἵησι· | καίρια σκοπεῖς· βραχὺς ἄμμιν αἰών.* Neither is more than a guess. But there can be no doubt which reproduces the manner of Bacchylides.

PAUL SHOREY

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Studies in Roman History. By E. G. HARDY. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1905. Pp. ix+349. $1.60.

This volume is made up of a series of papers which have already been published in another form, so that a critical estimate of its contents is not needed here. The first ten essays are a reprint of the author's book on *Christianity and the Roman Government.* To this nucleus have been added the following papers, republished from various classical journals: "Legions in the Pannonian Rising," "Movements of the Legions," "The Provincial Concilia," "Imperium Consulare or Proconsulare," "Plutarch, Tacitus, and Suetonius, on Galba and Otho," and "A Bodleian MS of Pliny's Letters to Trajan." Students of Roman history will hear with great regret that the condition of the author's eyes will prevent him from prosecuting his studies further. He was even compelled to republish these papers without making a thorough revision of them. Representing as they do the best results which classical scholarship had reached at the time of their appearance, these *Studies* furnish us indirectly an interesting proof of the activity of scholars in the field which they cover. To take only one point by way of illustration. At pp. 260 ff. of the article on "Provincial Concilia" there is an interesting discussion of the title and functions of the priest-president of the Koinon of Asia, and yet no mention is made of the important contributions which Fougères, Buchner, Ramsay, Beurlier, Brandis, Liebenam, and Cumont have made to the subject, nor are the *Inscr. Gr. ad res Rom. pert.* referred to. All of these have been published in the short interval which has elapsed since the first appearance of the article in question in the *English Historical Review.* Notwithstanding the fact, however, that the author was unable to revise these papers in the light of recent investigations, they well deserved to be collected in a permanent form.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT

Grundriss der griechischen Geschichte, nebst Quellenkunde. Von ROBERT PÖHLMANN. Müller's Handbuch, III. Bd., 4te Abt., 3te vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. München: Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1906. Pp. ii+307. M. 5.50.

This is a useful book. Its several chapters are prefaced by brief characterizations of the sources. Its body proper presents a sober narrative of Greek history. This is interrupted at numerous points by notices of the divergent views of modern scholars, and here and there by close analyses of social and political movements. A work like this does not make light reading. It does not leave much room for historical construction in the best sense of the term—for the sympathetic interpretation and artistic delineation of men, situations, and institutions. Even a

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mature person should not make his first acquaintance with Greek history through it. But if the reader has already acquired a fair knowledge of the facts of the subject, he can find conveniently collected in Pöhlmann's book the data and view-points which are essential to an intelligent discussion and understanding of the problems in which Hellenists are at present interested. The book is to be heartily recommended to the better sort of graduate students and high-school teachers in this country, and something like it in English would be a distinct boon.

Those who possess the second edition need not hasten to buy the third. It contains additions and corrections, to be sure, but they consist mainly of personal reflections and bibliographical notes. They do not alter the work materially.

The reviewer finds fault in the book with the distribution of emphasis. Will it not give a false impression of the worth of Greek politics to devote twenty pages to an analysis of the demoralized public life of Demosthenes' time, and hardly a paragraph to an examination of the Periclean democracy? Will it not confirm a, let us hope, discarded notion of the value of Hellenism to give forty-two pages to Philip and Alexander, and only forty-seven to the following two centuries? These forty-seven, moreover, are the least reliable and adequate in the whole volume. They contain, for example, hardly an item upon Athens after 307 B. C. which will stand a close scrutiny.

WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON

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The Romanization of Roman Britain. By F. J. HAVERFIELD. London: Frowde, 1906. Pp. 33. 2*s.* 6*d.*

This is a paper read before the British Academy on November 29, 1905, reprinted from Vol. II of its *Proceedings*. The author, who is well and favorably known for his special studies of the Roman remains in Britain, here presents in simple form the sum of our knowledge of the extent and character of the Roman civilization in the island, traces its rise and decay, points out the slight evidences of local Celtic art in the midst of that derived from Italian models, and elucidates the course of events, in so far as they are known, which led to the complete extinction of classical life under the superior force of the Celt in the west and north and the Saxon in the east. He finds that at best only the eastern and southern lowlands had been thoroughly Romanized. Here the evidence of *graffiti* is adduced to show that even the lower classes spoke Latin as their native language; whereas in the northern and western uplands, occupied by the Roman troops, the mass of the people was still Celtic, with only a veneer of Latin polish. Nevertheless, the extensive potteries of Castor and Chesterton, which produced for local use a decorated ware

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with purely Celtic motifs — the so-called Castor ware — were clearly within the Romanized area. I must here enter a counter-protest to Haverfield's against the discarding of the term "Samian ware" (p. 17, n. 2); the latter is so manifestly false that, being archaeologically dead, it would be a great pity to attempt to revive it, while admitting the clumsiness of the terms "pseudo-Arretine" and *terra sigillata* now generally in use. I note only one slight matter for comment. An inscription of Avaricum Biturigum (Bourges) in Aquitania (*CIL.* XIII. 1194) is cited p. 4, n. 1, with the remark: "The fact that a freedman was 'curator' does not imply that the body of Roman citizens at Bourges were not freeborn." But the inscription bears no evidence whatever that the man in question was a freedman. The article is illustrated with two small maps and twelve figures.

GEORGE N. OLCOTT

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A Handbook of Latin Homonyms. By GEORGE B. HUSSEY. Boston: Sanborn, 1905. Pp. xxxii + 179. $1.50.

This book treats of groups of words of identical spelling, whether they differ in vowel quantity or not — i. e., of homographs as well as homonyms. All such groups that occur in more than one sense in the works of Caesar, Nepos, Sallust, Cicero (Orations), Vergil, Horace, Terence, Tacitus, and Livy, are listed alphabetically and supported by numerous citations. Homonyms whose counterparts are not used are relegated to the bottom of the page. The author's chief purpose, though nowhere clearly stated, seems to be to help tiros in Latin when, for example, they confuse *ēst* and *est*. The girl who uses Dr. Hussey's list will not make Aeneas weep on account of his wife's complexion (*lacrimas . . . . pelle Creusae*). But many such riddles are treated only in the confusing supplementary list; and the boy who mistakes an abl. sing. *acervo* for a verb needs help quite as much as he would if the verb *acervo* were actually found somewhere else. The translation inserted "for the purpose of identifying the homonym" is usually unnecessary and will sometimes prove a serious stumbling-block; e. g., under *aedes*, nom. and acc. pl., "house," lurk four instances of *aedes* meaning "temples." Errors in references and the like occur at the rate of three or four to the page — some of them due to taking Merguet on faith. Mistakes in hidden quantity, such as *dīsco* and *mīssus*, are frequent. The book embodies a good idea, but in its present form is not entirely satisfactory.

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The Syntax of the Boeotian Dialect Inscriptions. By EDITH FRANCES CLAFLIN. Bryn Mawr Dissertation. Bryn Mawr, 1905. Pp. 93. $1.

The author speaks in her introduction of the neglect of syntactical work in the Greek dialect inscriptions, systematic study of this sort being practically confined to the Attic. She states that the purpose of the present treatise is to fill this lack as far as Boeotian is concerned. In this dialect, which shows so many peculiarities of form and orthography, it might reasonably be expected that early syntactical peculiarities would likewise be retained. But, as Dr. Claflin says (p. 11), "the value of the testimony of inscriptions as to syntax is, in some respects, far less than we could wish. This is due, on the one hand, to the paucity of material, especially of the earlier period, and on the other hand to the limitations of language largely conventional and artificial." The value of this sort of work, however, can scarcely be estimated until the other dialects have been studied in the same way. The universal grammar of the Greek language could hardly fail to be broadened and strengthened by a comprehensive treatment of the syntax of all the Greek dialect inscriptions, even though no remarkable peculiarities are to be found in any one dialect. From this standpoint the present study is a valuable piece of work. The author has chosen rightly to present "a general view of the syntax of the dialect as a whole, rather than a mere summary of peculiarities." Such a summary, however, would be a valuable addition to the work as it stands.

There are three lists or tables prefixed, of which the first and third will be especially appreciated by anyone who has endeavored to study the Boeotian inscriptions. The first (pp. 13–15) is a classification according to subject-matter, which shows how large a proportion are proxeny decrees, military lists, and short inscriptions on grave steles. The second list is a chronological table, following, with a few exceptions, Dittenberger; the third, a useful table of parallel references to Dittenberger, Larfeld, Meister, and Cauer.

The variations from literary usage are, as one would expect, in the direction of greater freedom. Any part of the sentence which can be readily supplied from the context may be omitted, Boeotian inscriptions extending this usage even farther than the Attic. In illustration may be cited the omission of the optative of the verb of giving in superscriptions (p. 28), of verbs of paying and hiring (p. 30), and of the article before the father's name, even when in the genitive (p. 39 and note). The early use of the possessive phrase with ϝίδιος is also to be noted (p. 42). This occurs in manumission documents dating before 150 B.C., while in Attic it is used only after 69 B.C. The construction with ἀφίημι of two accusatives is unusual and interesting. Dr. Claflin suggests that it may be a

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case of analogy with πράττω, in this sense the opposite of ἀφίημι (p. 49, note).

There is a clear discussion of prepositions, but there are few peculiarities in Boeotian use, and even of these some are a little doubtful on account of the small amount of material. The use of ἐν with both accusative and dative is a well-known peculiarity of this dialect as of others. παρά with the accusative, where the dative would be expected, may show, as the author says (p. 63), the tendency toward freer use of the accusative in late Greek, especially with prepositions. A convenient table of conjunctions and indefinite relatives with subjunctives and optatives is given on p. 75. Indeed, the clearness and the good arrangement of the material throughout are heartily to be commended, and the work is a good model for future studies of this kind.

HELEN M. SEABLES

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Signacula medicorum ocullariorum. Recensuit AEMILIVS ESPÉRANDIEU, Instituti Franco-Gallici socius ab epistolis. Ex corporis inscriptionum Latinarum volumine XIII. 3. 2, seorsum edita. Accedunt Tabulae LXVIII. Parisiis: apud Ernestum Leroux, 1905. Pp. 174+tab. lxviii.

This is the formal publication of the interesting epigraphic monuments known as oculists' seals, reprinted in separate form from Vol. XIII of the *Corpus*. Two hundred and twenty examples were known at the time that this collection was made, besides thirteen impressions made with seals in ancient times on terra-cotta vessels and on bits of eye-salve (*pastilli*) discovered at Rheims. By far the largest number of seals was found in Gaul and the district along the Rhine, and in Britain. Only a few came to light in Italy and one each in Spain and Africa. Some scholars have explained the wide prevalence of these seals in Gaul and Britain by supposing that they were in some way connected with the teachings of Druidism, but M. Espérandieu finds no grounds whatever for such a belief. It is suggestive that the names of the eye-lotions and ointments (*collyria*) are Greek words transliterated, and futhermore, while the names of the doctors show Roman *nomina*, the *cognomina* are usually Greek; rarely do Gallic names occur. None of these "eye specialists" are known from other sources. Besides the matter contained in the *Corpus*—exhaustive descriptions of each seal, a chapter of a general character, full indices—this volume is also provided with plates which reproduce the exact form of all the extant seals and impressions.

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Classical Philology

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THE INTERRELATIONS OF THE GREEK DIALECTS

BY CARL DARLING BUCK

I

The question of the interrelationship of the Greek dialects has an unceasing attraction, not only to the grammarian, but to every student of Greek history. For it always has held and will continue to hold the first place in any discussion of early Greek tribal relations. It is true that we have gone through a period of destructive criticism as to the validity of linguistic evidence, the nature and even the existence of well-defined dialects. But the total result of the discussions evoked by such criticism, and the more searching inquiry into the character of living dialects, especially those of France and Germany, has been only to emphasize more strongly the inseparable connection between language and political and economic history. I will not dwell here upon this general proposition, which I have emphasized elsewhere,[1] especially since in the study of the Greek dialects the propriety of combining linguistic and historical data has never been seriously doubted, and, in recent years has been maintained with renewed confidence.[2]

[1] "The Relation of Comparative Grammar to Other Branches of Learning," an address delivered at the St. Louis Congress of Arts and Sciences, September, 1904, and now printed in the proceedings of the same, Vol. III, pp. 32 ff. (see pp. 43 ff.). See also the recent literature cited in *Indog. Forsch.* Anz. XVIII, p. 46, note.

[2] For example, in the excellent articles of Solmsen, especially his "Thessaliotis und Pelasgiotis," *Rhein. Mus.* LVIII (1903), pp. 598 ff.; Meister's *Dorer und Achäer*,

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But the traditional data concerning the early relations and movements of the Greek peoples are of such unequal value, such a mixture of genuine tradition and later fiction, and so incomplete withal, that it is essential to view the linguistic evidence as objectively as possible. A necessary preliminary to the impartial study of the dialect relations is, of course, the determination of the distribution of each linguistic phenomenon without regard to any preconceived notion of their grouping. Such studies as Thumb's *Spiritus Asper*, Kretschmer's "Der wandel von τ vor ι in σ," *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXX, pp. 565 ff., Solmsen's "Der Übergang von ε in ι vor Vocalen," *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXXII, pp. 513 ff., and others, are fundamental. The next step is to observe how these phenomena group themselves. Agreement between dialects in certain phenomena, if not accidental, must be due to their contiguity at some period. It may reflect their position either in the historical period or in one or more prehistoric periods. The greater the number of phenomena in which dialects agree the less likelihood that this agreement is accidental. And if the agreement of certain dialects in a considerable number of phenomena coincides with traditional accounts of the relations of those speaking them, we are entitled to regard the latter as confirmed. Now, in order to realize all the possibilities of grouping and their relative cogency it is almost necessary that the distribution of the various phenomena should be presented in such a way as to be readily surveyed, namely, in tabular form.

For some years I have employed a series of charts of this kind for my own convenience and for purposes of instruction; and my chief excuse for adding another to the existing discussions of the dialect relations is the belief that such a tabular presentation is not a mere device for the assistance of beginners, but can claim scientific value as affording an objective view of the linguistic evidence which it is not easy to gain otherwise.

which must, however, be regarded as a failure in its main thesis (see below, p. 245), Thumb's "Dialektforschung und Stammesgeschichte," *Neue Jahrb.*, 1905, pp. 385 ff. The earlier monograph of Hoffmann, *De mixtis Graecae linguae dialectis*, though often manipulating the evidence in a wholly unconvincing manner, deserved more credit for its suggestiveness than it received from its critics.

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But whereas in my original charts the phenomena were arranged in logical order (vowel changes, consonant changes, case-forms, etc.) without regard to grouping, I have preferred to present in this paper a chart of phenomena selected and rearranged so as to bring out the most significant groupings, leaving for a later time the exhibition of the other phenomena, the distribution of which does not fall into such groups, and is, for the most part, in my opinion, accidental. Naturally, however, the material given in this chart is not all of equally certain significance, and I have included some few things about which I am myself doubtful, but which it seemed most convenient to present here. On the other hand, I have excluded a number of phenomena to which some scholars have attributed a significance which I cannot find warranted in the actual distribution. For example, the infinitive in *-εν* is often classed as a Doric characteristic, while vice versa, Hoffmann, *De mixtis graecae linguae dialectis*, pp. 60 ff., claims it as an "Achaean" element which has survived in some Doric dialects. But the distribution of *-εν* and *-ειν*, *-ην* is not such as to lend any plausibility to either view, and has, I believe, no more bearing on the grouping of the dialects than that of the imperative endings *-ντω* and *-ντων*. Yet I recognize that no two scholars will agree in all details in their judgment of what is significant and what is accidental, and claim nothing final for the selection made.

The following points are to be noted in explanation of the chart. The distribution of a given phenomenon is shown by crosses placed in vertical columns beneath a caption indicating the phenomenon in question and opposite the names of the dialects in which this appears. The captions are of widely different scope; some referring only to the particular form given (e. g., *τοί*), others (e. g., *δίδωτι*) being examples chosen as a convenient means of briefly indicating a phenomenon of considerable range, the precise scope of which is stated, and material quoted where this seemed called for, in the notes, which are numbered to coincide with the columns of the chart. I had thought of distinguishing between cases where the absence of a cross is due to the fact that the form of a dialect is known to be different and where

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it may be due simply to lack of evidence, but decided that to carry this out systematically would only obscure the chart, and that this matter was better left to the notes. But a cross within a circle (⊕) is sometimes used as an intimation of some reservation, the nature of which is explained in the notes, e. g., "late," "unusual," "indirectly evidenced," etc.

The dialects represented include all those which are at all adequately known. Omitted are Pamphylian, because of the meagerness of the material, and Achaean, Messenian, Cnidian (as well as those of many of the small islands of the Aegean), Aetolian, Acarnanian, Epirotan, of which we have little or no material which is not late and simply in the Doric or Northwest Greek κοινή. But anything of importance from these dialects is mentioned in the text. Thessalian is subdivided into that of the Pelasgiotis (P.) and that of the Thessaliotis (Th.), for which the terms East and West Thessalian, though not strictly appropriate, are sometimes used in the text for brevity. But the distinction is observed (a cross of reduced size opposite the subdivision is used) only where there is actual evidence that the two differed; that is, a phenomenon is cited simply as Thessalian (the cross then being of the usual size) not only when it is quotable from both, but also when it is quotable from only one division, provided there is no reason as yet to suspect that this is anything but accidental. Ionic is also subdivided into East (E.), Central (C.), and West (W.) or Euboean, though in this chart there is only one occasion to distinguish them. Phocian includes, and, as regards early material, consists mainly of, Delphian, and the forms cited are generally quoted as such. Megarian and Corinthian, of course, include the dialect of the colonies. Argolic is used as the general term for the dialect of Argolis, while Argive has its more specific sense, and forms from the cities of the Acte are generally cited as Epidaurian, etc. The dialects of Cos and Calymna are included under the head of Coan, those of Thera and Melos under Theran. West Greek is employed, as frequently in late years, as the general term to include the Northwest Greek dialects and the Doric, the latter term being used in its narrower and usual historical sense. Lesbian, Thessalian, and Boeotian

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are, as usual, called Aeolic, though the last two are so only in part. For the group which is represented in the historical period by Arcadian and Cyprian I have generally been satisfied with Arcado-Cyprian, but one feels the need of a different term when referring to pre-Doric conditions (it is incongruous to speak of an Arcado-Cyprian survival in Argolis or Laconia), and I have been tempted to follow Solmsen in calling the group Achaean (Hoffmann's South Achaean). For I am convinced that this is the proper application of this much-abused term, and the only objection is that it is used by others in such widely different senses.[1]

The results of the chart are not to institute any radically new groupings, but mainly to confirm conclusions, some of which have long been evident, and others clear to many in recent years, but not so universally recognized as to make it superfluous to give them emphasis. The close connection between the Northwest Greek and the Doric dialects was surmised by Ahrens, who pointed out (I, p. 2) that the statement of Strabo (viii. 333) according to which they were Aeolic was unsupported by any other evidence, either traditional or linguistic. This conclusion has been fully confirmed by the additions to the material from the Northwest Greek dialects, at that time meager and mostly late, and has been made increasingly evident by the early Delphian inscriptions found in recent years. It is seen now that a fundamental division of the Greek dialects is that into the West Greek dialects as a whole and the East Greek, or, as Wilamowitz

[1] Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, and R. Meister, *Dorer und Achäer*, apply the term Achaean to a population which was pre-Doric, but not identical with that whose speech survived in Arcado-Cyprian. But there is no adequate evidence of any such intermediate stratum. Meister's Achaean has all the features which characterize the West Greek dialects as a whole, and its alleged difference consists in the absence of certain peculiarities (not included in the present chart) which belong to some of the Doric dialects and, in part, some which are not Doric, but which Meister now stamps as the real criteria of pure Doric. The distinction between Doric and Achaean elements which he finds in the inscriptions of Laconia, Argolis, etc., resolves itself into a question of κοινή influence. This is the view which forced itself upon me in reading the book, and I wrote out a brief criticism along this line, especially as regards the treatment of intervocalic σ. But I am satisfied now to refer simply to the reviews of Fick *Woch. f. klass. Phil.*, 1905, cols. 593 ff., Thumb *Neue Jahrb.*, 1905, pp. 385 ff. and especially that of Schwyzer *Indog. Forsch.*, Anz. XVIII, pp. 46 ff., with which I am in full accord.

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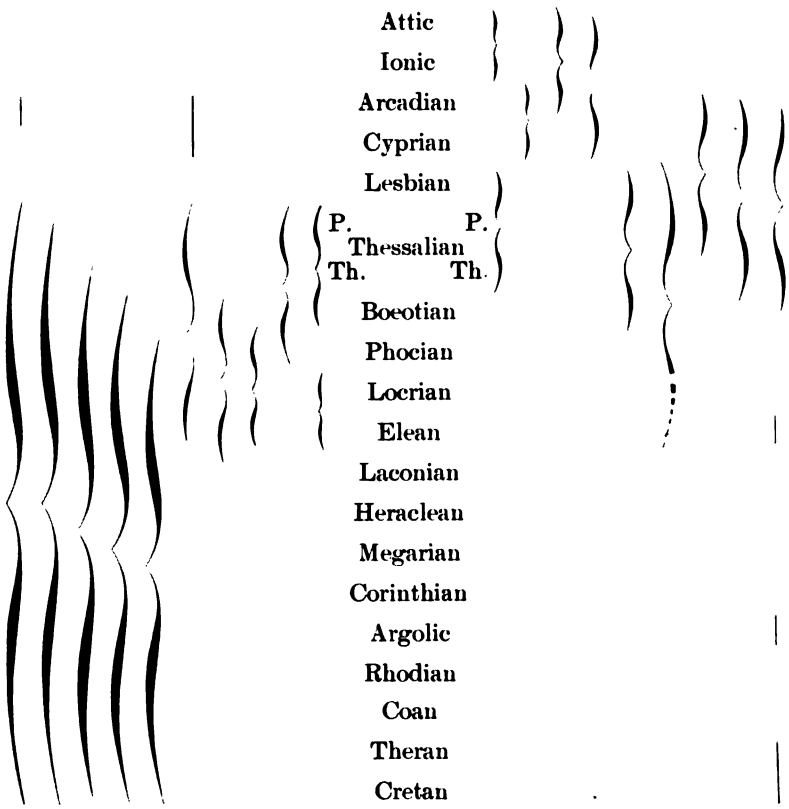
has aptly called them, the Old Hellenic dialects. Nevertheless our maps of ancient Greece are still under the ban of Strabo's statement, showing Phocis, Aetolia, etc., in Aeolic coloring, and one may still find Phocian, Aetolian, Acarnanian, etc., classed under the head of Aeolic, e. g., in such an excellent epigraphical work as Kern's *Inschriften von Magnesia*, p. 237. The chart shows at a glance the numerous peculiarities which characterize the West Greek dialects as a whole (also some that are more doubtful), as well as those which distinguish the Northwest Greek from the Doric proper. The mixed character of Boeotian and Thessalian, in striking confirmation of the tradition (Herod. viii. 176, Thuc. i. 12. 3), is made apparent; their Aeolic peculiarities appearing on the right, the West Greek on the left, the latter element being stronger in Boeotia than in Thessaly, and in Thessaly itself stronger in the Thessaliotis than in the Pelasgiotis, as already shown by Solmsen in the article cited above. When we come to the more difficult question of the relations of the East Greek dialects to each other, more especially the position of Arcado-Cyprian, which Hoffmann groups definitely with Aeolic under the head of North and South Achaean, while others claim as dogmatically that the two groups are "gründlich verschieden" (Cauer *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*, p. 152, note), the chart has the merit of presenting the evidence impartially. Arcado-Cyprian has notable points of agreement with the Aeolic which cannot be dismissed as insignificant, but also lacks many of the distinctive Aeolic peculiarities seen in Lesbian, Thessalian, and Boeotian; and on the other hand, it shows certain affinities with Attic-Ionic (partly Arcadian only). The historical interpretation of these relations will always be problematical, but it is most reasonable to assume that the affinities with Attic-Ionic reflect contiguity with Ionic peoples in the Peloponnesus both before and after the departure of the colonists of Cyprus, while the affinities with Aeolic reflect an earlier position, contiguous to Aeolic peoples and presumably to be sought in Northern Greece. Arcadian has some West Greek peculiarities which, we may safely assume, were introduced after the Doric invasion.

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CHART I *a*

Interrelations of the Greek Dialects

(Condensed from Chart I)



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NOTES TO THE CHART

Left. West Greek

1–15. These are the phenomena which have the clearest claim to be regarded as general West Greek characteristics. Barring a few cases of actual divergence in Cretan (5, 7, and possibly 11), we are entitled to assume that the absence of examples in some of the dialects, which is especially noticeable in the case of Locrian, Elean, and Laconian (for which, however, Heraclean, which is given a separate place, fills out most of the blanks), is purely accidental, due to the insufficiency of the material. It must be remembered also that in many of the Doric dialects, even where the total amount of material is extensive, for example, Rhodian, only a very small part of it antedates the period of κοινή influence, most of it being in what may be called the Doric κοινή (really a Doric-Attic κοινή), in which certain of the West Greek characteristics, in distinction from others which persisted for some centuries, were given up. Thus the numerals appear in the κοινή form almost universally after the fourth century B. C.; ἰαρός is generally replaced by ἱερός, τοι very frequently by οἱ, and often the first plural ending -μες by -μεν.

Of these general West Greek characteristics, 1–10 are also common to Boeotian, 1, 2 (and presumably 3), 4–6 to Thessalian (5 only in the Thessaliotis), and 3–4 even to Arcadian.

1. δίδωτι = δίδωσι. This stands for a considerable class of words in which the retention of the original τ is a West Greek, its change to σ an East Greek, characteristic. In general, the assibilation of τ before ι is a change the precise conditions of which still remain obscure. Neither their formulation by Kretschmer (*Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXX, pp. 565 ff.), nor that of Goidanich-Brugmann (Brugmann *Gr. Gram.*[2], p. 66, and the literature cited) is convincing. And, whatever the true factors, they are in part wholly independent of dialectic variation. But there remains a considerable class of words in which there is a clean-cut dialectic distribution of the τ- and σ-forms, and, no matter whether this is strictly phonetic or due to opposite leveling in the two groups, it is one of the most significant of all dialectic variations.

1) All verb forms with the endings -τι, -ντι. Examples are plentiful in all the West Greek dialects and Boeotian, and they are replaced by the forms in -σι only in the most extreme stages of κοινή influence. That Thessalian belongs in the same group is shown by the 3 pl. subj. κατοικείοννθι (Hoffmann II, No. 17; see Schulze *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1897, p. 881). The θ of this and the corresponding Boeotian forms (-νθι beside sing. in -τι) do not represent a phonetic change, an intermediate stage between -ντι and -νσι, as was once thought, but arose in the 3 pl. mid. (Thess. ἐγένονθο, Boeot. συνεβάλονθο) under the influence of the endings -μεθα, -σθε (still otherwise Schulze in Sadée *De Boeot. tit. dial.*, p. 23). For the position of Thessalian, cf. also πὸτ, Ποτειδοῦν, cited below.

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2) The numerals for 20 and the hundreds, (ϝ)ίκατι = εἴκοσι, -κάτοτι = -κόσιοι (Arc. κάσιοι). See under 2 and 3.

3) Some nouns and adjectives in -τις, -τιος, -τια beside -σις, -σιος, -σια. The majority of words of this class show σ without dialectic variation, while a few have τ even in East Greek. For the material see especially Kretschmer *loc. cit.* There are plenty of σ-forms in the West Greek dialects, many of them much too early to be attributed to κοινή influence, and, in view of their frequency and the uncertainty as to the factors involved in the change, it would be rash, in my opinion, to stamp them as survivals from the pre-Doric period, as Solmsen, *Rhein. Mus.* LIX, p. 492, note, though expressing himself cautiously, seems inclined to do. Nevertheless there are a number of words which do show a variation between τ and σ and in which the prevalence of the τ-forms in the West Greek dialects is unmistakable. The most important examples are: Ἀρταμίτιος, Ἀρτεμίτιος in numerous Doric dialects beside a few late forms with σ. See Kretschmer *loc. cit.*, p. 583. Cf. now also Delph. Ἀρταμίτια = Ἀρτεμίσια (*SGDI.* 2561 D. 8).—Boeot. Ἀφροδίτιος, Ἀφροδιτία, but oftener Ἀφροδίσιος, Ἀφροδισία, all examples being late (see *IG.* VII, Index, Sadée *De Boeot. tit. dial.*, pp. 36 f.), Epid. Ἀφροδίτιον (*IG.* IV. 1497), Lac. Ἀφροδοτία (name of a town, Ahrens II, p. 61). Ἀφροδίσιον occurs beside Ἀρτεμιτίῳ in a late inscription of Acrae, a colony of Syracuse (*SGDI.* 3246), and Ἀφροδισιών Ἀρτεμσιών in an inscription of the Magnetes, which is of the first century A. D. and wholly in the κοινή (*Ath. Mitth.* VII, pp. 71 f.).—πλούτιος, πλατίος, ἐνιαύτιος = πλούσιος, πλησίος, ἐνιαύσιος are cited as Laconian in the *Etym. Mag.* (Ahrens, II, p. 60), and of these πλατίον occurs also in literary Doric (Ahrens, *loc. cit.*), and ἐνιαύτιος in inscriptions of Cos (*SGDI.* 3636. 37) and Delphi (*ibid.* 2501. 44). But ἐνιαύσιος in Telos (*ibid.* 3458), κατενιαύσιος at Gela (*ibid.* 4250).—Ethnica in -ούντιοι, -οντιοι, -ώντιοι (all from -ο(ϝ)έντιοι), like Σελινούντιοι, Ὀπούντιοι, Ὀπόντιοι, Σκιλλώντιοι, etc. (see Kretschmer *loc. cit.*, p. 582) are frequent in West Greek territory. Naturally these forms are commonly retained in all dialects, e. g., by Attic writers, but there is evidence of by-forms with σ which may be claimed as the true East Greek equivalents, e. g., Σελινούσιοι, Ὀποεῖσιοι (Ahrens II, p. 61).—The inhabitants of the Ionic Μίλητος are known as Μιλήσιοι, and this form is generally retained, at most with the substitution of ᾱ for η, e. g., Boeot. Μιλάσιος (*IG.* VII. 519) beside usual Μιλήσιος. But the inhabitants of the Cretan Μίλατος were known as Μιλάτιοι (*SGDI.* 4952 D. 17, 5152).—Ahrens II, p. 62 thinks that γεροντία which occurs in Xen. *Rep. Lac.* x. 1. 3 in the sense of 'membership in the senate,' was the true name of the Spartan senate. But γερωχία Aristoph. *Lys.* 980 is certainly intended to represent a Laconian γερωλία (from *γερωσία).—The name of the Boeotian town which appears in Homer in its old Aeolic form Εὔτρησις (cf. also Εὔτρησις in Arcadia), shows its later Boeotian form in Εὐτρᾱτί-φαντος (see Sadée *De Boeot. tit. dial.*, p. 36, Solmsen *Rhein.*

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Mus. LIX, p. 494), and now more directly in Εὐτρεπιδιεῖες Ἀπόλλωνι *BCH.* XXVIII (1904), p. 430.—ῥυτιάζω = ῥυσιάζω is evidenced by Troiz. ἐρρυτιασμένους, etc., *IG.* IV. 752 *passim*.[1]

4) For πρός Homer has also προτί and ποτί, but otherwise the distribution of the τ and σ forms is precisely the same as in δίδωτι, δίδωσι, namely πορτί in Cretan, ποτί in all the other West Greek dialects, including Boeotian and Thessalian, but Att.-Ion., Lesb. πρός, Arc.-Cypr. πός. Argol., Locr., Delph. ποί, beside ποτί, has, among other explanations, been viewed as coming from a pre-Doric *ποσί (Arc.-Cypr. πός), like Lac. Ποhοιδάν beside Arc. Ποσοιδάν (see below). So, most recently, Thumb *Neue Jahrb.* 1905, p. 396. I believe that this is correct, and that it is not accidental that the form is most frequent in Argolis, where the change of intervocalic σ to *h* and its eventual loss is well attested. But the presence of the form in Delphian and Locrian is still a puzzle to me. Thumb assumes that not only the σ, but its change to *h*, is pre-Doric, and that this change occurred not only in the Peloponnesus but in Northern Greece. But apart from the difficulty of assuming this even for the Peloponnesus (in view of σ in Arcadian), the earlier population of Locris and Phocis was doubtless Aeolic, and there is no trace of such a treatment of σ in any Aeolic dialect.

5) In the name of the god Poseidon the τ-forms (Ποτειδάων etc.) are attested for various Doric dialects and for Delphian, Boeotian, and Thessalian, the σ-forms for Attic-Ionic, Lesbian, and Arcadian. See Solmsen *Rhein. Mus.* LVIII (1903), pp. 619 ff. The Lac. Ποhοιδάν has long been recognized as the pre-Doric (Achaean) form (cf. Arc. Ποσοιδάν) with the regular Laconian change of σ to *h*. There are several occurrences of Ποσειδάν in Doric inscriptions, which Solmsen thinks may also in part represent a retention of the pre-Doric form. In principle there is, of course, nothing to be said against this. But the inscriptions containing them are nearly all of a time when κοινή influence is to be looked for, and the few which are of any extent show other evidences of this, e. g., two from Calauria (*IG.* IV. 840, 841) which have τριακοσίας and εἰ for earlier αἰ. The only early examples are from Rhodes, and may be ascribed to the early Ionic influence which is evident in the Doric islands of the Aegean.

6) The change of τ to σ before υ is, like that before ι, hard to define precisely (see Lagercranz *Zur griech. Lautgeschichte*, pp. 121 ff., and Brugmann *Ber. sächs. ges. Wiss.* 1901, pp. 89 ff.), and only in part subject to dialectic variation. But where such variation exists the parallelism with δίδωτι, δίδωσι is too marked to be accidental. Att.-Ion., Lesb., Arc. σύ (Arc. σύ in *Philologus* LIX (1900), p. 201), but Dor. τύ (literary Doric,

[1] I pass over Μυρτίλος which Schulze *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1897, p. 892, and Solmsen *Rhein. Mus.* LVIII (1903), p. 616, regard as distinctively West Greek, as contrasted with Lesb. Μυρσίλος. But Μυρτίλος is also a good Athenian name. Cf. Thuc. v. 19 and 24, *IG.* II. 977 *d*. 10.

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confirmed by an inscription of Epidaurus, *SGDI.* 3342. 63), Boeot. τού (Corinna). The existence of τύ beside σύ in Lesbian is properly doubted by Meister I, pp. 122 f. The form is of course rare in inscriptions and most dialects offer no examples.—Att.-Ion. ἥμισυς, ἡμίσεια, ἥμισυ, Lesb. αἰμισέων, Arc. ἥμισυ, but Cret. [ἡ]μιτυ-έκτō *SGDI.* 4957, Epid. ἡμίτεια *IG.* IV. 914. There are, indeed, more examples of forms in -συ in West Greek territory, cited by Brugmann *loc. cit.*, and more fully by Gunnerson *History of u-Stems in Greek*, pp. 51 ff., who points out the possibility that they are due to κοινή influence. As a matter of fact all the examples quoted are from inscriptions which are either wholly in the κοινή or show plenty of κοινή influence. Coan ἥμισυ *SGDI.* 3636, 51, overlooked by Gunnerson, is somewhat earlier, but even this inscription, though purer than any others from Cos, already has the Attic forms of the numerals, as εἰκάς beside ἰκάς, acc. pl. τρεῖς, χιλιαστύς.—Delph. Δάτυς, Phthiot. Δατύας, Dolop. Δατυάδας, but Boeot. Δασύας, all belonging with Att. δασύς, Δασυμένης. See Brugmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 93.

2. (ϝ)ίκατι = εἴκοσι. This form is characterized not only by its retention of τ, for which it has already been cited under 1, but also by ι and α of the first and second syllables, in contrast to Att.-Ion., Lesb., Arc. εἴκοσι (also doubtless Cypr., though no example is quotable), which has εἰ from ἐ-ϝι with prothetic ε, and ο for α after the analogy of the following numerals in -κοντα. ϝίκατι or ἴκατι (also Pamph. φίκατι) is directly attested in most of the West Greek dialects and Boeotian, and in some of the others (where ⊕ appears in the chart) is implied, at least as regards the vowel of the first syllable, by ἰκάς, which sometimes survives after ἴκατι itself has been displaced by εἴκοσι, e. g., in the Rhodian and Coan inscriptions. See Solmsen *Untersuch. zu gr. Laut- und Verslehre*, pp. 252 ff. and V, *Rhein. Mus.* LVIII (1903), pp. 614 ff.

The same relation exists in the ordinal ϝικαστός, quotable only from Boeotian, = Att.-Ion. εἰκοστός, Lesb. εἴκοιστος (see *Class. Rev.* XIX, pp. 242 ff.).

3. τριακάτιοι, Arc. τριακάσιοι = τριακόσιοι. The numerals for the hundreds, which have already been cited under 1, show also a vowel variation similar to that of ϝίκατι, εἴκοσι. But their distribution differs from that of the preceding in that in this respect Arcadian goes with the West Greek dialects. Examples of -κατιοι occur in Cretan *SGDI.* 4985, 5014, 5100, Theran (Cyrene) *ibid.* 4833. 15, 52, Coan *ibid.* 3705. 12, Arg. (Mycenae) *ibid.* 3316, Epid. *IG.* IV. 1488 *passim*, 1492. 11, 31, Troiz. *SGDI.* 3362. 48, 51, Heracl. (26 times, twice -κοσιοι), Lac. *SGDI.* 4413. 16, 4427, 4598 *a.* 1, *b.* 2 (Xuthias inscr.), Elean *ibid.* 1154, 1156, Delph. *ibid.* 2501. 29, *BCH.* XXVI (1902), pp. 41 ff. (frequent), *ibid.* XXVII (1903), pp. 21 ff. In the other West Greek dialects examples of these numerals are lacking or occur only in later inscriptions after the introduction of the κοινή form. -κατιοι is also Boeotian, e. g., *SGDI.* 488. 118, 489. 38,

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etc., and it is safe to assume that it is Thessalian, too, though not yet quotable.

4. ἐδίκαξα = ἐδίκασα. Isolated examples of the extension of the ξ, which is regular in the future and aorist of verbs in -ζω coming from guttural stems, to the corresponding tenses of other verbs in -ζω, are found even in Homer (πολεμίξομεν, as vice versa ἤρπασε beside ἤρπαξε) and Hesiod (φημίξωσι). But this does not impair the significance of the fact that this becomes the normal type in the West Greek dialects, together with Thessalian and Arcadian. Examples are numerous in nearly all the West Greek dialects, and the type remains one of their most persistent characteristics, surviving in some of the very latest inscriptions which have any claim to be dialectic (e. g., ἀφηρώιξεν in Thera, as late as the third century A. D.[1]). Hence it is quotable even from dialects which, on account of the lateness of the material, are not included in the chart, as Messenian (Andania inscr.), Achaean, Epirotan, and the N. W. Greek κοινή (see Kern *Inscr. von Magnesia*, p. 240). In Locrian the place of a verbal example may be supplied by ψάφιξις (see below). The Heraclean Tables contain κατεσώισαμες (once κατεσώιξαμες) beside ἐτέρμαξαν, ἐδίξαμεθα, ἐργαξῆται, etc. (ξ in twelve different forms, many of them occurring several times), and, in view of σῶσαι in Sophron, Coan διέσωισε *SGDI.* 3618. 15, and Achaean συνδιασώισαντες *ibid.* 1612. 10, this is probably not due to κοινή influence, but to contamination with ἔσωσα (Hom. ἐσάωσα) from σώω (σαόω), not σωίζω.

But in Argolis there is a noteworthy restriction of the type, the ξ formation being avoided when a guttural precedes. Cf. Arg. ἐδίκασσαν etc. *SGDI.* 3273, 3277 (also from the Heraeum *IG.* IV. 521), ἐργάσσαντο, κατεσκεύασσαν *BCH.* XXVII (1903), pp. 270 ff., Troiz. ϝεργασ(σ)ατο *IG.* IV. 801 (cf. also ἀποστεγάσσιος beside δ[μα]λίξιος *SGDI.* 3362), Epid. ἐργάσασθαι *SGDI.* 3325, ἀνσχίσσαι, ἀνσχίσσαντα etc., *ibid.* 3339, 3340, beside ἐναρμόξαι, προσεφάνιξε, ἐγκατοπτρίξασθαι *ibid.* 3339, 3340, ἀγωνίξασθαι *IG.* 1508. Epid. δικάξας, δικάξαιτο *IG.* IV. 941 (ii cent. B. C.) are to be attributed to the influence of the Doric κοινή, likewise στεγάξιος, *ibid.* 1485. 286, beside στεγάσσιος in l. 60 (written earlier). In most other dialects there is no such restriction (Cret. δικάσει, etc.), but cf. Calymn. δικασσέω beside ψαφίξηται *SGDI.* 3591 (but also κατασκενάξαι *ibid.* 3569), and with Epid. ἀνσχίσσαι compare σχίσσε in Pindar.

Boeotian has several forms in ξ, as ἐκομιξάμεθα, ἐπεσκεύαξε, ἐμέριξε, ἰαρειάξασα, but oftener forms in ττ (= Att. σ) as κομιττάμενοι, κατασκενάττη, καταδουλίττασθη, etc. For full citations, see Sadée *De Boeot. tit. dial.*, pp. 20, 26. The variation seems to be local, yet there is little continuity in the geographical distribution of the forms (examples of ξ from Coronea, Leuctra, Thespiae, and the temple of Ptoon Apollo near Acraephiae; of ττ from Tanagra, Thebes, Lebadia, Orchomenus, and the boundary between Copae and Acraephiae).

[1] On ἐφώναξα etc. in Modern Greek, see Hatzidakis *Einleitung*, pp. 135 ff.

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Thessalian and Arcadian had uniformly ξ, so far as we can judge from the few examples, e. g., Thess. ψαφίξασθειν, ψαφιξαμένας, ἐργάξατο, Arc. παρετάξωνσι, παρηεταξαμένος. Cypr. ἐξορίξε would be an example, if from ἐξορίζω, but this I regard as most improbable.

The further extension of the guttural stem to other forms of the verb is mainly confined to the Sicilian and Italiot writers, as ἄρμοκται, Pythag.; μελικτάς Theocr.; etc. See Kühner-Blass I, p. 158. But beside Heracl. κλαίγω (ποτικλαίγωσαν, ποτίκλαιγον II. 69. 107) we find κλαικτός at Andania and Argos (*BCH.* XXVII (1903), p. 271), and κλαίξ, as in Theocr., also at Andania and Epidaurus (*SGDI.* 3325. 110 etc.). More widespread are the abstracts in -ξις = -σις, as Locr. ψάφιξξις, Corcyr. χείριξις *SGDI.* 3206. 61; Cret. ἀπολάγαξις, χρημάτιξις *ibid.* 5010, Mess. ἀγόραξις *ibid.* 4680. 22, Epid. ὁμάλιξις, στέγαξις (see above), Delph. ὁμάλιξις *BCH.* XXIII (1899), p. 566, Lac. καθίππαξις (Hesych.), Syrac. κατονόμαξις (Archim). Cf. also Cret. ψάφιμμα from *ψαφιγμα, Solmsen, *Rhein. Mus.* LVI (1901), p. 506. A predilection for guttural stems is also to be recognized in the case of some other nouns. Thus, besides κλαίξ already mentioned, we have Lac. κέλῑξ = κέλης *SGDI.* 4416, and ὄρνιξ, Gen. ὄρνιχος = ὄρνις, ὄρνιθος in Pindar, Theocritus, etc. (ὀρνιξί also in *Papyri Brit. Mus.*, pp. 173, 175, etc.), Delph. Ὀρνιχίδας *SGDI.* 2502. 452, 2768, although the usual dental stem appears in Cretan (ὄννιθα). I would bring into this same connection the fact observed by Solmsen *Rhein. Mus.* LIX (1904), p. 502, that the proper names Φαῖκος, Φαικίας etc. are West Greek.[1]

Furthermore, at the risk of making too much of something that is possibly only accidental, and without claiming that my material is complete, I would call attention here to the relative frequency of hypocoristic proper names in -αξ, -ακος, and -ακων in West Greek. Of names in -ακος I find in Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica* only Ἵππακος, which is also Ionic (Callim. ep. xii), Φύλακος also Ionic (Fick-Bechtel *Griech. Personennamen*, p. 312), Βύττακος, which is a Macedonian name (see Kirchner *op. cit.* no. 2933), and Ἀ]στακος, who is not an Athenian by birth. Δρίμακος and Σίμακος occur in *IG.* II. 1012. i. 14, but this is a list of metics. Δρίμακος the leader of the slaves in Chios (*Athen.* 6. 265 *e*) was, of course, not a native Chian. Πόρρακος occurs in Paros (*IG.* XII. v. i. 173. iii. 1) and Tenos (*SGDI.* 5492. 77; cf. also *IG.* II. 983. iii 131), Μάλακος in Andros (*IG.* XII. v. i. 717). Δόνακος is Lesbian (*IG.* XII. ii. 74) likewise Πίττακος the famous lawgiver of Mytilene. But in West Greek dialects, including Boeotian and Thessalian, we find, aside from the legendary Theban heroes Ἄστακος and Λάβδακος (the latter name also in Sicily, see Pape), Ἄρακος at Sparta (Pape), Δρώπακος in Aetolia, *SGDI.* 2520, 2522, Pthiotis, *ibid.* 1439 (also the name of a metic at Delos,

[1] The preference for a guttural termination in Magna Graecia and Sicily may help to explain Lat. *Aiāx* = *Aĭas*, which Jordan *Krit. Beiträge*, p. 37, has already connected with names like *Faĭaξ*.

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Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 629. 13), Μάρακος at Syracuse (Pape), Πύστακος of Daulis, *SGDI.* 1969. 22, Σίμακος from Epirus, *IG.* IV. 1504 I. 26, 1508. B. 6, Daulis *SGDI.* 1969, Cephallenia, Kern *Insc. von Magnesia* 35. 34, Argos, *SGDI.* 2563. 36, 2564. 68, 2567. 70, Στρόφακος of Pharsalus (Thuc. iv. 78) whence also Στροφάκειος *SGDI.* 326. 89, Σώτακος of Delphi, *SGDI.* 1786, and Cephallenia, *ibid.* 2530, Φλόγακος a Boeotian, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1896, p. 243.

Hypocoristics in *-άκων* are most frequent in Laconian, the lists of Spartan officials, *CIG.* 1237 ff., containing Δεινάκων, Εὐδαιμάκων, Ξενάκων, Πασάκων, Τειμάκων, Φιλάκων (cf. also Δαμακίων). Σιμάκων is Boeotian, *IG.* VII. 1880 (likewise the feminine Σιμακώ, *ibid.* 2682), but occurs also in Samos, *BCH.* V. 482. 9, 11. Φιλακώ is Coan, *SGDI.* 3593. 31, but also Parian, *ibid.* 5437. 7. Ἡράκων, which is found in many dialects (Attic, Aetol., Boeot., Delph., Meg., Rhod.) is a different case, being the hypocoristic in *-ων* to Ἡράκλειτος.

The great majority of names in *-αξ* are simply appellatives used as proper names (Fick-Bechtel, pp. 304 ff.), such as Ἄρπαξ, Δόναξ, Θώραξ, Κόραξ, Ἱέραξ, Σκύλαξ, Στύραξ, Χάραξ, etc., and these are not dialectically significant. But there are also some with a hypocoristic suffix *-αξ* as Corinth. Γύλαξ (Pape), Boeot. Πύρραξ (Thisbe *IG.* VII. 2724 *b*), Τρίαξ (Thebes, Thespiae, Tanagra, see *IG.* VII, Index, and Fick-Bechtel, p. 297), probably also Σίλλαξ name of a Sicilian (*IG.* IV. 1504 II. 33) and of a painter of Rhegium (Athen. 5. 210 *a*), Epid. Στίαξ (*IG.* IV. 1485. 116, 118), Delph. Φλείαξ (*SGDI.* 2562).

5. *τοί* = *οἱ*. Although *τοί*, *ταί* are still found in Homer beside the more frequent *οἱ*, *αἱ*, formed after the analogy of the singular, the latter (or *οἳ*, *αἳ*) are the only forms known in the inscriptions of Attic, Ionic, Lesbian, and Arcado-Cyprian. But in all the West Greek dialects except Cretan, and in Boeotian, we find uniformly *τοί*, *ταί* in the earlier inscriptions, and where *οἱ*, *αἱ* appear beside them, as frequently in the Doric and Northwest Greek *κοινή*, they are clearly due to the influence of the Attic *κοινή*. The one exception among the West Greek dialects is Cretan,[1] which has *οἱ*, *αἱ* from the earliest times, e. g., always in the Law Code. Thessalian has *οἱ* in the Pelasgiotis, e. g., *κοἰ* = *καὶ οἱ* in a fifth-century inscription of Larissa (Kern *Insc. Thess. Ant. Syll.* No. XVIII), but *τοί* in the Thessaliotis, as attested by an inscription of Pharsalus from the transitional period of the alphabet (*Mon. Antichi* VIII, p. 66). See Solmsen, *Rhein. Mus.* LX (1905), pp. 148 ff.

6. *ἰαρός* = *ἱερός*. In the West Greek dialects and Boeotian, *ἰαρός* or *ἰαρός* is always the earlier form, while *ἱερός* is later and plainly due to

[1] By Cretan is meant, here and elsewhere, central Cretan. How far the divergencies from it which are to be observed in the east of the island represent a genuine local variation, and how far they are due merely to external influence, need not be discussed. But there is no doubt that the *τοί* which appears in a third-century inscription of Itanus (*SGDI.* 5058) is one of the importations from the Doric *κοινή* of the other Doric islands.

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κοινή influence. The position of Thessalian is uncertain. We find ἰαρουτοῖς in an inscription of Crannon, otherwise ἱερός (citations in Hoffmann II, p. 272), but all late. It is possible that Thessalian had both the East and West Greek forms, though in this case it is not at Crannon that we should expect to find the latter. On the other hand, the situation may be precisely the same as in the dialects before mentioned. For all the examples of ἱερός are from a time when in these dialects also ἰαρός had been replaced by the κοινή ἱερός. This latter view is the one which I believe will prove to be correct, when we have early occurrences of the word in Thessalian. An apparent example of ἰαρός in Arcadian is to be seen in a dedication coming from the temple of Artemis at Lusi (*SGDI.* 1601 = *Wiener Jahresheft* IV (1901), pp. 83, 84, No. 17), but it is doubtful if the dedicator was an Arcadian. For other and earlier dedications from the same place have ἱερός (*ibid.* Nos. 14, 16), and this is always the form in other parts of Arcadia, examples occurring in the earliest inscriptions of Tegea (Hoffmann I, No. 29) and Mantinea (Fougères *Mantinée*, pp. 523 ff.). The form with ε is also Cyprian (ἱερεύς, etc.), as well as Attic-Ionic (Ion. also ἰρός, ἴρός, like Lesb. ἶρος).

7. Ἄρταμις = Ἄρτεμις. Since the collection of examples given by the writer *Am. Jour. Phil.* (1889), pp. 463 ff., Boisacq *Les dial dor.*, pp. 33 ff., G. Meyer *Gr. Gram.*[3], pp. 102 ff., the material has been considerably augmented. There can be no question now that Ἄρταμις was the form of all Doric dialects except Cretan, and of Delphian and Boeotian, and that Ἄρτεμις, which is also frequent in several of these, is due to κοινή influence. Wherever the word occurs in early inscriptions the form is always Ἄρταμις. Thus, to quote only some of these early examples, Delph. Ἄρταμις, Ἀρταμίτια in *SGDI.* 2501, 2561 (early iv cent.), while later inscriptions have uniformly Ἄρτεμις. Lac. Ἀρτάμι *SGDI.* 4559 (early v cent.), agreeing with Ἄραμι, Ἀρταμιτίω of Aristoph. *Lys.* 1251, 1262, while all other inscriptional occurrences are late and in the ε-form. Epid. Ἀρτάμιτι *IG.* IV. 914 (about 400 B. C.), Corinth. (Pthius) Ἀρτάμ[ιτος] *IG.* IV. 440 (v cent.), Theran Ἀρτάμιτι, Ἀρταμιτῖο *IG.* XII. iii. 452, 1326 (iv cent.). In the other Doric dialects, where both forms occur, the examples are all late. In Boeotian, Ἄρταμις remains the usual form as long as the dialect survives at all.

The only Doric dialect which has Ἄρτεμις from the earliest times, and, so far as we know, the only West Greek dialect (in Locrian or Elean examples are lacking) is Cretan. We find Ἄρτεμις in the Law Code (iii. 6, 7), as well as in later inscriptions. Ἀρταμιτίου in one of the Teian decrees is of no value as evidence. Thessalian, like Attic-Ionic and Lesbian, has Ἄρτεμις, the earliest example being Hoffmann II, p. ix, No. 4 *a*, probably of the fourth century. In Arcadian we find Ἄρταμις in the two oldest of the dedications from the temple at Lusi (*Wiener Jahresheft* IV (1901), p. 83, Nos. 14, 15), while others somewhat later have Ἄρτεμις

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(*ibid.*, Nos. 16–18), which also occurs in an early inscription from Cotilum, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1903, pp. 177 ff., likewise Ἀρτεμισίοι in an inscription of Stymphalus (Hoffmann I, No. 24). In Cyprian there are no examples.

8. κα = κε (ἄν). This is the form of all the West Greek dialects and Boeotian, and remains one of their most persistent characteristics. Thessalian has κε, like Lesbian, Cyprian (Arc. κ' in εἰ κ', also, without doubt, for κε). The use of ἄν, in contrast to both κα and κε, is referred to elsewhere (46, among the specific characteristics of Attic-Ionian and Arcadian.—The same κα appears also in ὄκα, τόκα, πόκα, etc. = ὅτε, τότε, πότε. Such forms are attested for Laconian, Cretan, Rhodian, Elean, Delphian, as well as literary Doric, and are to be assumed without question for all the West Greek dialects and Boeotian. The forms with -τε are Attic-Ionic, Arcadian (for examples, lacking until recently, see now Fougères *Mantinée*, pp. 523 ff., and *Philol.* XLIX (1900), pp. 201 ff.), and Cyprian. But Lesbian has ὅτα. Thessalian examples are lacking. -κα is used even in Attic in ἡνίκα, τηνίκα, etc.— γά = γε is attested for Argolic (*IG.* IV. 506), Elean, Delphian, Boeotian, as well as in literary Doric, and is to be assumed for all dialects which had κα = κε.—Adverbs in -θα = -θεν, -θε, as πρόσθα = πρόσθεν, occur in Cretan (πρόθθα), Delphian (πρόστα), and Heraclean (ἄνωθα, ἔμπροσθα), but cf. Meg. πρόσθε in an early inscription of Selinus *SGDI.* 3045 B, Argol. ἔμπροσθε, ὄπισθε, κάτωθε *SGDI.* 3362 (Troizene), etc. They are also cited as Aeolic by the grammarians and occur in Alcaeus and Sappho, but the inscriptions have only πρόσθε. See Hoffmann II, p. 274. In a few adverbs, as ἔνθα, -θα is even Attic-Ionic.

9. πρᾶτος = πρῶτος. This is attested for all the West Greek dialects except Locrian and Elean, in which no examples occur, and is also Boeotian. πρῶτος is Attic-Ionic, Lesbian, Thessalian (προῦτος), Cyprian (quotable only in proper names), and doubtless Arcadian, though not yet quotable.

Both forms have been almost universally regarded as the products of contraction from either *πρώϝατος, *πρόϝατος, or *πρόατος. The point raised by Eulenberg (*Indog. Forsch.* XV, p. 142, that there is no trace anywhere of an uncontracted form, is, in my opinion, a sufficient objection to either of the assumed forms with ϝ, in spite of Brugmann *Kurze vergl. Gram.* III, pp. xxi ff. It is less cogent against *προατος, but this also involves the assumption that the regular contraction of οα in Doric is ᾱ. And, while this is the accepted doctrine at present and is not doubted by Eulenberg, I can see no way of reconciling it with the evidence of other forms, which points rather to a contraction of οα to ω in all dialects. Schulze *Quaest. epic.*, p. 532, while deriving πρᾶτος from *πρόατος, confessed himself at a loss to account for the existence in Doric dialects of names in -ῶναξ from -οϝαναξ. To be sure, Eulenberg *loc. cit.*, p. 139, asserts: "Die zahlreichen Eigennamen wie Δημῶναξ, Ἱππῶναξ, Πλειστῶναξ aus -*οϝαναξ sind sämtlich ion. (dor. dafür Τιμᾶναξ)," and

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Brugmann *Gr. Gram.*[3], p. 62, cites "dor. Τῑμᾶναξ aus *Τῑμό-ανακ." This would give a distribution of the forms parallel with that of πρῶτος, πρᾶτος, but unfortunately is not in accord with the facts. Τιμᾶναξ is Rhodian and is from Τιμᾱ-, like Τιμᾱκράτης, while the same dialect has Δαμῶναξ, Δαμώνασσα from Δαμο- beside Δαμόκρατης, etc. (see Index to *IG.* XII. i). In Thera we find Τιμῶναξ (very frequent), Τιμώνασσα, Δαμώνασσα. Many of the examples are late, and might be attributed to κοινή influence, but we find nothing different in earlier times, Τιμώνασ(σ)α occurring in the archaic inscription *IG.* XII. iii. 804. Τιμῶναξ *SGDI.* 5151 was born at Amphissa, though his father came from Cyprus and was the son of a Cretan father and Cyprian mother. Δαμώνασσα is also Delphian, *SGDI.* 2106, Ἑρμῶναξ Megarian, *ibid.* 3014, and Argive, *ibid.* 2566. 61.

Aside from these names in -ῶναξ, note also Heracl. μείω from *μείο(σ)α, and further the crasis of ο, ō(ου), ω+α in West Greek, as Corinth. τἀγαθόν = τὸ ἀγαθόν *SGDI.* 3209, Meg. ōρχέδαμε = ὦ Ἀρχέδαμε *ibid.* 3044, Ach. ὅρταμος = ὁ ἄρταμος *ibid.* 1653, Corinth. τōπελ(λ)ōνι = τῶι Ἀπέλλονι *ibid.* 3227, Boeot. τōπόλλōνι = τοῖ Ἀπόλλωνι *IG.* VII. 2732, Delph. τὠπόλλωνι, τὠπελλαίου = τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι, τοῦ Ἀπελλαίου *SGDI.* 2561 D 44, 46. This is the usual result seen in inscriptions, as always in literary Doric (see Kühner-Blass I, p. 224), and must represent the normal contraction, while the other type of crasis, that seen in Att. ἀνήρ, is rare, e. g., Corinth. τἀριστερόν = τὸ ἀριστερόν *SGDI.* 3163, Arg. τἀργεῖοι = τοὶ Ἀργεῖοι *ibid.* 3263, 3264, τἀργείō = τοῦ Ἀργείου *ibid.* 3271.

10. ὄπει = ὅπου. Adverbs of 'place where' in -ει = Att.-Ion. -ου. Cret. ὄπει *SGDI.* 5148, πει (αἴ πει = εἰ που) *ibid.* 4952 C. 40, αὐτεῖ (Hesych.), Ther. τεῖδε *ibid.* 4788, Coan ὄπει *ibid.* 3715. 63, Anaphe ὄπει, αὐτεῖ *ibid.* 3430, Rhod. ὄπει *ibid.* 3749. 100, Meg. ὀπειοῦν, ἄλλει *ibid.* 3052, Corcyr. εἴ *ibid.* 3196, 3199, ὄπει *ibid.* 3200, 3203, τουτεῖ *ibid.* 3220, Epid. αὐτεῖ *ibid.* 3342. 68 (poem of Isyllus), οὐθαμεῖ *ibid.* 3340. 22, Delph. εἴ (frequent), ὄπει *SGDI.* 1728, ἄλλει *ibid.* 1830, τηνεῖ *ibid.* 2561 C. 37, μηδαμεῖ *ibid.* 2561 C. 34, ἁμεῖ *ibid.* 2561 D. 48, Boeot. αὐτῖ = αὐτεῖ *Rev. ét. gr.* XII (1899), p. 71 A. 5. Here also, by analogy, Heracl. ποτεχεῖ = προσεχῶς, and Delph. ἐπεχεῖ *SGDI.* 2642. 47. For examples in literary Doric (e. g., τηνεῖ, etc. in Theocritus), see Ahrens II, pp. 361 ff.

It may be safely assumed that this type of adverbs was common to all the West Greek dialects, with Boeotian. On the other hand forms like ὅπου are found only in Attic-Ionic. Neither type is as yet quotable from Lesbian, Thessalian, or Arcado-Cyprian.

11. φέρομες = φέρομεν. Since the appearance of examples in Delphian it is safe to reckon the ending -μες as one of the West Greek characteristics, although first plural forms are still lacking in Elean and Locrian. In many dialects it was replaced by the Attic -μεν at a comparatively early period, e. g., at Delphi -μεν beside -μες before the end of the fourth

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century, later nearly always *-μεν*. Hence it happens that in Rhodes and some of the other islands from which all the examples are late we find only *-μεν*. But the only Doric dialect about which there is any reason to be in doubt as to whether *-μες* was the proper form is Cretan. The only examples of it are *εὐχαριστῶμες* *SGDI.* 4940 (Allaria), and *ὁμωμόκαμες* *ibid.* 4952 (Dreros), both inscriptions being late and not in the genuine (central) Cretan dialect. Most of the examples of *-μεν* are also late, but *SGDI.* 5100, in which *ἔλομεν* occurs, is substantially pure in dialect. Hence, until we have further material, we must recognize the possibility that Cretan was exceptional in this respect (cf. *οἱ* = West Greek *τοί*, 5).

From other dialects, which are only partially represented in previous collections, may be quoted: Ther. *ἐμβαλοῦμες* *SGDI.* 4706. 278, Calymn. *εὑρίσκομες*, *ἐνηνίκαμες* *ibid.* 3591 *b*. 14, 21, Arg. *ὑπογεγράφαμες* Kern *Inscr. v. Magnesia* 40. 7, Epid. *ἀπεδώκαμες* *IG.* IV. 1488 (very frequent), 1490–92, *ἐξ[ε]δω[κα]μες* *ibid.* 1485. 162, *παρεδώκαμες* *ibid.* 1488. 12, 14, *ἐπωφείλομες* *ibid.* 1485. 171, 172, Corinth. *ἴφομες* *IG.* IV. 324, Meg. *νικῶμες* *SGDI.* 3046 (Selinus), *ἴκομες*, *διαπεινᾶμες* Aristoph. *Ach.* 750, 751, Heracl. *εὑρίσκομες*, *ἐστάσαμες*, etc. (very frequent, never *-μεν*), Lac. *ἴκομες*, etc., Aristoph. *Lys. Mess.* *ὁμολογήσαμες* *SGDI.* 4645. 16, Delph. *ἀπεδώκαμες* *ibid.* 2502. 2, 2503. 13, 16, *ποτεθήκαμες* *ibid.* 2502. 55, *ἐδώκαμες* *BCH.* XXVI (1902), p. 7, *ὑπογεγράφαμες* *ibid.* XXX (1906), p. 273 (No. 49). *-μες* also in Epicharmus, Sophron, and Theocritus. *-μεν* is Attic-Ionic, Arcadian (cf. *ἐδικάσαμεν* in the early Mantinean inscription, Fougères *Mantinée*, pp. 523 ff.) Lesbian, and Thessalian (*ἐπινοείσομεν* *SGDI.* 345. 13), and presumably Cyprian though not quotable. The position of Boeotian in this respect is uncertain so long as the only example is *ἐπράθομεν* Corinna 16.

12. *δειξέω* = *δείξω*. Although a few words show this type in Attic-Ionic, the "Doric future" is regular only in the West Greek dialects. Of the examples, too numerous to be worth quoting here in full (for extensive, but not complete, collections, see G. Meyer *Gr. Gram.*[3], pp. 619 f., Boisacq *Les dialectes doriens*, pp. 193 ff.), cf. Cret. *βοαθησίω* (with *ι* from *ε*) *SGDI.* 5014, *πραξίομεν* *ibid.* 5176. 15, *βοαθησίοντι* *ibid.* 5024 B. 84, *τεισῆται*, *πραξῆται* *ibid.* 4998 I. 7, VI. 6, Ther. *θησέοντι* *IG.* XII. iii. 452, *πραξοῦντι* *SGDI.* 4706. 248 (with Attic *ου*, as often), Rhod. *ἐπιμεληθησεῦντι*, *ἀποδωσεῦνται* *ibid.* 4118. 6, 7, Coan *ποιησεῖται* *ibid.* 3619. 7, *ἐχθυσεῦνται* *ibid.* 3634 *b*. 27, Cnid. *ποιησεῖται* *ibid.* 3505. 21, Epid. *βλεψεῖσθαι* *ibid.* 3339. 75, *ἐσσεῖσθαι* *ibid.* 3340. 84, Calaur, *ποιησοῦντι* *IG.* IV. 841, Corcyr. *ἐκδανεισοῦντας*, *χειριξοῦντας* *SGDI.* 3206. 9, 44, Meg. *ἀντεθησεῖται* *ibid.* 3052, Heracl. *ἐγδικαξῆται*, *ἐργαξῆται*, Cephall. *συνθυσοῦντι*, *συναυξησοῦντι* Kern *Inscr. von Magnesia* 35. 25, Ithaca *ὑποδεξούμενον* *ibid.* 36. 2, Delph. *πραξέω*, *ὁρκιξέω* *SGDI.* 2501. 5, 13, *ἀποδειξέω*, *βλάψέω*, *ταγευσέω*, etc. 2561 A. 1 ff. Examples of the future happen to be lacking in Laconian, Elean, and Locrian. In Heraclean the third plural forms *ἐξοντι*, *κοψοντι*, *ἐργαξονται*, etc. are now generally regarded as belonging to the ordinary future type and accord-

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ingly accented ἔξοντι, etc. For from the -σέω type one expects -σιοντι like ἀναγγελίοντι, etc. See Solmsen *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXXII, pp. 545 ff. But in no other West Greek dialect is there evidence of the co-existence of the two types, ordinary future forms occurring only in late inscriptions and evidently due to κοινή influence.

13. τέτορες = τέσσαρες. Examples in Cretan *SGDI.* 4964, Coan *ibid.* 3638, 3639, Calymn. *ibid.* 3591. 19, Epid. *IG.* IV. 1485. 166, 1488 *passim*, Meg. (Chalcedon) *SGDI.* 3052, Heracl. (12 times, once τέσσαρες), Locr. *ibid.* 1479, Delph. *ibid.* 1683, 2502 *passim*, 2562. 2, 15, 48, *BCH.* XXVI (1902), pp. 7 ff. (very frequent), *ibid.* XXVII (1903), pp. 21 ff. In the other West Greek dialects examples of the numeral are either lacking (e. g., Elean, Laconian) or occur only in later inscriptions when τέτορες has been replaced by the κοινή form, as it was in most of the dialects mentioned after the fourth century.

14. τετρώκοντα = τεσσαράκοντα. So Heracl. τετρώκοντα (4 times, once τεσσαράκοντα), Corc. [τε]τρώκοντα *IG.* IX. i. 880, Delph. τετρώκοντα *SGDI.* 2502, 2562, and *BCH.* XXVI, pp. 8, 41, 54 (all fourth century; later τεσσαράκοντα or τετταράκοντα). In most of West Greek dialects there are either no occurrences of this numeral (e. g., in Laconian, Cretan, Locrian, Elean), or only from the period of κοινή influence, as Coan τεσσαράκοντα *SGDI.* 3632 (II cent.). A fourth-century inscription of Troizene, *IG.* IV. 823, has τεταράκοντα, clearly due to Attic influence, beside διακάτιοι etc., and a somewhat later inscription from Epidaurus, *IG.* IV. 1492, has τεσσαράκοντα beside πεντακάτιοι (but also εἴκοσι). There is no occasion to doubt that τετρώκοντα was common to all the West Greek dialects. Archimedes has always τετρωκοστός, though only τεσσαράκοντα and τέσσαρες. See Heiberg *Index.* τετρώκοντα is often quoted as "Doric and Ionic" (G. Meyer, Brugmann), and τετρωκοστός actually occurs in an Ionic inscription of Mylasa, of 361/0 B. C., *SGDI.* 5753 *b*. But other Ionic inscriptions and Herodotus have only τεσσεράκοντα or τεσσαράκοντα (Hoffmann III, pp. 248 ff.), and this τετρωκοστός I believe to be a survival from the Doric period which we are entitled to assume for Mylasa and other Carian cities, as well as for Halicarnassus. Cf. Müller *Dorer* I, p. 107: "Vielleicht hat auch Mylasa einige Verbindung mit den Doriern."

15. αἴ τίς κα. This peculiarity in word-order has been noted as Doric by Ahrens II, p. 383, Wackernagel, *Indog. Forsch.* I, p. 369, and Schulze, quoted by Dittenberger *IG.* IX. i. 695. Wackernagel *loc. cit.* quotes examples from Crete, Heraclea, Mycene, Corcyra, and from a Doric κοινή inscription from Arcadian Orchomenos. Others might be added from Rhodes, Thera, Cos, Calymna, etc. For even in late inscriptions which show much κοινή influence, this remains the more usual order, e. g., εἴ τίς κα in late Rhodian inscriptions, as *SGDI.* 3836, or in the Theran will of Epicteta, *ibid.* 4706. The same order holds in Delphian not only in the earlier period, e. g., αἰ δέ τί κα, αἰ δέ τίς κα *SGDI.* 2561 A. 28, B. 51, but in

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the later manumission decrees, where such phrases as *εἰ δέ τίς κα ἐφάπτηται, εἰ δέ τί κα πάθῃ* are very frequent. This is also the usual order in Aetolian decrees, e. g., *SGDI.* 1410, 1411, 1413. Hence, though examples are lacking in Locrian and Elean, there is no reason to doubt that this order is common to the West Greek dialects as a whole.

But Boeotian and Thessalian, so far as I have observed, go with the East Greek dialects in this matter; Boeot. *ἢ δέ κά τις ἐφάπτειτη SGDI.* 497 ff., *ἢ δέ κά τις . . . . καθιστάει ibid.* 802. 9, Thess. *αἰ (μ)ά κέ κις κατασπάσει* Hoffmann II. 7. 27, *αἴ κε τὸν ϝασστὸν κις ϝαλίσσκεται[ι] ibid.* 5 (both from Phalanna; whether the same holds for the Thessaliotis remains to be seen). Cf. Lesb. *αἴ κέ τις, αἰ δέ κέ τι* Hoffmann II. 83. 2. 37, Arc. *εἴ κ' ἄν τι, εἰ δ' ἄν τις, id.* I. 30 *passim*, Cypr. *ἤ κέ σις ibid.* 135. 10. 24.

16–25. These phenomena are West Greek in the sense that they are found only among West Greek dialects, and they are often cited among the Doric characteristics. Some few of them, I am fully convinced, were common to all the West Greek dialects, though quotable from only a very few, and there are some others for which this is a possibility. On the other hand, many of them are distinctly limited in scope.

16. *ἐμίν = ἐμοί.* The datives *ἐμίν, τίν, ἴν* are frequent in literary Doric and often quoted as Doric by the grammarians. See Ahrens II, pp. 251 ff. *ἴν* is also quoted as Boeotian, and *τείν* occurs in Homer. From inscriptions we have Cret. *ϝὶν αὐτῶι* Law Code II. 40, *ἐμὶν αὐτῶι, SGDI.* 5147 *b.* 11, Calymn. *ἐμίν, ibid.* 3591. 8, Delph. *ἐμίνγα, ibid.* 2501. 7. But the enclitic forms ended in *-οι* in West Greek, as elsewhere. Thus Cret. *ϝοι, SGDI.* 4998. 5, Arg. *ϝοι, IG.* IV. 506 (Heraeum; vi cent.), Delph. *μοι, ϝοι SGDI.* 2561 A. 16, D. 14 besides later occurrences like Epid. *οἱ* frequent in *SGDI.* 3339, Cret. *μοι SGDI.* 4952 *b.* 34. Nothing stands in the way of our assuming that *ἐμίν*, etc., were the regular emphatic forms in all the West Greek dialects, and perhaps in Boeotian, while in the East Greek dialects they were replaced by *ἐμοί*, etc., Hom. *τείν* being the only survival of this type.

17. *ἐμέος = ἐμοῦ.* The genitives *ἐμέος, τέος*, and in later form *ἐμεῦς, ἐμέως*, etc., are widely quoted from Doric writers by the grammarians. See Ahrens II, pp. 248 ff. The only inscriptional example of this type is Locr. *ϝέος SGDI.* 1478. 33, where *κατὰ ϝέος* is unquestionably to be taken with Meister as = *καθ' ἑαυτοῦ*. But there are no other early occurrences of the genitive singular of personal pronouns in the West Greek dialects, so that there is no improbability in assuming that the type in *-εος* was common to them all.

18. *τῆνος = ἐκεῖνος.* Although formed from a different stem than *ἐκεῖνος, κεῖνος, κῆνος*, it is synonymous with the latter. See now W. Havers, *Indog. Forsch.* XIX (1906), pp. 76 ff. *τῆνος* is frequent in the Doric of the Sicilian writers, especially Theocritus, and from inscriptions it is attested for Heraclea (*Her. Tab.* I. 136), Delphi (*τηνεῖ SGDI.* 2561 C. 27), Aegina (*ibid.* 3409), and Ithaca (*ibid.* 1671). Cf. also Meg. *τηνῶθεν* or *τηνόθεν* in

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Aristoph. *Ach.* 754. But κῆνος is the form employed in Cretan (*SGDI.* 4998. 4), Rhodian (*ibid.* 3758. 126), Coan (*ibid.* 3636. 25), and Laconian (Alcman 10). In the inscriptions of the other West Greek dialects the pronoun does not occur at all, if we except some late examples of Att. ἐκεῖνος. In the East Greek dialects we have Att. ἐκεῖνος, Ion. κεῖνος, ἐκεῖνος, Lesb. κῆνος, but no examples from Thess., Boeot., Arc., or Cyprian. τῆνος is, then, found only among West Greek dialects, but is not one of the general West Greek characteristics.

19. αὐτοσαυτός. The expression of the reflexive by means of αὐτὸς αὐτός, either with each part declined separately, or, more often, merged into compounds of somewhat varying form (αὐτοσαυτός, αὐταυτός, αὐσαυτός, αὐσωτός, ἀσωτός) is found mainly among West Greek dialects and in Boeotian. This is certainly not an inherited West Greek characteristic, but a comparatively late development, of which there are some traces even in Attic (Kühner-Blass I, p. 600), and one which we have no right to assume, without specific evidence, for all the West Greek dialects. In some of the dialects from which it is quotable it belongs only to the later inscriptions, the earlier expression being by means of the personal pronoun with αὐτός, as in Homer, or by αὐτός alone. The most numerous examples of αὐτοσαυτός, etc., are in Boeotian (Sadée, *De Boeot. tit. dial.*, p. 38) and Delphian (*SGDI.*, Index, p. 188). But they are all late, and in earlier Delphian we have αὐτός alone, as αὐτ[οῦ] = ἐμαυτοῦ *SGDI.* 2501. 4 and αὐτῶ = ἑαυτοῦ *ibid.* 2501. 41. Cf. Lac. αὐτῶ = ἑαυτοῦ *SGDI.* 4416 *passim*, El. αὐτᾶρ = ἑαυτῆς *ibid.* 1172. 17, not to mention numerous examples from later Doric inscriptions where it is uncertain whether to read, e. g., αὐτοῦ or Att. αὐτοῦ. In late Cretan we find αὐτοσαυτοῖς *SGDI.* 5149. 32, 61, αὐτοσαυτῶ *ibid.* 5150, 5138 (all of ii cent.) and also αὐσαυτᾶς *ibid.* 4959, but in the Law Code ϝὶν αὐτῶι = ἑαυτῷ (II. 40), and τὰ ϝὰ αὐτᾶς = τὰ ἑαυτῆς (II. 46), etc. αὐσαυτᾶς occurs also in a late inscription of Calauria, *SGDI.* 3380. Heraclean has αὐτοσαυτῶν, *Her. Tab.* I. 124, and αὐταυτᾶς *SGDI.* 4630, this latter of a type which is frequent in the fragments of Archytas of Tarentum and other Pythagoreans. Cf. also αὐταυτόν from Aegina, *SGDI.* 3418. From Sicily we have also αὐτώντα, *SGDI.* 3249, and αὐτούτα, *ibid.* 5188, 5199, on the formation of which see Wackernagel *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXXIII, p. 9.

20. Future passive with active endings. Rhod. ἐπιμεληθησεῦντι *SGDI.* 4118, ἀποσταλησεῖ, Kern *Insc. von Magnesia* 53. 24, Carpath. ἀναγραφησεῖ *SGDI.* 4319, Astyp. ἐπιμεληθη[σ[εῖ *ibid.* 3459. 25, Ther. συναγθησοῦντι *ibid.* 4706. 25, Cret. ἀναγραφησ[εῖ] *ibid.* 5149. 19. Hesychius quotes as Doric ὠατωθησῶ· ἀκούσομαι. Archimedes has φανησεῖν, δειχθησοῦντι, but usually the middle endings. See Ahrens II, p. 289. Meg. ἀντεθησεῖται *SGDI.* 3052. 22 (Chalcedon), and ἀνατεθησεῖται, *ibid.* 3089. 38 (Callatis), may owe their -ται to κοινή influence.

Blass *Rhein. Mus.* XXXVI (1881), p. 612, is emphatically of the

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opinion, already expressed by Ahrens, that this is a general Doric characteristic. While this is probable, it must nevertheless be noted that the inscriptional examples, in spite of their gradual increase in number, are still confined to the Doric islands.

21. Adverbs in $-\nu = -\varsigma$. Various adverbs, not all of the same type, show $-\nu$ in place of usual $-\varsigma$ in several West Greek dialects, but in no case is there yet sufficient evidence that this was a common West Greek characteristic. (1) Numeral adverbs. Lac. τετράκιν, ἑπτάκιν, etc. *SGDI.* 4413, 4416, Cret. ὀθθάκιν *Mus. Ital.* III, p. 681, No. 112, with which belong also Cret. αὖτιν, Law Code IV. 3, αὐταμέριν *SGDI.* 4999, El. ὔσταριν, Solmsen *Inscr. select.* 40, and probably Thess. ἄἰν *SGDI.* 361 B. 12. αἶθιν is also quoted as Rhegian, Ahrens II, p. 87. Most of the Doric dialects have only the usual forms in -κις, as Heracl. ὁσσάκις, Calymn. πολλάκις, etc., though there is perhaps no example so old as to preclude the possibility of κοινή influence. (2) Epid. ἄνευν = ἄνευ, *SGDI.* 3325. 58, but El. ἄνευς. (3) ἔμπᾶν beside ἔμπᾶς = ἔμπης in Pindar. (4) ἐξᾶν or ἔξᾶν (Schulze *Quaest. ep.*, p. 293) = ἐξῆς, in Coan, *SGDI.* 3705. 80, Rhodian, *ibid.* 3756. 10, 3836. 108, and Theran, *ibid.* 4706. 156.

22. Ἀπέλλων = Ἀπόλλων. This is quoted as Doric by Herodian, and is frequent in Laconian, e. g., *SGDI.* 4515, 4537 ff. It occurs also in Pamphylian, *ibid.* 1267. 30, in Cretan, *ibid.* 4952. 20, 24, 5073. 24 in an archaic inscription of Syracuse, *ibid.* 3327, and in one from Corinth or some Corinthian colony found at Delphi (*Sitzungsber. Berl. Acad.* 1888, p. 581). Its existence in the colonies of Magna Graecia is evidenced by early Latin *Apello* (Festus), and Oscan *Apelluneis*, Ἀπελλουνηι. In the Doric islands of the Aegean, except Crete, we find only Ἀπόλλων even in the earliest times, e. g., Ther. Ἀπόλ(λ)ōν *SGDI.* 4713 (archaic), Rhod. Ἀπολ(λ)ωνίδα *ibid.* 4223 (v cent.). This might easily be due to the influence of the Delian cult. But Ἀπόλλων is also the only form occurring in Argolis, e. g., in the early law concerning sacrifices at the Asclepieum, *IG.* IV. 914, in Megara, e. g., *IG.* VII. 35 (the often-repeated mention of Megarian among the dialects which show Ἀπέλλων is due to *CIG.* 1065, where the reading will not stand; see *IG.* VII. 179), and in the Megarian colonies, e. g., in the inscription from the Apollo temple at Selinus, *SGDI.* 3046. Among the Northwest Greek dialects Ἀπόλλων is the only form in Delphian, while from Locrian and Elean there are no examples. It is possible to take the ground that in all these cases Ἀπόλλων is an East Greek survival, but in the light of the existing evidence I doubt very much if the distribution of the two forms ever coincided with the division of East and West Greek dialects. We can hardly say more than that Ἀπέλλων survived in some of the Doric dialects, while in most others, whether East or West Greek, the form was Ἀπόλλων. Cyprian has Ἀπείλων beside Ἀπόλλων, and Thessalian stands alone with its Ἄπλουν.

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I have ignored Ἀπελλαῖος, Ἀπελλᾶς, etc., which are found in dialects which have only Ἀπόλλων, and are not even confined to West Greek.

23. λῶ = *θέλω, βούλομαι*. This verb, which is related to Latin *volō* (**ϝλη-έω*, Cret. λεῖω(?), *λείω*), is often mentioned by grammarians as the Doric equivalent of *θέλω*, and is used by Epicharmus and Theocritus. As Laconian it is attested by Aristoph. *Lys.*, Thuc. v. 77, and by the Hesychian gloss λῆις· *βούλησις*. In inscriptions it occurs frequently in Cretan (Law Code and elsewhere), once each in Elean, *λεοίταν SGDI.* 1151, Megarian, *λῶντι SGDI.* 3045 *b*, at Corcyra, *λῶντι* (dat. sing., pple.), *SGDI.* 3206. 120, and its restoration seems certain in a Coan inscription, Ditt. *Syll.*² 940. 5, 6 *τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὁ χρήιζων ἐπεί κα* [*λῆι*].

The most widespread verb of wishing in the dialects, West as well as East Greek, is that which corresponds to Att.-Ion. *βούλομαι*, namely, Thess. *βέλλομαι*, Boeot. *βείλομαι* (Lesb. *βόλλομαι* in Theocritus), Arc. *βόλομαι* (also in Homer and in West Ionic), Locr. Delph. *δείλομαι*, and *δήλομαι* in Elis, Heraclea, Anaphe, Cos, Calymna, Thera.

θέλω is almost wholly confined to late inscriptions, where it is, I believe, an importation from the *κοινή*. It is very common in the Delphian manumission decrees, while *δείλομαι* occurs only four times (always in the same phrase, but even in this *θέλω* is usual).

Another important verb of wishing is *χρῄζω*, which in Attic-Ionic, while sometimes so used, never becomes a serious rival of *θέλω* or *βούλομαι*. Although it also occurs elsewhere, as Delph. *ὁ δὲ χρήζων καταγορεῖν SGDI.* 2561 A. 38, El. *αἱ χραίδ(δ)οι ibid.* 1160, Troiz. *δαῆναι χρ*[*ήιζ*]*ων IG.* IV. 760 (here perhaps poetical influence), its frequent employment is characteristic of insular Doric. In Rhodes it is the usual verb of wishing, *δήλομαι* not occurring, e. g., *ἐξέστωι τῶι χρήιζ(ο)ντι SGDI.* 3836. 95, *ποταγγελλέτω . . . . ὁ χρήιζων ἐς τοὺς μάστρους ibid.* 4110. 33–35, *ἀποδωσεῦνται τῶι χρήιζοντι ἐλαχίστου παρασχεῖν τὰν στάλαν ibid.* 4118. 7, 8. In Cos *δήλομαι* is more frequent, but cf. *τῶι* [*χ*]*ρήιζ*[*οντ*]*ι ἐσαγγέλλειν SGDI.* 3627, *φανερὸν σκοπεῖν τῶι χρήζοντι, ibid.* 3705. 70, while in 3721 we find *ἐξῆμεν . . . . τῶι χρήιζοντι* and *ἦμεν . . . . ταῖς χρηιζο*[*ύ*]*σαις* beside *ἦμεν τᾶι δηλομέναι*. So from Calymna *εἴ κα χρείζωνται παρῆμεν SGDI.* 3591. 27, from Astypalaea *ὅπαι κα χρήι(ζ)ηι ibid.* 3459, *φαινέτω ὁ χρήζων ἐπὶ τῶι ἡμίσωι IG.* XII. iii. 168. 12, from Nisyrus [*φαινέτω δὲ*] *ὁ χρήιζων ἐπὶ* [*τῶι ἡμίσει*], *IG.* XII. iii. 88, from Thera *ὑπὸ τοῦ χρήζοντος τῶν συγγενῶν SGDI.* 4706. 266 (but *προαιρέομαι* in ll. 50, 75, 251; *δήλομαι* in 4705). In a Cretan inscription of Itanus, *SGDI.* 5058, which is in the Doric *κοινή* imported from the other islands, we find also *αἴ τί*[*ς κα χρ*]*ήι*[*ι*]*ζῃ*.

24. Masculine *ā*-stems with nom. sing. in *-ā*, gen. sing. in *-āς*. Although the usual type in all dialects is that in *-āς* (*-ης*), gen. *-āο* (*-ᾱ*, *-εω*, etc.), formed after the analogy of masculine *o*-stems, there are some scattered examples of the unchanged declension in *-ā*, gen. *-āς*. Such forms have so far appeared only among West Greek dialects (including Boeotian

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and Thess.), and, more specifically, excepting some Megarian genitives in -ᾱς, in northwestern Greece, namely Epirus, Acarnania, Aetolia, Leucas, Cephallenia, Delphi, Boeotia, and Thessaly (Phalanna). See Solmsen, *Rhein. Mus.* LIX (1904), pp. 494 f., who cites the material in full.

25. Hypocristic proper names in -ην, as Ἀριστήν for usual Ἀρίστων. These are found mostly in Corinth, Corcyra and especially Apollonia and Epidamnus. See the examples collected by Blass *SGDI.* 3225. Πυρρήν *IG.* IV. 1485. 37 is an Epidaurian, and from Thera we have Ψήν, *IG.* XII. iii. 591. There may be, unknown to me, examples from some of the other West Greek dialects, but most of them, certainly, have only the usual -ων.

I have omitted from this chart various peculiarities which, while they are common to the West Greek dialects and are often referred to casually as "Doric," are not confined to these even in the widest application of the term, and have no claim to be regarded as distinctively West Greek. So, for example, the retention of original ᾱ or the contraction of ᾱο and ᾱω to ᾱ, absence of ν-movable, forms like ἴθεν, and other phenomena which are common to all dialects except Attic-Ionic (see 40–44); αἰ = εἰ, and κε or κα = ἄν (see 45, 46); the infinitive in -μεν (see 47, 59); words like ἵκω = ἥκω, πᾶμα = κτῆμα, etc. which are by no means confined to West Greek. ἄτερος = ἕτερος is quotable from various Doric dialects (Corcyra, Cos, Crete, Epid., Mess., also lit. Doric), from Arcadian (*BCH.* XXV [1901], p. 267), is cited as Boeotian (*Et. Gud.* 256. 2) and Lesbian (Herodian I. 507. 6), and is also seen in Att. ἄτερος with crasis (Kühner-Blass I, p. 223). As far as we know, ἕτερος was confined to Attic-Ionic, all examples in other dialects being late.

One phenomenon which I am disposed to reckon in this category, though it is commonly regarded as distinctively West Greek, is the contraction of αε to η. Nearly all the West Greek dialects furnish examples of this in forms of verbs in -αω, as τιμῆν, νικῆν, ἐνίκη, etc., or in crasis, as κἠπί, κήν, κἠκ, etc. Boeotian also has φυσῆτε and κἠπιχάιρισται in Aristoph. *Ach.* 863, 884. Thessalian has τἐς = τὰ ἐς (ἐκ) and κἐν = καὶ ἐν in the Sotaerus inscription (Solmsen *Insc. select.* 10). And even Lesbian has κἐμέ = καὶ ἐμέ in a sixth- or fifth-century inscription, Hoffmann II. 179, Meister *Berl. phil. Woch.* 1892, col. 514, which confirms the κήν in Sappho 68, and the similar forms in Theocritus, though otherwise in Sappho we find κᾱ- (see Hoffmann II, p. 292). These Thessalian and Lesbian examples of η in crasis are regarded by Meister as not representing the contraction of αε, but as following the other system of crasis, consisting of lengthening of the second vowel. See *Ber. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1896, p. 264, and *Herodas*, pp. 787 ff. But we are not called upon to separate these from the similar forms of crasis in West Greek, until we have definite proof that η is not the regular contraction of αε in

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Lesbian and Thessalian. Such proof is not furnished by any of the verb-forms cited by Hoffmann II, 293, because of the uncertainty as to which type they belong, e. g., Thess. ἐρουτᾶι may be of the -ᾱω type. In Arcado-Cyprian there is no evidence as to the contraction of αε. Hence, while the question must remain open until further material is available, it is quite possible that the contraction of αε to η is common to all dialects except Attic-Ionic.

26-34. These include the phenomena which distinguish the Northwest Greek dialects, including in part Boeotian and Thessalian, from the other West Greek dialects, the Doric proper, and also some of more limited scope and more doubtful significance.

26. ἐν = εἰς. All the Northwest Greek dialects together with Boeotian and Thessalian, and also Arcadian-Cyprian (ἰν), retain the inherited use of ἐν with the accusative (as in Latin), while the Doric dialects, like Attic-Ionic and Lesbian, replaced this by the extended form ἐνς (εἰς, ἐς). The distribution of the forms is independent of the old division into East and West Greek dialects. But it constitutes the most notable difference between the Northwest Greek dialects as a whole and the Doric dialects, and, for the later times, between the Northwest Greek κοινή and the Doric κοινή. On the alleged Megarian ἐν with acc. see Sadée *De Boeot. tit. dial.*, p. 28, note. ἐν στάλαν in a Messenian inscription, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* XXV (1905), p. 50, which the editor, *loc. cit.*, p. 53, calls "the first instance of ἐν = εἰς in Doric," is, I am convinced, to be attributed to Aetolian influence, which has long been recognized in late Messenian inscriptions (πάντοις, etc.; see 29).

The appearance of ἐς in a fifth-century inscription of Delphi, *BCH.* XXIII (1899), p. 611 (τὸν ϝοῖνον μὲ φάρεν ἐς τὸ [E]ὐδρομον) is surprising, from whatever light we view it.[1] For according to all the other evidence Delphian agreed with the other Northwest Greek dialects in having only ἐν, except as this came to be replaced in part by εἰς under Attic influence. Can this be an exceptionally early instance of Attic influence in Delphi?

ἔντε = ἔστε, parallel to ἐν = εἰς, is Locrian, Phocian (ἢέντε) and Northwest Greek κοινή, there being no example in Elean. Boeotian has ἐν, but ἔντε from ἔστε (otherwise Bechtel *Hermes* XXXVI [1901], who derives ἔντε from an unexplained *εν-τε).

27. καλείμενος = καλούμενος. Locr. ἐνκαλείμενος *SGDI.* 1478. 43, Delph. καλείμενος, ποιείμενος, ἀφαιρείμενος, χρείμενος, etc. (*SGDI.* Index, p. 191), Aetol. ἀφικνείμενος Kern *Insc. von Magnesia* 91 *c*, Boeot. δείμενος *IG.* VII. 2858, ἀδικείμενος Aristoph. *Ach.* 914, El. κα(δ)δαλέμενος *SGDI.* 1149. These have the appearance of coming from -ε-εμενος instead of -ε-ομενος, but are

[1] See now Günther *Die Präpositionen in den griechischen Dialektinschriften*, pp. 8 ff., and Solmsen *Rhein. Mus.* LXI (1906), pp. 493 ff., whose views on the distribution of ἐν and ἐνς differ somewhat from those expressed above.

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better explained as due to the analogy of other forms in which *ει* or *η* (from *ε-ε*) is normal, just as Phoc. *ποιεῖνται* *IG.* IX. 1. 97 is formed after *ποιεῖσθε*, etc. See Danielsson *Epigraphica*, p. 45. Not to be confused with these are Lesb. *καλήμενος*, Thess. *διασαφείμενος*, Arc. *ἀδικήμενος*, etc., which go hand in hand with the other examples of *μι-* inflection of contract verbs in these dialects. See 69. Pamph. *βολέμενος* probably belongs in this latter category also. Although there are some few *μι-* forms in Elean, they are limited in scope and not found among *-εω* verbs, so that we are justified in reckoning El. *κα(δ)δαλέμενος* with the Northwest Greek forms. Likewise the Boeotian examples, since there is no trace of the Aeolic *μι-* inflection in Boeotian inscriptions.

Lesb. *ποείμενος* in an inscription of Tenedos from about 150 B. C., *SGDI.* 305, is generally assumed to have the late spelling *ει* for *η*. See Meister I, p. 85, Hoffmann II, p. 424. But as this is otherwise all but unknown even in the latest Lesbian inscriptions, it is scarcely more daring to suggest that this may be the Northwest Greek form, which had doubtless become widely known through Aetolian decrees. One must admit, however, that there is no other evidence of any Northwest Greek influence in Lesbian.

28. *φάρω* = *φέρω*. The change of *ε* to *α* before *ρ* has long been known as regular in Locrian and Elean, e. g., Locr. *φάρειν*, *πατάρα*, *ἀνφοτάροις*, *ἀμάραις*, etc., El. *φάρῑν*, *πάρ* = *περί*, *ὀπόταροι*, etc. That it was also Phocian is now seen from Delph. *πενταμαριτεύων*, *δάρματα* *SGDI.* 2561 D. 16, 37, and *φάρεν*, *φάρῑ* of a fifth-century inscription *BCH.* XXIII (1899), p. 611. If elsewhere in Delphian we find only the usual *ερ* this is due to the same external influence which gradually brought about the elimination of *αρ* = *ερ* in Elean also, e. g., in the exile-decree, Solmsen, *Insc. select.* 40, *ὕσταριν*, but *θηλυτέραν*, *περί*, etc., and in the Damocrates decree, *SGDI.* 1172, always *ερ*. It is only natural, then, that this peculiarity of the Northwest Greek dialects was also given up in the Northwest Greek *κοινή*. But a form corresponding to Locr., Delph. *ἀμάρα* is preserved in the Achaean *Ζεὺς Ἀμάριος*, *Ἀθάνα Ἀμαρία* *SGDI.* 1634 (see Ditt. *Syll.*[3] 229, note). *ὕπαρ* = *ὕπερ* is also Pamphylian *SGDI.* 1267. 2.

29. *πάντοις* = *πᾶσι*. The dative plural of consonant stems in *-οις*, formed after the analogy of *o*-stems, is characteristic of Locrian, Elean (but also *-εσσι*, see 65), and the Northwest Greek *κοινή*, through which it gained a wide currency. The genuine Phocian form was *-εσσι*, as shown by the earlier Delphian inscriptions (see 65). The forms in *-οις*, which are frequent in the later inscriptions of Delphi (see Index to *SGDI.*) and other parts of Phocis (e. g., Stiris *SGDI.* 1539; decree of the Phocian league, Kern *Insc. von Magnesia* 34), are importations from the Northwest Greek *κοινή*. There is no reason to doubt, in spite of G. Meyer *Gr. Gram.*[3], p. 475, that this is true in general of the forms in *-οις* cited by him from other parts of Greece, and which can now be

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considerably augmented. But this belongs to the general question of the spread of Northwest Greek κοινή forms through Aetolian influence, which cannot be discussed in detail at this point.

30. στ = σθ. This spelling, the significance of which need not be discussed here (see Brugmann *Gr. Gram.*[2], p. 106), is regularly employed in Locrian, e. g., ἡελέσται, ἁρέσται, etc., and in earlier Elean, e. g., λυσάστω, χρῆσται, etc. (later ἀποδόσσαι, etc.). Elsewhere it is only occasional, but it is significant that the earliest and the most numerous examples are in Phocian, e. g., Delph. ἱλαξάστω in a fifth-century inscription, *BCH.* XXIII (1899), p. 611, πρόστα *SGDI.* 2561 C. 40, and in later inscriptions γινέστω, καταδουλισάστω, etc. (*SGDI.* Index, p. 185), Stir. θέστων, ἀποπολιτεύσασται *ibid.* 1539. Cf. also Boeot. ἀπολογίτταστη, καταδουλίτταστη, etc., frequent in inscriptions of Orchomenos, Thess. πεπείστειν *SGDI.* 345. 16 (but otherwise σθ). There are scattering examples in many other parts of Greece, even in Athens, most of them late (see G. Meyer *Gr. Gram.*[2], p. 352; Schweizer *Gram. d. pergamen. Inschriften*, p. 129), but not all, e. g., Cret. μιστός *SGDI.* 5125, Lac. ἀποστρυθῆσται *ibid.* 4564. But these do not lessen the significance of the especial frequency of στ in Northwest Greece.

31. Dative singular in -οι. The prevalence and significance of this form is most difficult to determine. Owing to the lack of sufficient material from both the earlier and later periods, and the ambiguity of the pre-Ionic -οι, it is often impossible to say whether such a form is an inherited locative or has been shortened from -ωι in the historical period of a given dialect, or again is borrowed from another dialect. It can hardly be claimed as a distinctive Northwest Greek characteristic. For although it is Elean, as well as Arcadian and Boeotian, it is not found in earlier Phocian (the earliest Delphian inscriptions in the Ionic alphabet have -ωι), nor, so far as can be shown, in Locrian, though the usual transcription of the Locr. -OI as -ωι is not based on any specific evidence. At the same time it is clear that in the later period this dative in -οι had considerable currency in Northwest Greece and adjacent regions. Aside from Boeotian, where it is regular, examples occur in Acarnania (*SGDI.* 1379; but -ωι in the early fourth-century inscription of Stratus, *IG.* IX. i. 442), Epirus (*SGDI.* 1339; -οι and -ωι side by side), Aetolia (*ibid.* 1428. i), Delphi (*ibid.* Index, p. 186; -ωι in earlier Delphian), Cierium in the Thessaliotis (Hoffmann II. 63, 64; but in the early Sotaerus inscription -OI is to be transcribed -ōι, cf. ἐν ταγᾶ), and in Euboea with Oropus, where it replaces earlier -ωι and without much doubt is due to the same shortening seen in -ει from -ηι (see Hoffmann III, pp. 440 f.; Bechtel, p. v of the preface to his publication of the Ionic inscriptions in *SGDI.*).

32. Accusative plural of consonant stems in -ες after the nominative. This cannot be claimed as a general Northwest Greek characteristic, but may be mentioned here, since, besides being the usual type in Elean and

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Achaean, its probable starting-part, namely τέτορες used indeclinably like πέντε, etc. (Wackernagel *Indog. Forsch.* XIV, p. 368), is also early Delphian, as μνᾶς δεκατέτορες *SGDI.* 1683, and ὀδελὸς τέτορες Homolle *Mélanges Nicole*, p. 626. But otherwise Delphian has only the usual -ας (so even τέτορας usually), as Locrian always. On the other hand, the forms in -ες are found in late times in numerous dialects. See G. Meyer *Gr. Gram.*[3], p. 463; Dieterich, *Unters. zur Gesch. d. griech. Sprache*, pp. 156 f.

33. Ἱπποκλέας. Proper names in -κλέας are by far most frequent in Thessaly, but include also some Boeotians, Phocians, and Aetolians. See Sadée *De Boeot. tit. dial.*, p. 27, and Fick-Bechtel *Griech. Eigennamen*, pp. 29, 169, who explain -κλέας as formed from -κλος with the hypocoristic -έας. But instead of taking -κλος as an intermediate stage, why not assume a direct transfer from the uncontracted -κλέης, which is especially characteristic of Euboean? Note the distribution of the following.

34. Φιλώνδας. Patronymics in -ωνδας are nowhere else so common as in Boeotian (for the examples see Sadée *De Boeot. tit. dial.*, p. 105), but are not infrequent in Phocian and Euboean (-ωνδης). Thus Δεξώνδας, Ἐτυμώνδας, Ἱερώνδας, Κλεώνδας, Ξεννώνδας, Πατρώνδας, are Delphians, some of the names being of very frequent occurrence (see *SGDI.* Index, pp. 205 ff.), Ἀρχώνδας *ibid.* 2214. 19 is from Elatea, and Χαιρώνδας *ibid.* 2002. 9 from Ambryssus. For Euboean, cf. Eretr. Σιμώνδης, Ξενώνδμς, Μενώνδης, Στρατώνδης *SGDI.* 5313. 4, 32, 155–6, 236, 242, and other examples from Eretria, Styra, Histiaea, *ibid.* 5325, 5342, 5345, with notes. Τιμώνδας mentioned as one of the Ionian representatives on the amphyctionic council *SGDI.* 2504. 27 was doubtless from Euboea. And it is probably through the Chalcidian influence that -ωνδας, though with Doric ending, appears in Sicily, namely in Φιλώνδας Theocr. iv. 1, and Χαρώνδας, the name of the legislator of Catana and the other Chalcidian cities of Sicily and Italy (Plato *Rep.* x. 599 *e*, Arist. *Polit.* 1274 *a*). Thess. Λεούνδας *SGDI.* 345. 68. A Sicyonian Δαιτώνδας is mentioned by Pausanias vi. 17. 5.

The parallel, but less common, -ονδας, is attested for Boeotian, Thessalian, and Euboean. See Schulze *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1897, p. 899.

35–39. These peculiarities, which are common to Thessalian and Boeotian but are not, like 60 ff., to be attributed to the Aeolic element in both, are given here for convenience.

35. ει = η, as μεί = μή. — 36 θ for τ in third plural verb-endings. See above under 1. 1. — 37. Διόσδοτος, Θεόσδοτος. See Solmsen *Rhein. Mus.* LIX (1904), pp. 498 ff. — 38. γίνυμαι = γίγνομαι, e. g., Boeot. γινούμενον *SGDI.* 385, Thess. γινύεται *ibid.* 345. 22, 45. — 39. ἄλεξε = εἶπε. Boeotian and Thessalian decrees regularly have ἄλεξε where εἶπε is used in Attic and elsewhere.

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40–44. Some of the most marked characteristics of Attic-Ionic.

40. *η* from *ā*.—41. *λεώς*. This stands for quantitative metathesis in general. The phenomenon as a whole is distinctly Attic-Ionic, though its details are not always identical in the two dialects.—42. *ἡμεῖς*. This stands for the secondary formation of the nominative and accusative plural of the personal pronouns, namely, nom. *-εῖς*, acc. *-έας*, *-ᾶς*, where other dialects have nom. *-ες*, acc. *-ε*, as West Greek *ἄμές* (*ἄμές*), *ἄμέ*, Lesb. *ἄμμες*, *ἄμμε*, Thess. *ἀμμέ*. In Arcado-Cyprian examples are lacking.—43. *ἔθηκεν*. The *ν*-movable in the verbal endings *-εν*, *-σιν* occurs in the earliest Attic and Ionic inscriptions, but in other dialects is wholly unknown until a late period, and is a sure sign of *κοινή* influence. In the dative plural it is almost, but not quite, confined to Attic-Ionic, examples occurring in Heraclean (*ἔντασσιν*) and Thessalian (*χρέμασιν* in the Sotaerus inscription).—44. *ἔθεσαν*. The extension of *-σαν* from the *σ*-aorist to forms like *ἔθεσαν*, *ἔδοσαν*, *ἐτίθεσαν*, *ἐλύθησαν*, etc., is peculiar to Attic-Ionic. Most other dialects have the more original *ἔθεν*, *ἔδον*, etc., while another secondary formation is seen in Boeot. *ἀνέθιαν*, Cypr. *κατέθιjαν*, Thess. *ὀνεθείκαεν*, etc.

45–48. Attic-Ionic and Arcadian (-Cyprian) characteristics.

45. *εἰ*. The conditional conjunction is *εἰ* only in Attic-Ionic and Arcadian; *ἠ* in Cyprian (it occurs also in Heraclean and Cretan, but not as the simple conditional); *αἰ* in all other dialects, namely Lesbian, Boeotian, Thessalian, and the West Greek dialects.

46. *ἄν*. In all dialects but Attic-Ionic and Arcadian the particle corresponding in use to *ἄν* is *κε* or *κα*. See above, 8. Even in Arcadian *κε* must have been employed once, as in Cyprian, and after its function was usurped by *ἄν*, it still appeared between *εἰ* and *ἄν*, where hiatus would otherwise result, e. g., *εἴ κ' ἄν* beside *εἰ δ' ἄν*. The introduction of *ἄν*, and perhaps of *εἰ*, both of which are Arcadian, but not Cyprian, is very probably to be ascribed to the influence (prehistoric) of the Ionic population which there is every reason to believe once occupied a part of the eastern coast of the Peloponnesus.

47. Infinitive in *-ναι*. Attic-Ionic *εἶναι*, *δοῦναι*, etc., Arc. *ἦναι*, etc., Cypr. *δοϝέναι*, *κυμερῆναι*. For the infinitive of such unthematic forms all other dialects have *-μεν* or closely related forms (*-μην*, *-μειν*, *-μεναι*).

48–54. Characteristics peculiar to Arcado-Cyprian.[1]

48. *ἰν*=*ἐν*. This appears uniformly in Arcadian and Cyprian, both alone and in compounds, and shows a change of *εν* to *ιν* which is now paralleled by *ἀπεχομινος*, *ἀπυδεδομιν*[*ος*=*ἀπεχομένους*, *ἀποδεδομένους*, in the

[1] To these should perhaps have been added the proper names in *-κρέτης* = *-κράτης*, which are usual in Arcadian and Cyprian (Hoffmann I, pp. 141 f.) but not surely attested elsewhere, though *κρέτος* is Lesbian (Hoffmann II, p. 309). A new example is *Σακρέτης* from Lusi, *Wiener Jahresheft* IV (1901), p. 65.

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early Mantinean inscription, Fougères *Mantinée*, pp. 523 ff., though its precise conditions are still obscure (cf. ἐδικάσαμεν in the same inscription). Elsewhere ιν is very rare, occurring only in some Cretan inscriptions of Eleutherna, and Vaxus, *SGDI.* 4954 (ινῆμεν), *ibid.* 5125 (ιν beside ἐν, ἴναντι; cf. ἰσς=ἐς, ἰς also in 5128), *ibid.* 5148. 8, and in an Achaean inscription, *SGDI.* 1643, according to the reading δὸς δὲ ϝ' ἰν ἀνθρόποις (see Schulze *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1890, col. 1439).

49. Genitive singular in -αν. This -ᾱν from -ᾱο is simply the most frequent and uniform manifestation of a change of final ο to ν, which in the case of ἀπύ=ἀπό is also Lesbian and Thessalian (see p. 274), but in the main is specifically Arcado-Cyprian, as in Arc. ἄλλυ=ἄλλο (also κατύ formed after ἀπύ), Cypr. γένοιτυ, ἐϝρᾱτάσατυ with middle ending -τυ=-το. Cf. also, though not a case of final ο, Cypr. ὀνέθᾱκε beside ὀνέθᾱκε, and Arc. ὀνέθυσε (see *Ath. Mitth.* XXI (1896), pp. 240 ff. and especially *ibid.* XXX (1905), pp. 65 f.),[1] both with ὀν from ὀν=ἀνά (see 68). The Pamphylian change of ο to υ is not parallel, being of much wider scope.

50. πός=πρός. This has the East Greek σ, but otherwise goes with ποτί rather than with προτί, πρός. See above, under 1. 4.

51. σὶς=τὶς. σὶς is the regular form in Cyprian (once τὶ in a metrical inscription), and in Arcadian σὶς and εἴϝε occur in the early Mantinean inscription, Fougères *Mantinée*, pp. 523 ff., the sibilant in these words being differentiated from the ordinary σ by the use of a simplified form of the san instead of the usual sigma. All other inscriptions have only τὶς. Compare also the Arcadian glosses ζέρεθρον=δέρεθρον and ζέλλω=δέλλω against the inscriptional ἐσδέλλοντες. Brugmann *Gr. Gram.*[3], p. 116 is inclined to assume a local variation within Arcadian. I believe on the contrary that the sibilant pronunciation was characteristic of Arcadian in general, as of Cyprian, and that τὶς and also καί (see below), though appearing too early to be due to the κοινή, are nevertheless due to external influence. But this involves a general problem of the early elimination of certain dialectic peculiarities by external influence, which I hope to discuss elsewhere.

52. κάς=καί. This, with occasional κα, is the regular form in Cyprian, but in Arcadian is quotable only from the early Mantinean inscription just cited, all other sources showing only καί. I assume that κάς was once general Arcadian as well as Cyprian, and was supplanted by καί under external influence. See above.

53. ὄνυ=ὄδε. Cypr. ὀνυ, τόν(ν)υ, Arc. τάνυ, τῶννυ, this last from the Mantinean inscription just cited. Here belong also τάννυν, τόσσυν in the late and mixed Arcadian inscription from Megalopolis, Kern *Inscr. von*

[1] I have no doubt whatever that *IGA.* 556 φομάρας ὀνέθᾱκε is also Arcadian, though the object may have reached the antiquarian market by way of Sparta or Elis, assuming that either of the two divergent reports as to its provenance is to be trusted.

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Magnesia 38. 48, 49=Ditt. *Syll.*² 258, only they are written here as if containing *νυν*, like *τίς νυν*, *τοίνυν*.

54. Dative with *ἀπύ*, etc. The dative instead of the usual genitive construction is attested for both Arcadian and Cyprian after *ἀπύ*, *ἐξ*, and *περί*, and for Arcadian, examples being lacking in Cyprian, after *ὑπέρ* and *ὑπό*. To the examples with *ἀπύ*, *ἐξ*, and in Arcadian with *περί*, which are given by Hoffmann I, pp. 307, 311, add now Arc. *περὶ τοινί* and *ὑπὸ ταῖ πόλι* from Kern *Inscr. von Magnesia* 38, 31, 47 (also in l. 8 *περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πάνσιν διαλεχθέσσι*, with confusion of the Arcadian and normal Greek construction), and *ὑπὲρ ταῖ τᾶς πόλιος ἐλευθερίαι BCH.* XVI (1892), p. 543. A similar construction in Pamphylian, and in Boeot. *προτηνί*, i. e., *πρὸ ται-νί* (*sc. ἀμέραι*), according to Meister *Sitzungsber. d. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1904, p. 9.

55–65. Aeolic characteristics.

55. *ἐμμί, στάλλα.* This stands for the whole group of words in which Lesbian and Thessalian show double nasals and liquids resulting from various consonant groups which in all other dialects yield a single nasal or liquid with lengthening of the preceding vowel, if short. For material, including, however, some that does not belong here, see Hoffmann II, pp. 479 ff.

Solmsen, *Rhein. Mus.* LVIII (1903), p. 623, note, suggests that the name of the mythical Ἰμμάραδος of Eleusis (Paus. i. 5. 2; 27. 4; 38. 3) belongs here and is evidence of a time when Aeolic was spoken in this region. See below, 65, on the Aeolic element in Corinth.

56. *ἴα=μία.* This is found only in Lesbian, Thessalian, and in Homer. Cretan *ἰός*, though doubtless related in form, is not a numeral, but has about the force of *ἐκεῖνος*. See *Class. Phil.* I, pp. 409 ff.

57. *ι* > *ϳ*. The consonantal pronunciation of antevocalic *ι*, which might occur anywhere in rapid speech, was especially characteristic of Lesbian and Thessalian, as manifested by the following phenomena. (1) Lesb. *ζ* from *δι* in *ζά*, *κάρζα*, *Ζόννυσος*, all from glosses or late inscriptions, the usual inscriptional spelling being *διά*, etc. *Ζιονί(σιος)* on a coin of Phocaea and other forms with *ζ* from Phocaean colonies in Sicily are among the linguistic evidences of what is naturally assumed from its situation, namely that Phocaea was originally Aeolic, not Ionic. The name of the Locrian *Ζάλευκος* may also be Aeolic. See Solmsen, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXXIV, pp. 554 ff. and *Rhein. Mus.* LIX, p. 493, footnote. Cf. also Cypr. *κορζία· καρδία* (Hesych.), etc. (2) Lesb. *μέτερρος* (Herodian) =*μέτριος*, the development being *τρι* > *τοϳ* > *τερϳ* > *τερρ*. For other examples, see Hoffmann II, pp. 320 f. (3) Thess. doubling of consonants before *ι*, which may then be retained or omitted in the spelling, e. g., *ἰδδίαν*, *πόλλιος*, *ἀργύρροι* beside *ἀργύριοι*, *κῦρρον* beside *κύριον*, *Μνασσᾶ*= *Μνασία*, *γυμνασσιαρχείσαντα*, etc. See Solmsen *Rhein. Mus.* LVIII, p. 612, with the literature cited. (4) Omission of *ι*, e. g., Lesb. *ἄργυρα=ἀργύρια*,

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Thess. τρακάδι=τριακάδι, Διοννύσσοι=Διοννυσίοι, etc. The supposed Boeotian parallels, Sadée *De Boeot. tit. dial.*, pp. 12 f., are doubtful. See Solmsen *Rhein. Mus.* LIX, pp. 492 ff.

58. καλέσσαι. The extension of σσ from τελέσσαι, etc., to short-vowel stems, as in καλέσσαι, ὁμόσσαι, etc., which has long been known as Lesbian and Homeric (see Schulze *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXXIII, pp. 126 ff.), is now attested for Boeotian also by σοννκαλέσσαντες, *Rev. ét. grec.* XII (1899), pp. 69 ff. In Thessalian there are no such forms, on the contrary ὁμόσαντες beside πάντεσσι, etc., which keep σσ uniformly.

59. φερέμεν. The extension of -μεν from τιθέμεν, etc., to thematic forms is as regular in Boeotain, as φερέμεν, γραφέμεν, etc., and in Thessalian of the Pelasgiotis, as ὑπαρχέμεν, πρασσέμεν, etc., while in the Thessaliotis we find the usual thematic formation as ἔχεν ἐξανακάδεν. Since εἰπέμεν, εἰπέμεναι occur also in Homer, we may reckon this among the Aeolic elements of Boeotian and Thessalian, in spite of the fact that Lesbian inscriptions have only ἔχην, etc.

60. ρε for ρι. An open pronunciation of ι after ρ in Lesbian and Thessalian is indicated by occasional spellings, such as Lesb. Δαμοκρέτω, Thess. κρεννέμεν. For other examples see Hoffmann II, p 320. A probable example of the same thing in Boeotian is τρέπεδδα, which occurs beside τράπεδδα. Cf. Hesych. τρίπεζαν· τὴν τράπεζαν. Βοιωτοί. So Schulze *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1897, p. 904. El. πόλερ=πόλις with ε before ρ, like αρ from ερ, probably has no genetic connection with the preceding, although physiologically related. Lesb. κέρνᾱν=κιρνάναι owes its κερ to ἐκέρασα, etc.

61. πέμπε=πέντε. This stands for the representation of an original labio-velar (likewise palatal + ɣ) before a front vowel by a labial instead of a dental, as in Lesb., Thess. πέμπε=πέντε, Lesb. πέσσυρες, Hom. πίσυρες, Boeot. πέτταρες=τέτταρες, etc. Examples are so numerous in Lesbian, Thessalian, and Boeotian, as to show that this is a phonetic development characteristic of these dialects, although the reasons for the divergent treatment in certain words, as τὶς, τε, τῑμά, etc., are still not satisfactorily cleared up. But Cypr. πείσει=τείσει is to be classed rather with the isolated instances of analogical substitution, such as may be found in any dialect (Att. βέλος, etc.). For all other evidence indicates that Arcado-Cyprian did not share in this Aeolic peculiarity.

The Thessalian examples are not only from the Pelasgiotis, but also from the Thessaliotis, e. g., in the Sotaerus inscription βελφαῖο =*Δελφαίου, Δελφινίου (cf. Lesb., Boeot. βελφοί=Δελφοί). In certain Boeotian proper names, such as Τελεφάνεις beside Πελεμάχω etc., Solmsen, *Rhein. Mus.* LIX, pp. 481 ff., thinks we should recognize forms inherited from the West-Greek constituent of the dialect and existing beside the usual Aeolic. But none of the clear examples are old enough to preclude the other possibility, also recognized by Solmsen, that they are due to the influence of the forms current in most other dialects and in the

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κοινή. And in the present state of the evidence this appears to me more probable.

62. Perfect participle in -ων. The thematic inflection of the perfect active participle, as in Hom. κεκλήγοντες, is regular in Lesbian, Boeotian, and Thessalian (both East and West), e. g., Lesb. κατεληλύθοντος, Boeot. ϝεϝυκονομειόντουν, δεδώωση (nom. pl. fem.), Thess. πεφειράκοντες (Larissa), ἑπεστάκοντα (Cierium), etc. The feminine forms in -ουσα which occur elsewhere, e. g., δεδωκούσας in later Delphian, represent a more restricted phenomenon which is quite independent of the preceding. See Solmsen *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXXIX, p. 215.

A late inscription of Cyrene published by Fränkel, from a copy of Fourmont, in the *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1903, pp. 83 ff., contains προγεγονοίσαις, which is identical with the Lesbian feminine forms, even to the οισ from ονσ, of which the present participle ἀνήκοισαν in the same inscription furnishes another example. But, while the previously known τελεσφορέντες (see 69) has prepared us for "Aeolisms" in the widest sense at Cyrene, that is, characteristics which are Achaean as well as Aeolic, I see no possibility of viewing προγενοίσαις in the same light, since neither the thematic inflection of the perfect participle nor the change of ονσ to οις can be Achaean (cf. Arcadian), and the latter is not even common to the Aeolic dialects but purely Lesbian (in Elean only in the case of final -νς). One would have to assume rather, with Fränkel, *loc. cit.*, that there were Aeolians from Lesbos or vicinity among the islanders who, according to Herod. iv. 161, formed part of the population of Cyrene. But I cannot conceal my suspicion that the language of the inscription in question, which belongs to the Roman period, is artificial, and that, while it contains genuine native forms, as the accusative plural in -ος, the participles cited no more belong to the dialect of Cyrene than do ἄμμε, διαλεχθέσσι, etc. in the Megalopolis inscription, Kern *Inschr. von Magnesia* 38, to Arcadian.

63. The use of the patronymic adjective instead of the genitive singular of the father's name. This is a characteristic of Lesbian, Thessalian, and Boeotian, of which there are almost countless examples. For certain general classes of exceptions, see especially Sadée *De Boeot. tit. dial.*, pp. 17 ff., Solmsen *Rhein. Mus.* LVIII, pp. 603 ff., LIX, pp. 596 ff. There are also some instances of the use of the genitive in Thessalian and Boeotian which Solmsen, *loc. cit.*, ascribes to the non-Aeolic, West Greek, element in these dialects, and in the case of Thessalian he thinks that this non-Aeolic type prevailed in the West. But, while for several other phenomena he has clearly established such a distribution, the material is not sufficiently decisive here. The Sotaerus inscription has the genitive, but until there is additional evidence that this represents the normal type in the Thessaliotis, it will not be clear that the numerous examples of the patronymic in later inscriptions of Cierium itself, in Pharsalus, etc., are late encroachments from the East.

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In Thessalian and Boeotian there are also examples of such adjectives being used in agreement with appellatives, in place of a genitive of possession, as Thess. Πολυξεναία ἐμμί (sc. ἀ στάλλα) Hoffmann II. 42, Boeot. Γοργίνιός ἔμὶ ὁ κότυλος Rolfe *Harvard Studies* II, p. 89, Καλ(λ)ιαία ἔμὶ (sc. ἀ κύλιξ) τô κέντρōνος (note the genitive in apposition with that implied by the adjective) Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1896, p. 243 (where two other examples are cited),

64. ἀγρέω=αἱρέω. Lesb. ἀγρέθεντες *SGDI.* 214. 33, ἀγρέθεντα *ibid.* 215. 49, ἀγρέσιος *ibid.* 215. 31 (reading not quite certain, but γ probable). καταγρέντον *ibid.* 214. 15, προαγρημμένω *ibid.* 311. 6; καταγ[ρέ]θημ *ibid.* 213. 13 (where the far less probable καταγ[νώ]θημ is given in the text; καταγ[ρέ]θημ is preferred in *IG.* XII. ii. 1). Elean ἐξαγρεῖον *SGDI.* 1156. The Thessalian form is ἀνγρέω with unexplained nasal and spiritus asper (contamination with some other verb ?), seen in ἐφανγρένθειν *SGDI.* 345. 41, προανγρέσ[ι] *ibid.* 361 B. 14, ἀνγρέσιος Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1901, p. 134.

All these are precisely equivalent in meaning to the corresponding forms of αἱρέω and its derivatives, except that Thess. ἐφανγρένθειν has a force which is not quotable for the rare ἐφαιρέομαι, namely, =ἐπιλαμβάνονται, κατηγοροῦνται (cf. κατηγορεῖν in l. 38). It is this use of the verb as a substitute for the αἱρέω of other dialects, and not the mere form ἀγρέω, that is of significance. This has been very properly emphasized by Schulze *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1897, p. 875, but has been ignored in most discussions. So Gerstenhauer "De Alcaei et Sapphonis copia vocabulorum" (*Diss. Hal.* XII, pp. 178 ff.) says: "ἀγρεῖν non solum apud Aeolos, sed omnibus in dialectis praeter usitatius αἱρεῖν vetere aetate usurpatum esse iam pridem cognitum est." But of the forms cited by Bergk *Griech. Litteraturgeschichte* I, p. 58, note, and others, most of them glosses, some are clearly derived from ἀγρέω in its original, pregnant, sense of 'catch, seize,' e. g., Boeot. ἀγρεμόνες· θηρευταί (Hesych.), and in some the force of the verb is quite obscure. The force of αἱρέω is beyond question in παλινάγρετος Hom., Hes., etc., αὐτάγρετος Hom., Simon. Am. and αὐταγρεσίη Callim., but it is quite possible that these poetical forms, as well as the use of ἀγρέω in Archil. 4. 3 and Aesch. *Ag.* 126 (lyric passage), are of Aeolic origin. The meaning 'choose' seems also most appropriate in Lac. ἱπταγρέται, and Coan ἀγρεταί, if properly defined by Hesychius. (For Lac. ἱπταγρέται and some others, Schulze *loc. cit.* assumes ἀγρέω = ἄγω, as in Hom. ἄγρει. But the exclamatory ἄγρει in Homer, though equivalent to ἄγε, need not be separated from ἀγρέω 'catch,' and does not entitle us to assume that the verb was otherwise used in the sense of ἄγω.) It is quite possible that in various dialects ἀγρέω was occasionally used in the sense of αἱρέω. But there is no evidence as yet that it was the regular substitute for it in any other dialects than Lesbian, Thessalian, and Elean.

65. ποδέσσι. I have discussed the distribution of this type of dative in the *Class. Rev.* XIX (1905), pp. 249 ff., and have shown that, while it

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is often spoken of as Doric as well as Aeolic, the only occurrences in Doric are from Corinthian colonies. But in place of the suggestion that these might be due to a popular adoption of the epic form, I would now prefer a privately expressed opinion of Solmsen, that they represent an Aeolic element in Corinthian, which the statement of Thuc. iv. 42, Δωριῆς τὸ πάλαι ἱδρυθέντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει Κορινθίοις ἐπολέμουν οὖσιν Αἰολεῦσι, justifies us in assuming.

This is the only one of the Aeolic peculiarities given in the chart which is found in Phocian. For some other possible traces of an Aeolic element in Phocian (ταγός, δίδημι, κεραίομαι), see Solmsen *Kühn's Zeitsch.* XXXIV, p. 555, XXXIX, pp. 212, 216.

66–71. These peculiarities are "Aeolic" in the widest sense, that is Aeolic and Achaean (Arcado-Cyprian), some of them appearing also as survivals in certain West Greek dialects.

66. δέκοτος=δέκατος. This is Arcadian and Lesbian, as confirmed now by *IG.* XII. ii. 82. It is presumably Cyprian also, and possibly Thessalian, but examples are lacking. Arcadian has also δέκο(δυόδεκο) and *hεκοτόν*, both in Hoffmann I. 29, and Lesbian also ἐνο[τος] *IG.* XII. ii. 83. In the note to *IG.* XII. ii. 82 the editor speaks of E standing for ἔκοτον. It is probable that this was the Lesbian form, but, so far as I know, it is not quotable. Many class δέκοτος with στρότος, etc. (below, 70), but as the matter is uncertain, I have preferred to give it a separate place. Aside from the theory of assimilation, which is unsatisfactory, it is possible to regard the ο as a further extension of the analogical ο which is more widespread in the case of εἴκοσι (2).

67. ὀν(ὐν)=ἀνά. ὀν- is the usual form in Lesbian, Thessalian (Pelasgiotis; ἀν- in the Thessaliotis, as Hoffmann II. 63 from Cierium, *Mon. Antichi.* VIII (1898), p. 66 from Pharsalus), and Cyprian, while ὐν- from ὀν- occurs once in Cyprian, and in Arcadian. See 49. Examples of ἀνά in these dialects are due to κοινή influence. This ὀν is often grouped with cases like στρότος, etc. (below, 70), and perhaps correctly.

68. ἀπύ=ἀπό. See 49.

69. φίλημι. The unthematic inflection of the contract verbs, often known as the Aeolic inflection, is characteristic of Lesbian, Thessalian (Pelasgiotis; but *hυλōρέοντος* in the Sotaerus inscription and so perhaps regularly in the Thessaliotis), Arcadian, and Cyprian. For material, to which some additions can now be made, as Arc. κυένσαν Ἐφ Ἀρχ., 1898, pp. 248 ff., ποίενσι Kern *Inschr. von Magnesia* 38. 34, see Hoffmann I, pp. 263 ff., II, pp. 574 ff. The supposed Boeotian forms of this type quoted from grammarians by Meister I, pp. 276 ff., find no support in the inscriptions, which show the usual type (στραταγίοντος, etc.). φίλειμι, ποίειμι, etc., are simply Lesbian forms put into Boeotian spelling and are no more genuine than ἴστειμι. The "Aeolic" οἴκεντι, φίλεντι, while they cannot be Lesbian, need not therefore be Boeotian. They may be Thessalian.

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τελεσφορέντες in an inscription of Cyrene *SGDI.* 4837, represents a direct importation from Arcadia according to Blass *SGDI.* III, p. 196, who supposes that the Peloponnesian colonists, who with the Cretans constituted the second phyle established by Demonax (Herod. iv. 161(,consisted largely of Arcadians. But it is at least equally probable that the type was brought to Cyrene by the original colonists from Thera, and is to be added to the other evidences of a pre-Doric (Achaean) element in Thera. The fact that no such forms are quotable from Thera itself is not a serious objection to this view, in the meager state of the material.

In Elean, which otherwise has the usual thematic inflection (ποιέ͞ον, ποιέαι, etc.) occur also συλαί͞ε, and, in the amnesty-decree, Solmsen *Insc. select.* 40, δαμοσιοία (=-οιη) and δαμοσιῶμεν. The two optatives may be viewed in the same light as Attic-Ionic μισθοίην, etc. (Brugmann *Gr. Gram.*[2], pp. 339 f.), and so do not necessarily imply the existence of the more general unthematic type. The infinitive in -ωμεν, which is seen also in Cret. [δ]αμιῶμεν, ζαμιῶμεν *SGDI.* 4985, 5125, perhaps also represents a restricted extension of unthematic forms, the limits of which are not yet clear.

70. στροτός=στρατός. This stands for the whole series of forms in which ρο or ορ, λο or ολ, appear in place of usual ρα, αρ, λα, αλ. The most numerous examples are in Lesbian, for which see Hoffmann II, pp. 355 ff. There are also some few Homeric forms which belong here, as ἤμβροτον=ἤμαρτον (Lesb. ἀμβρ[ό]τηι Hoffmann II. 82 is surely =ἁμαρτεῖν), probably ἄορ, ἀορτήρ (see Solmsen *Untersuchungen zu griech. Laut- und Verslehre*, p. 292).[1] στροτός is attested for Boeotian by στροτιώτης, ἐστροτεύαθη, and numerous proper names (see Index to *IG.* VII); στρατ-αγίοντος and names containing στρατός, while conceivably the West Greek forms, are best attributed to κοινή influence. πόρνοψ=πάρνοψ is quoted as Boeotian by Strabo xiii. 613. ἐροτός=ἐρατός and βροχύς=βραχύς are attested by proper names in both Boeotian and Thessalian. See Sadée *De Boeot. tit. dial.*, pp. 10 f. πορνάμεν· πωλεῖν from Hesychius is claimed as Thessalian by Schulze *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1897, p. 873, but I see no reason why it may not equally well be Boeotian or taken from some literary Aeolic source (with -μεν, as in Homer, beside -μεναι). In Arcadian we have ἐφθορκώς=ἐφθαρκώς, and πανάγορσις=πανήγυρις, with which compare West Ion., ἄγαρρις *IG.* XIV. 759 (Naples). Cyprian κατε͞ργον is probably *κατε͞ραργον, aorist of *κατ-ερέργω (κατείργω). Hesychius cites κορζία=καρδία and στροπά=ἀστραπή as Cyprian (also στορπά as Arcadian).

Some similar forms occur also in West Greek dialects, especially derivatives of γράφω. Thus γροφεύς in Elis (beside γράφος), Argolis (Argos, Mycenae, Epidaurus), and in Sicyon (Kern *Inschr. von Magnesia*, p. 41);

[1] Here belongs βροτός for *βρατός (cf. Skt. *mṛtá-*). As a purely poetical word it has survived only in its Homeric, that is, in this case Aeolic, form. μορτός (Hesych., Callim.) is probably also Aeolic.

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in Argolis also γροφίς, γροφεύω, ἀγγροφά, ἐγγροφά, σύγγροφος (see especially *IG.* IV. 1484, 1485 from Epidaurus) but γράσσμα = γράμμα; Heracl. ἀνεπίγροφος; Cret. ἀπόγροφον, ἔγγροφον; Mel. Γρόφων (so, not γρόφων, in *SGDI* 4871, no less than in 4872; see following). But we find only γραφ- in verb-forms, even in the same inscriptions which contain nouns in γροφ-. Cf. also Cret., Epid. καταλοβεύς 'support' = *καταλαβεύς, and Cret. ἀβλοπία = ἀβλαβία (cf. Hesychius ἀβλοπές· ἀβλαβές, Κρῆτες).

The uncertainty as to the real history of forms like στροτός (see Brugmann *Gr. Gram.*[3], p. 68 with literature cited) makes it difficult to decide whether all the examples cited are of equal significance. Many of them, considered by themselves, might easily be regarded as inherited *o*-grade forms. But it is obvious that where the examples are so numerous as in Lesbian some special phonetic development must be involved, though the more precise conditions are still obscure. And I am fully satisfied that not only the Boeotian and Thessalian, but also the Arcadian and Cyprian examples, are to be viewed in the same light. In the case of γροφεύς, etc., there is more ground for the suspicion of having to do merely with an inherited *o*-grade, partly because of their provenance, partly because of the restriction to derivatives. Nevertheless I am inclined to believe that the resemblance of these forms to those in Lesbian, etc., is not accidental, and to reckon them among the pre-Doric survivals in West Greek.

It is still more difficult to estimate the significance of certain other forms which show *o* in place of usual *a*. Thus, besides Lesb., Arc. δέκοτος, Arc. *h*εκοτόν, etc., and Lesb., Thess., Arc., Cypr., ὀν=ἀνά, which have been mentioned above (66, 67), we find Heracl. τοφιών 'grave,' Delph. ἐντοφήια 'burial rites' (cf. τάφος), and κοθαρός=καθαρός in Heracl., Sybaris, Locr. (Περ)οθαριᾶν), κόθαρσις in Elean.

71. πεδά=μετά. This is Lesbian, Boeotian, Arcadian (presumably also Thessalian and Cyprian, but not yet quotable), Argive, Cretan, and Theran. In all these it is clearly the genuine form of the dialect, being displaced by μετά only in later times under κοινή influence. Πεδαγείτνιος or Πεταγείτνιος = Att. Μεταγείτνιος is also Megarian, Rhodian, Coan, and Calymnian, which have only μετά used alone, though all examples are late enough to be κοινή. For full material see Miss Kellermann *Syntax of Some Prepositions in the Greek Dialects*, pp. 56 ff., supplementing the Argive examples by πεδ' ἰαρόν, πεδάγαγον, *BCH.* XXVII (1903), pp. 270 ff.

The distribution of πεδά and μετά, forms of totally distinct origin, may, of course, be accidental, but is such as to make probable at least the view, long since urged by Hoffmann *De mixtis Graec. ling. dial.*, p. 8, that the preference for πεδά was an Aeolic-Achaean characteristic, and is to be regarded as a pre-Doric survival in Argos, Crete, etc.

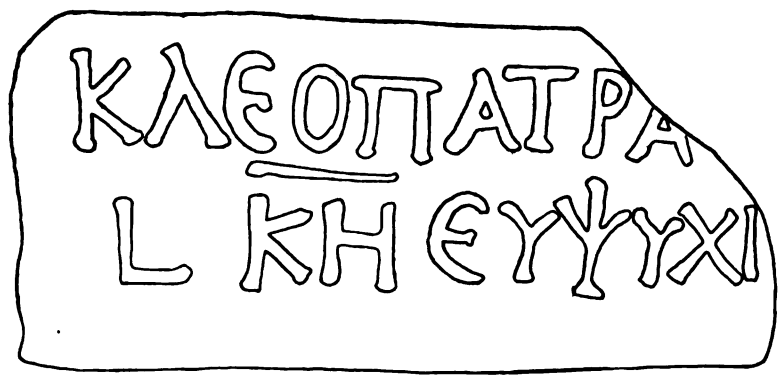
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FIELD MUSEUM INSCRIPTIONS

By Edgar J. Goodspeed

The Field Columbian Museum has recently received from Mr. S. L. James, of Chicago, a collection of Egyptian antiquities. (Accession 955). These objects were secured by Mr. James's father in the course of a visit to Egypt made some years ago, and were sent by him to Chicago, where they remained stored away until his death in 1903, when his heirs turned them over to the Field Museum. From certain tickets and papers accompanying the collection it appears that it was formerly located at Sidi Gâber, between Alexandria and Ramleh, where it was exhibited in connection with a reputed Tomb of Cleopatra.[1] Doubtless some woman of that name was buried there, witness the first inscription that appears below. The chief treasure of the collection is a superb stone sarcophagus of the first century after Christ. Among the objects included in the collection three or four are of interest for Greek and Latin epigraphy.

1. Marble tablet with epitaph. (26767). 12.5×26×2.2 cm. Found probably near Sidi Gâber about 1888. The upper right



Κλεοπάτρα
(ἐτῶν) κη εὐψύχι.

[1] On ancient tombs near Sidi Gâber cf. H. Thiersch *Zwei Grabanlagen bei Alexandria* (Berlin: Reimer, 1904); also *American Journal of Archaeology*, II Series, VIII, p. 468. The tombs there described are assigned to early Ptolemaic times.

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hand corner is broken off, but no letters seem to have been lost. The letters are rudely cut.

It would seem to have been this tablet that encouraged the Egyptian owners of the collection to describe the site where they exhibited it as the tomb of Cleopatra. The disposition to connect Sidi Gâber with the name of Cleopatra appears also in the proposed identification of the colossal Osiris and Isis heads, said to have been found there sixty years ago and still lying in a field there, as representing Antony and Cleopatra.

L. 2. L. εὐψύχει "farewell" as frequently in mummy labels and epitaphs; cf. Εὐψύχει, Βάσιλλα· οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος. (*Anthol. Pal.* 402.)

2. Marble fragments 5×7 cm. Found probably near Sidi Gâber, about 1888.



. . . .
] . [
]CЄBA[
]ЄWC[
]AC[
. . . .

Lines 2–3 may represent

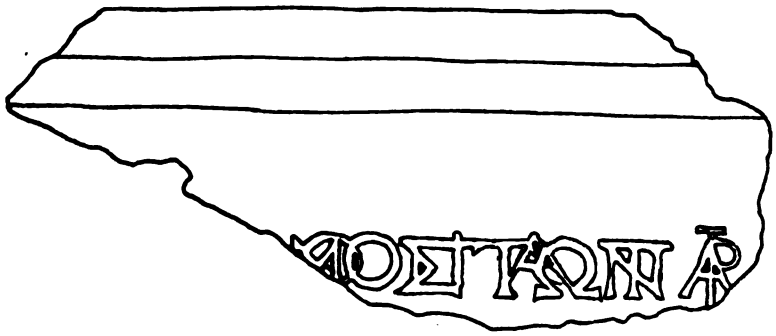
σεβα[στοῦ
βασιλ]έως [

but other restorations are quite as possible.

Line 4 should perhaps be read]λε[

3. Fragment of bluish marble, from the top of a tablet, of which the molded upper edge is preserved. (26766.) Cm. 17.8×7.6×6.3. Found probably near Sidi Gâber, about 1888.

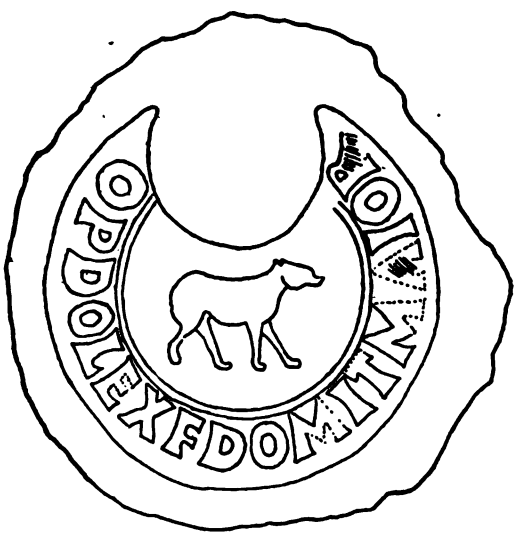
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]MOΣ TΩN A[

]OΠATP The latter inscription is in larger letters, less deeply cut, and was perhaps the earlier. The former suggests ὁ δῆ]μος τῶν Ἀ[λεξανδρέων, and the tablet may have recorded a decree of Alexandria.

4. Stamped brick. (26768). Roman. Color, light reddish-brown. Second century A. D. 12×13×4 cm.



Op(us) dol(iare) ex f(iglinis) Domit(ianis) maior(ibus).

Cf. *CIL.* XV. I. No. 169 *a* (p. 56) of the same volume has this stamp, of which eleven specimens are there noted. The

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date is in the time of Marcus or Commodus, 161–93 A. D. (p. 46). The emblem in the center is a dog or wolf. The crescent measures 10.7 cm. in diameter. This stamp does not appear among those recently found in the débris of a part of the Aurelian Wall at Rome, and catalogued by Messrs. Pfeiffer, Van Buren and Armstrong ("Stamps on Bricks and Tiles from the Aurelian Wall at Rome," *Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome* I, pp. 1–86).

While this stamped brick came to the Field Museum as part of Mr. James's Egyptian collection, and thus presumably from Sidi Gâber near Ramleh, it is altogether probable that the brick was secured by Mr. James himself in the vicinity of Rome, and simply forwarded with the Egyptian collection to Chicago. Not a few of the registered specimens of this type were found, it would appear, at about the time of Mr. James's visit to Rome.

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TRAVEL IN ANCIENT TIMES AS SEEN IN PLAUTUS AND TERENCE. II

By Charles Knapp

War travel.—A good deal of travel was done in connection with warfare. As one notes the allusions in Plautus and Terence to the miles gloriosus or to the young men who go campaigning, he recalls the expeditions described in the Greek historians, and begins to realize the extent to which the citizen soldiery of Athens and the soldier of fortune became acquainted, through wars, with the outside world.

According to the *Captivi* the Aetolians are at war with the Eleans (24, 25, 58 ff., 93–96, 246, 330, etc.). The Aetolians had made a raid into Elis and had taken many prisoners; the Eleans, too, had taken captives. Among the latter is Philopolemus, Hegio's son (24–26, 94–102, 330–36, etc.). Hegio buys Elean captives, hoping to find some one for whom he can exchange his son (27–34, 110–15, 125–27, 508–13, 752, 767). With two of the captives thus purchased the play is concerned (27–34, 98–101, 110–15, etc.). Presently, by arrangement with Hegio, one of the captives departs for Elis to effect the desired exchange (330–413, 432–38, 449 ff., etc.). He succeeds in his mission, brings back Hegio's captive son, and returns to Aetolia, all in one day (872–94, 922–1029).[1]

In *Cur.* 438–48 Curculio explains why the miles has not come in person for the meretrix: "It is only three days since the soldier and I arrived in Caria from India; he stayed there to have a statue of himself . . . . set up to commemorate his exploits, because Persas, Paphlagonas, Sinopas, Arabos, Caras, Cretanos, Syros, Rhodiam, atque Lyciam, Perediam et Perbibesiam, Centauromachiam et Classiam Unomammiam, Libyamque oram omnem, omnem Conterebromniam, dimidiam partem nationum usque omnium subegit solus intra viginti dies." The parasite talks in

[1] In the *Amphitruo* constant reference is made to war between Thebes and the Teloboae (188–262, 100–41, 413–19, etc.).

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the spirit of the miles gloriosus; Lyco's comment is nugas blatis (452).[1] In 392–400 the parasite is hailed as unoculus; in 505, 543, 546 he is luscus. Cf. his explanation: catapulta hoc ictum est mihi apud Sicyonem (394); in 399, 400 he hints that he had suffered thus ob rem publicam, though Lyco suggests a different explanation in 395, 396.

According to *Ep.* 46, 206, 271, 272, 414–16, 508, 509, Stratippocles has been with the Athenian army on a campaign to Thebes; meanwhile he sent letters repeatedly to Athens (see below, under "Letters"). For his return see 41 ff., 104 ff., 156, 157, 414–16, for his slave's, 1–24. See also 273. The army, too, is back, disbanded (208–12); the streets are full of soldiers, arma and iumenta (209), and captives (210, 211). People are out to greet their sons (211, 212); the meretrices are welcoming the soldiers (213–22, 236–53). At Thebes, Stratippocles had bought a captive from the booty of this campaign, for forty minae (43–46, 51–52 *a*, 64–74, 90 *a*–93, 122, 123, 646, etc.). To pay for her he had borrowed money from a danista at Thebes (53, 54, 71, 251–54). The danista has come with him to Athens to get his money (55); he keeps the girl until he receives his money (607, 608, 620–34, 646, 647).[2] At 526 Philippa enters, looking for her daughter (the captive referred to above).[3] At 634 ff. Epidicus recognizes the captive instantly as daughter of Periphanes, father of Stratippocles.[4]

[1] The parasite had, in fact, not been with the miles at all; yet, behind the exaggeration of his utterance and that underlying similar passages (*Mi.* 24, 25, 44–46, 52, 53) lies the truth that devotion to warfare caused many a man to journey widely.

[2] We have here two motives for travel combined, war and business; cf. again the letter in *Persa* 503–8. Thucydides (vi. 31. 5) reckons as part of the outlay on the original Sicilian expedition the things which ἐπὶ μεταβολῇ τις ἢ στρατιώτης ἢ ἔμπορος ἔχων ἔπλει. Cf. his account in vii. 13. 2 of desertions and other misconduct on the part of those who had joined the expedition ὑπὸ μεγάλου μισθοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπαρθέντες καὶ οἰόμενοι χρηματιεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μαχεῖσθαι. Some of them had deserted to Syracuse, some had run away into Sicily; εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καί, αὐτοὶ ἐμπορευόμενοι, ἀνδράποδα Τκκαρικὰ ἀντεμβιβάσαι ὑπὲρ σφῶν πείσαντες τοὺς τριηράρχους τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἀφῆρηνται.

[3] Cf. 532, 561, 562, 602.

[4] The explanations attending the ἀναγνώρισις throw more light on travel. Periphanes had, years before, been in Epidaurus. There mulierem (Philippa) compresserat; of this union a child had been born, our captive, Telestis (see 635, 636, 540–42, 550–61). Telestis sata est Epidauri, Thebis nata est (635, 636). From 554–57 we infer

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The *Eunuchus* contains more evidence of travel beyond seas than does any other play of Terence, because two familiar motives, the miles and his amours and the kidnaped child (pp. 286–89), are combined. The miles brags (397 ff.) about his services to an unnamed rex (cf. 401–8). In 410 ff. he says: invidere omnes mihi, mordere clanculum . . . . verum unus tamen inpense, elephantis quem Indicis praefecerat. Once at this king's court he had routed in a duel of wits a Rhodian soldier (420–28). At 759 it appears that our miles, though now in Athens, is a peregrinus. He had gone from Athens to Caria; on his way back he stopped at Rhodes, in time to buy the girl in whom Thais is interested (125–36).[1]

Somewhat akin to journeys on errands connected with war is travel by legati publice missi. In the *Miles* a soldier carries off

that Epidaurus was the *patria* of Philippa; why or when she went to Thebes the play does not indicate.

Yet other indications of travel belli causa are seen in this play. At 153–55 we read of a miles Euboicus now in Athens, at 299, 300 of a miles Rhodius also there (cf. 437 ff.). In 449–52 the Rhodian refers to Periphanes as nempe quem in adulescentia memorant apud reges armis, arte duellica divitias magnas indeptum? In 492 he says to him: bellator, vale. In 431–47 Periphanes alludes to his own youthful career as a soldier, quite in the spirit of the miles gloriosus. Indeed, in this talk K. Schmidt (*Hermes* XXXVII, pp. 202, 208) finds the explanation of the puzzling term Platenius, added to the name Periphanes in 438, 448 (he connects Platenius with πλάττω = fingo: "Unser Periphanes gehört also zum Geschlecht der Πλάθανοι, der 'Prahlhänse,' wie Theodoromedes zum genus Polyplusium").

In *Ps.* 1169–71 Harpax, now in Athens, explains that he had been domi imperator summus, but that the soldier by his prowess had captured him in battle.

[1] Less specific references to foreign military service are common. *Mo.* 129–32 seem to imply that going out ad legionem was the normal thing as a boy came to early manhood. At Athens the adulescens served first at home as ephebus. Then came his foreign service. In *Ad.* 495, 496 Hegio says of himself and the girl's father: una semper militiae et domi fuimus. Young men often go militatum, in militiam, or threaten to do so, or their friends fear they will go off thus. In the *Heauton* Clinia is driven in militiam, in Asiam, by his father (93–117, etc.); he returns, however, after three months (118). In 486–89 Chremes tells Menedemus that under certain circumstances Clinia will threaten to go off again (cf. 480, 543, 544). See also 754–56, 924–29. Menedemus in his youth had gone soldiering in Asiam, because he was poor (110–12). From *Ad.* 274, 275 we see that Ctesipho has talked of running off e patria. At 384, 385 Demea says: videre videor iam diem illum, quom hinc egens profugiet (Aeschines) aliquo militatum. In *Tr.* 595–99 Stalagmus declares that if his master loses the ager, he will have to turn soldier, for ecfugiet (erus) ex urbe . . . . latrocinatum, aut in Asiam aut in Ciliciam. Cf. 698–703, 719–26. In *Mi.* 72–77 the soldier declares that at the request of king Seleucus he had enrolled latrones; at 947–50 he states that he had sent his parasite with these latrones to Seleucus. Cf. also *Poe.* 663 ff.: nam hic latro in Sparta fuit, ut quidem ipse nobeis dixit, apud regem Attalum. See further Brix on *Tr.* 599, *Mi.* 499.

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a meretrix from Athens to Ephesus, while the girl's Athenian lover is away at Naupactus as legatus (102, 103, arg. i. 3, ii. 1–3). In *St.* 470 ff. Epignomus declines to invite the parasite to dinner, because he is to have as guests oratores populi, summates viri (nine in number: 487, 490); Ambracia veniunt huc legati publice (490, 491). In *Tru.* 91, 92 Diniarchus says: nam ego Lemno advenio Athenas . . . . legatus quo hinc cum puplico imperio fui.[1]

Travel by meretrices, etc.—Voluntary or involuntary journeys by meretrices, usually in the company of a miles, are not infrequently mentioned. In the *Miles* a soldier takes a meretrix, a woman ingenua et libera (arg. ii. 1), by force from Athens to Ephesus. Her lover was at Naupactus, as legatus. His slave sets out from Athens to carry to him news concerning the meretrix (114–19), but is captured by pirates, taken to Ephesus, and given to the soldier (118–20, arg. i. 3–4, arg. ii. 4–6). He sends a letter to Athens, to his master, by quidam mercator (129–31, arg. i. 5, arg. ii. 7); the master comes to Ephesus (95–137, arg. i. 6, 7, ii. 4–9). He tarries at the house of a paternus hospes (135, 635, 674–76, etc.). The scheme by which the Athenian sought to recover the meretrix is for us suggestive; it consists in the assertion that her twin sister, with her lover and her mother, had also come from Athens (287–347, 383–85, 411–14, etc.). The Athenian recovers the meretrix; with the slave the lovers go back to Athens (936–39, 1097–1103, 1145, 1146, 1184–93, 1311 ff.).

In the *Bacchides* Mnesilochus, while on a business trip to Ephesus, stops at Samos (472), and there loves a meretrix, Bacchis. After his departure a soldier, a peregrinus (1009), bargains with her for a year (42–46, 58–61, 104, 222–27; 573–76, 706, 1096–98), and takes her to Athens (574). Mnesilochus hears of this and sends a letter to a friend at Athens, begging him to find Bacchis (389–91, 188–96, 200, 367, 390, 391). When the play, as we have it, begins, Bacchis has but just arrived in Athens (94–106, 473), but is eager to return to Samos (43), supposing, no doubt, that Mnesilochus will look for her there. At Athens she had found her sister, of like name and trade with her-

[1] Cf. 355, 356, 127, 184, 185.

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self; by permission of the soldier she goes to visit that sister and then refuses to leave her. The soldier declares that unless she returns his money he will take her to Elatia, in Phocis (589–91).

In *Mer.* 644 ff. Charinus, in despair about his love affairs, declares that he will exile himself from Athens: quam capiam civitatem cogito potissimum: Megares, Eretriam, Corinthum, Chalcidem, Cretam, Cyprum, Sicyonem, Cnidum, Zacynthum, Lesbiam, Boeotiam. In 857–63 he announces that he will find his love or die. In 932 ff., in a passage which seems to be a parody of some tragedy, he talks as if wholly insane, declaring that he will go in his search first to Cyprus (933), then to Chalcis (939). Indeed, in his delirium he fancies himself at these places in turn; at Chalcis he meets a hospes from Zacynthus, who tells him that the girl is in Athens (940–45). Thither he returns (946, 947).

The *Pseudolus* is laid in Athens. A Macedonian soldier (51, 346, 1152, 1209, 1210) had been in Athens (51–53, 616–19), had bought a meretrix, paying the purchase price, save five minae, and had then left Athens, with the understanding that the girl should be delivered to his messenger when the latter came with the five minae and a proper symbolus (51–59, 344–46, 616–19, etc.). The soldier seems now to be in Sicyon (995, 996, 1098, 1173–75). Presently his cacula, Harpax, comes to get the girl. Pseudolus outwits him, gets the all-important symbolus, and hires a sycophanta to play the rôle of Harpax (this sycophanta was a slave who only the day before had come for the first time to Athens, from Carystus: 727–30, 737). At 993–96 the Pseudo-Harpax, who is come to get the girl, urges the leno to make haste, because on the next day he must be at Sicyon. At 1173 the real Harpax appears; he explains that he had left Sicyon two days before; at this Ballio exclaims: strenue hercle iisti (1175).[1]

[1] Some incidental references to travel in connection with love affairs may be grouped here. In the *Truculentus* the arrival in Athens of a miles Babyloniensis, lover of the meretrix, is momentarily expected (84, 85, 413, 417, 474, 203, 204). A message from him has come (203, 204). He arrives presently (482), after an absence of nine or ten months (595, 596). In *Cis.* 578, 579 Gymnasium's mother, in a lie, declares that the meretrix Melaenis avecta est peregre hinc habitatum. Lampadio replies: quo avecta est, eo sequemur (580). The events of the *Rudens* spring out of the leno's attempt to move, with all his possessions, including the meretrices, from Cyrene to Sicily (49–63, etc.). Thais' mother, though a Samian, was resident in Rhodes (*Eun.*

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Travels of kidnaped children.—We turn now to consider the travels of persons stolen in childhood by runaway slaves or carried off by pirates and kidnapers (praedones); such persons sometimes undergo remarkable experiences. Years afterward their kinsmen journey widely in search of them.

Of the two captives with whom the *Captivi* has primarily to do, one, Tyndarus, was in reality son of Hegio; twenty years before (980) a runaway slave had carried him off to Elis and had sold him into slavery there. Philocrates, while in Elis seeking to effect an exchange of prisoners, happens on this slave and brings him to Aetolia; through him the identity of Tyndarus is established (759–61, 873–76, 880, 4–10, 972–92, 1010–14, 17–23).

In the *Poenulus* a boy stolen from Carthage when seven years old is brought to Anactorium in Acarnania and thence to Calydon in Aetolia (64–67, 72, arg. 1-3). The boy is sold (73, 74); the purchaser presently adopts him (76, 77, 1038, 1056–77). In 896 ff. Syncerastus explains how his master, the leno, had bought two sisters and their nurse at Anactorium, de praedone Siculo (897);[1] the man who sold them had explained that they had been

107); hence Thais came to Athens with a lover (119, 120). In *Ph.* 510, 511 the leno declares that he has sold Pamphila to a miles (532); she is to go from Athens (517, 518, 548). Phaedria declares that he will follow her to the ends of the earth (549–54). In *Hec.* 85–87 we learn that a meretrix has been for two years with a soldier at Corinth, pining all the time for Athens (88–93). In *Cis.* 143, 144 there is a reference to an amator peregrinus of a Sicyonian meretrix.

Of value also to us is such a passage as *Ep.* 279, 280, where Epidicus urges Periphanes, after he buys the girl, to remove her aliquo ex urbe. So at 470 Periphanes, thinking he has sold this girl to a miles, bargains that the miles shall take her ex hoc agro. In *Mer.* 353–55 Charinus fears that if his father shall learn the truth about the ancilla, trans mare hinc venum asportet. In *And.* 381, 382 Davus tells Pamphilus that, if he holds out against marriage because of Glycerium, his father inveniet aliquam causam quam ob rem (eam) eiciat oppido.

[1] Certain passages show how common piracy was, though they do not involve actual carrying off of child or adult. In *Tr.* 1087–89 Charmides, who has just returned from Asia, says: ego miserrumeis periclis sum per maria maxuma vectus, capitali periclo per praedones plurumos me servavi, salvos redii. In *Men.* 441, 442, after Erotium has induced Menaechmus II to enter her house, Messenio exclaims: periit probe: ducit lembum dierectum navis praedatoria. Cf. 344, 345. An excellent commentary on these passages may be found in the *Bacchides*, in the story told by Chrysalus about the pirate ship (p. 20). To the old man the story so glibly told seemed wholly possible and reasonable; he raises no objection whatever to it. See also *Ps.* 895, 1029, *Tru.* 110, frag. 37, *Men.* 1015.

This passage from the *Bacchides* seems to show also that pirates were at times in league with presumably honest folk; cf. 282: is (navis) erat communis cum hospite

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stolen from Carthage (84–95). The girls were ingenuae (894–900, 1187–90, 1239 ff., 1391–93). Milphio is delighted at Syncerastus' story, for his master too, Agorastocles, he says, had been stolen from Carthage. See also 901–4, 986, 987. Presently enters Hanno, a Carthaginian. He has a hospes at Calydon; to him or to his son he is bringing a tessera hospitalis (955–58, 1047–52). The account in the prologue (104 ff.) is instructive:

> sed pater illarum Poenus, posquam eas perdidit,
> mari te⟨rraque⟩ usquequaque quaeritat.
> ubi quamque in urbem est ingressus, ilico
> omnis meretrices, ubi quisque habitant, invenit;
> dat aurum, ducit noctem, rogitat postibi
> unde sit, quoiatis, captane an surrupta sit,
> quo genere gnata, qui parentes fuerint.
> ita docte atque astu filias quaerit suas.[1]

At 1082 ff., after Hanno has recognized Agorastocles as his nephew, he asks him to go back to Carthage; he offers to restore to him all his father's property. In 1419–21, in the exitus alter of the play, Agorastocles talks of going to Carthage, when he shall have auctioned off his possessions at Calydon (cf. the close of the *Menaechmi*).

In the *Rudens* Daemones, an Athenian, impoverished by his generosity, is resident in Cyrene, in voluntary exile (33–39);

et praedonibus. In the *Miles* the praedones who capture the slave give him to the soldier (arg. i. 2–4, 114–20). On the whole subject cf. E. Zarncke *Parallelen zur Entführungsgeschichte in Miles Gloriosus* (Bonn, 1883).

[1] It will be noted that the stolen children were usually girls; they were regularly, too, in actual life, converted into meretrices. In *Cur.* 494–98 the parasite says to the leno: egon ab lenone quicquam mancupio accipiam, quibus sui nihil est nisi una lingua qui abiurant si quid creditum est? alienos mancupatis, alienos manu emittitis alienisque imperatis, etc. Here the masculine is due to the generalizing form of the statement. Cf. 620. In the *Poenulus*, after Agorastocles had referred to the fact that he had been kidnaped, Hanno, who overhears, exclaims (988, 989): pro di immortales! plurumei ad illunc modum periere pueri liberi Carthagini! Yet this passage is not *per se* especially significant. He has been thinking for years of his own lost daughters; now he hears of another child stolen from Carthage. He may well say plurumei, etc. We may then set the passage aside, except in so far as the very plot of the play testifies to the frequency of kidnaping. I said above that in life the stolen girls regularly became meretrices. This is not always the case in the plays. In the *ἀναγνώρισις* the girl usually proves to be ingenua, in fact, a civis: hence the playwrights take pains to assure us that the girls have remained castae. Cf., e. g., *Cur.* 43–59, *Poe.* 98–100, 281, 282, 292, 300–307, 1096, *Eun.* 109–117.

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there, too, the youth Plesidippus, likewise an Athenian, is resident (42 ff., 740 ff., 1197, 1198, 1268). Years before the daughter of Daemones, then but three years old (744), had been carried off by praedones (40, 744, 1105, 1111); a leno at Cyrene had bought her (39–41, 745, 106, 107, arg. 3–6). The girl tells her own story in 216–19; see also 393, 394, 649, 714, 736–44, 1104, 1105. The leno has with him at this time a hospes Siculus, Agrigentinus, who persuades him to close up his affairs at Cyrene and set sail for Sicily (49–66, 356 ff.). He is shipwrecked, however, on the first night of his voyage and he and the daughter of Daemones come ashore near Cyrene.

This motive of a kidnaped girl is strikingly employed in the *Persa*. In a letter purporting to come from Persia, from the master of Toxilus, we read (520–23) that the bearer is bringing forma expetenda liberalem virginem, furtivam, abductam ex Arabia penitissuma; eam te volo curare ut istic veneat.[1]

In *Eun.* 109–114 we have the story of a girl who was carried off when very young from Sunium by praedones; they gave her to a woman then resident at Rhodes, who began (eam) studiose omnia docere, educere, ita uti si filia esset (116, 117).[2] When, some dozen years later (318, 526), this woman died, her brother sold the girl to a miles, who brought her to Athens as a present to a meretrix there (130–34, 229–87).

In most of the cases thus far cited the child was carried off by marauders (praedones). A different case is presented by the *Menaechmi*. A Syracusan merchant took one of his twin sons with him to Tarentum ad mercatum (24 ff., 17, 1116–20). In the crowds that had come to see certain ludi the boy wandered away (31, 1111, 1112), was picked up by an Epidamnian merchant (32), who took him to Epidamnus (33–36), adopted him (57–61), and finally left him all his wealth (62–68). The other brother grows to manhood at Syracuse. For five years (234) he searches for the lost one, and is now on his way to Epidamnus. At 226 he appears; at 233 ff. his slave exclaims: Histros, Hispanos,

[1] Cf. 380, 715, 545, 546, 845.

[2] The girl was *ingenua;* her identity is established through her brother, a civis Atticus (202–6, 515–27, 912–16, 951–53). See p. 287, n. 1.

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Massiliensis, Hilurios, mare superum omne Graeciamque exoticam orasque Italicas omnis, qua adgreditur mare, sumus circumvecti. si acum, credo, quaereres, acum invenisses, sei appareret, iam diu. The *ἀναγνώρισις*, though long delayed, is at last consummated and the brothers prepare to return to Sicily (1151–61).

In *Cur.* 487–524 Curculio gets a girl out of the leno's power. At 527–31 the leno, soliloquizing, tells us he had bought the girl when she was very young from a man he had never seen since. In 644–52 the girl herself explains that her mother had taken her spectatum per Dionysia; a wind storm came up, during which some man had carried her off. Still a different case presents itself in the *Miles*. There the soldier carried off from Athens to Ephesus, against her will, a meretrix ingenua (arg. ii. 1. 104–113). He detains her there for three years.[1]

Miscellaneous references to travel.—Some incidental allusions to travel, voluntary or involuntary, may now be grouped together. In *Pe.* 695, 696 Saturio, posing as a messenger from

[1] See p. 284, and p. 22, n. 1. In all the plays which involve the motive of the kidnaped child the scene is laid away from Athens, for, as Leo notes (*Pl. Forsch.*, p. 199, n. 3), "geraubte Kinder . . . . nicht nach Athen gebracht werden sollten." He refers to Hüffner *De Pl. com. exemplis Att.*, p. 24. Such children were carried away from Athens, as in the *Curculio* and the *Eunuchus*.

Kidnaping is expressed by various verbs: by rapio, *Poe.* arg. 4, etc.; by surripio, *Poe.* 66, 72, *Ru.* 1105, etc. Cf., too, the adjective surrupticius; e.g., *Poe.* 962. The passive of surripio is common, but we may note that pereo serves often as passive of rapio and surripio in this sense, as a sort of terminus technicus: see *Poe.* 987, 989, *Ru.* 39, 744, 1111 (contrast fuit . . . . surrupta, 1105), *Eun.* 522, 524.

Those who sold a stolen child refused to sell mancupio, i. e., with a clear title, with a guarantee; they sold at the purchaser's risk. Cf. *Pe.* 524, 525, 532, 589, 655, 714–18. In *Mer.* 449 Charinus, to deter his father from buying the ancilla, says: non ego illam mancupio accepi. In *Cur.* 490–94 the leno is fatuous enough to give the girl to Curculio mancupio; Lyco, the banker, is more conservative, for, fearing that some one may prove the girl to be ingenua, he makes the leno promise to repay him his money if such an event occurs (490–92, 668 ff., 709 ff.). It is evident that people, though they knew that children had been stolen, bought them without compunction (or fear of money loss); cf. *Poe.* 1391–93. Of the lenones one would expect nothing better. In *Eun.* 109–114 a *mercator* buys such a child. In the *Captivi* the man who purchased a four-year-old boy from a runaway slave was a man of position and substance. In the *Menaechmi* a mercator of wealth carries off a lost boy; in Athens itself (*Cur.* 644–52) a man carries off a little girl from among the spectators at the Dionysia. By word of mouth men condemned the slave trade (cf. the parasite's words, *Cap.* 98–101, 129–32), but in practice they were willing to profit by that trade. In a word, the world in general had no more genuine feeling in this connection than the slave Stalagmus had; when he was asked about the boy whom he had sold he said: argentum accepi, nil curavi ceterum (*Cap.* 989).

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Persia, claims to have heard that his twin brother is in Athens as a slave: he wants to find him and set him free. Toxilus helps the story along (697–99): videor vidisse hic forma persimilem tui, eadem statura. In *Mo.* 497 the ghost says: ego transmarinus hospes sum Diapontius. See also *Men.* 414.

In the *Captivi* the slave Stalagmus runs away (p. 286) beyond seas. In various passages a slave talks of running away (*Cap.* 121–24, *Cas.* 952, 954, 960, *Ep.* 615, 664, *Mi.* 582–84, 861, *Mo.* 862, 863, *Ph.* 190, *Hec.* 424, 425. Cf. *Men.* 80, 87–95). *fugitivos* is a term of reproach (*Cas.* 397, *Poe.* 382, *Ps.* 365); cf. similar use of *fugitare*, *As.* 485. In *Cap.* 209 the captives scorn the thought that they would imitate *fugitivi servi.*

Removals from one place to another are at times mentioned. In *Poe.* 93–95 a leno removes from Anactorium to Calydon, sui quaesti causa. Cf. *Pe.* 137, 138: istic leno non sex menses Megaribus huc est quom commigravit. In the *Rudens* Daemones, impoverished, goes into voluntary retirement from Athens to Cyrene (33–38). In the same play the leno undertakes to remove, for business reasons, from Cyrene to Sicily (49–63). In *Cur.* 559 Cappadox fears that the banker will depart exulatum, to rob him of his money. In *And.* 69–72 we read that Chrysis removed from Andros to Athens; neglected by her kinsmen at Andros, she hoped to fare better at Athens. In *Eun.* 107 Thais declares that her mother was a Samian; she resided, however, at Rhodes. In the *Heauton* (96, 629, 630) we hear of an anus paupercula, e Corintho advena, in Athens.

Of significance for us is the use of the word hospes, at times, as the equivalent of ξένος, denoting a friend of a different nationality, so that it is suggestive of travel beyond seas. In the *Poenulus* the senex at Calydon who buys and adopts the boy stolen from Carthage is hospes of that boy's uncle (75, 119, 120). To that hospes or to his son, if he is himself no longer living, Hanno, the uncle, brings a tessera hospitalis (955–58, 1042–53). Cf. especially 1047: tesseram conferre si vis hospitalem, ecçam attuli, 1052: haec mi hospitalis tessera cum illo fuit. According to the *Bacchides* Nicobulus, of Athens, had a hospes at Ephesus, Archidemides, with whom he had deposited 1,200 Philippi (230,

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231, 250–94, 355, 686, 958). Mnesilochus, son of Nicobulus, had gone to Ephesus to get this money, taking with him a *symbolus* (263–68). In the *Miles* the Athenian lover tarries at Ephesus apud suom paternum hospitem (135, 136, 175, 506, 533, 555, 635, 738, 746, 752, 937).[1] In the *Mercator* the Athenian mercator has a hospes at Rhodes (98, 102, 104). In 940 he says he has a hospes at Chalcis, who hails from Zacynthus. In *Cur.* 429 the soldier, now in Caria, writes thus: miles Lyconi in Epidauro hospiti suo. In the *Rudens* the leno at Cyrene and an Agrigentine are hospites (the Agrigentine had been visiting the Cyrenaean; 49, 50, 72, 451, 491, 500, 571, 883). Demipho, an Athenian, has a hospes in Cilicia (*Ph.* 66–68);[2] Pamphilus claims to have a hospes at Myconos (*Hec.* 432, 801, 804).[3]

Letters.—Significant, also, for our purposes are the references to transmission of letters across the seas, especially to Athens. Cf. *As.* 761 ff.: aut quod illa dicat peregre allatam epistulam, ne epistula quidem ulla sit in aedibus nec cerata adeo tabula. In *Ba.* 388–90 we read of a letter from Ephesus to Athens; cf. 176, 177, 190–99. Palaestrio sends a letter from Ephesus to his master at Athens by quidam mercator (*Mi.* 130–33, arg. i. 5, ii. 7). Stratippocles, on military duty at Thebes, sent letters daily to Athens (*Ep.* 58, 131–38: cf. 251 ff.). Charinus, just back from Rhodes, has or pretends to have commissions (messages) to friends (*Mer.* 385, 374–77, 463). Cf. *Pe.* 694. At *Ps.*

[1] Cf. ξεῖνος πατρώιος, *Il.* vi. 215, etc. In *Miles* 488, 495, 510, 555 Periplectomenes calls Philocomasium his hospita. This need mean no more than 'my guest,' but since she is so closely associated in his thoughts with Pleusicles, the word still conveys the idea of one who comes from distant (foreign) parts.

[2] In other passages hospes means rather 'stranger,' with the accessory suggestion that the stranger comes from a distance, especially a distance by sea. In *As.* 361, 416, 431, 582 the messenger from the merchant at Pella is called, in Athens, a hospes. In *Pe.* 527, 529, 544, 604, 612 the messenger who is supposed to have come from Persia is called, in Athens, hospes. In *Poe.* 1005, Agorastocles, speaking to his slave of Hanno, of whose arrival they are witnesses, and whose costume is distinctive (p. 297), says: nolo ego errare hospitem. In *Ru.* 583 Sceparnio refuses to admit the shipwrecked Charmides to the villa, saying: barbarum hospitem mi in aedis nil moror. In *Mo.* 497 the ghost says: ego transmarinus hospes sum Diapontius. Cf. also *And.* 810, 817, 843. In *Ph.* 605 hunc—hospitem is mockingly said, 'this new *arrival* from foreign parts, this globe-trotter.'

[3] *Peregrinus* is not specially suggestive of distance. In the *Andria* the women from Andros are called *peregrinae;* cf. *Poe.* 175 dicatque se peregrinum esse ex alio oppido, *Epid.* 126, etc.

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647 Harpax brings a letter from the soldier, now at Sicyon, to Ballio; in the letter is a symbolus (cf. also 669, 670, 706, 716, 1202, 1208). Pseudolus gets possession of the letter and through it of the meretrix (983–1051). The letter is read in 998–1001, 1009–14. Frequent references have already been made to the letter which in the *Persa* is supposed to have come from Persia. In *St.* 29–36 the *matronae* express surprise that no word has come from their husbands, though they have been gone for more than two years. They are, however, still hoping for a message (148, 149). In *Tr.* 774–77 Callicles suggests, as a means of getting a dowry for Charmides' daughter, that two letters be prepared, purporting to come from Charmides, now in Seleucia, conveying money. See also 788–95, 815–18, 848–50, 875, 894–902, 949–51, 986, 1002. From *Tru.* 202, 204 it appears that a letter has come from the soldier concerning his arrival in Athens (cf. 397–400, 412, 413). According to *Ph.* 67, 68 Demipho was lured from Athens by letters from a hospes in Cilicia. In 149 reference is made to a letter from Demipho which is then in the hands of the portitores (see p. 294); Geta goes to claim this letter (150).

In *Mi.* 1362, 1363 Palaestrio pretends to be loath to leave the soldier and to depart from Ephesus; si forte liber fieri occeperim, he says, mittam nuntium ad te. The plot of the *Menaechmi* depends on the assumption that word had been brought to Syracuse of the fate at Tarentum of the boy and his father.[1] In *Cur.* 143, 225, 324, 325 it is implied that a letter or messenger had come from Curculio, from Caria to Epidaurus, though he had gone but three or four days in all. According to 345–48 it had been arranged that the leno should deliver the girl to anyone who brought him a letter sealed with the soldier's ring. Curculio gets possession of the ring (356–61); a letter is manufactured (365, 369, 370, 411–22, 545–51).[2]

[1] Still, this could easily have been brought by persons on the ship by which the father had gone to Tarentum (24–27).

[2] To letters sent within Athens itself references are made in *Pe.* 247, 196, 248, 272 (the distance covered was small). In *Ps.* 10, 11, 20–59 we have a letter from Phoenicium to Calidorus. For the sealing of letters cf. *Ps.* 706, 968, *Tr.* 788–95, *Cur.* 345–48, *Ba.* 789, 986, *Cur.* 423. For a good description of the writing, fastening, and sealing of a letter see *Ba.* 715, 728–48.

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Summary.—The foregoing pages amply show that travel across the seas, between points widely separated, was common in Menander's time. For the most part, travel was on matters of business; this remark holds true even of travel undertaken to find stolen children, for such journeying was not undertaken for pleasure. The traveler, then, for the most part goes against his will, to search for long lost kin, or he goes with some definite motive, arising out of war, or business in the narrower sense, or out of the intrigues connected with some love affair.[1]

We may now consider certain matters connected in various ways with travel.

Seasickness.—Seasickness is occasionally mentioned. In *Am.* 329, 330 Sosia cries: lassus sum hercle e navi, ut vectus huc sum: etiam nunc nauseo. Cf. *Mer.* 387–89: usquine valuisti? perpetuo recte, dum quidem illic fui; verum in portum huc ut sum advectus, nescio qui animus mihi dolet. nausea edepol factum credo; verum actutum apcesserit. For this Vss. 368–73 have well prepared the way. In *Ru.* 510, 511 Labrax, recently shipwrecked, cries: perii! animo male fit. contine quaeso caput. CHAR. pulmoneum edepol nimis velim vomitum vomas.[2]

[1] That people at Athens were willing, however, to travel for the mere pleasure of seeing new sights, i. e., with an attitude of mind somewhat akin to that of the modern tourist can be demonstrated by Thuc. vi. 24. 3. Speaking of the motives which made the Athenians so enthusiastic for the Sicilian expedition Thucydides says: *καὶ ἔρως ἐνέπεσε τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἐκπλεῦσαι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρεσβυτέροις ὡς ἢ καταστραψόμενοις ἐφ' ἃ ἔπλεον ἢ οὐδὲν ἂν σφαλεῖσαν μεγάλην δύναμιν, τοῖς δ' ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τῆς τε ἀπούσης πόθῳ ὄψεως καὶ θεωρίας καὶ εὐέλπιδες ὄντες σωθήσεσθαι.*

Now and then we get a fleeting hint of this sort in Plautus. In *Cur.* 339 the parasite, describing his meeting with the soldier in Caria, says: rogat (me) quid veniam Cariam; dico me illo advenisse *animi caussa*. We may set here also the references to the crowds that gathered to witness the Panathenaic procession at Athens (*Mer.* 61–68, *Cur.* 644–52), games at Tarentum (*Men.* 24–28), and at Sicyon (*Cis.* 156, 157). In *Cis.* 156, 157 nothing is said directly of the attendance of spectators at the games, but it was the presence of such spectators (bent primarily on amusement, but willing, no doubt, to take advantage of the trading opportunities afforded by such an occasion) that made it worth the mercator's while to come to Sicyon.

An interesting passage is *Men.* 247, 248. Messenio, using the freedom allowed to a trusted slave, has been chiding his master for spending so much time, energy, and money in a fruitless quest (230–41). He concludes:

> in scirpo nodum quaeris. quin nos hinc domum
> redimus, nisi si historiam scripturi sumus?

"Why don't we go home unless we are gathering materials for a book of travels?" For the sense given to historiam cf., e. g., Lucian's *Ἀληθὴς Ἱστορία*.

[2] Rolfe "Some References to Seasickness in the Ancient Writers" *Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc.*, xxxiv, p. v, cites only *Am.* 329, *Mer.* 388 from Plautus. Certain other

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Portitores.—On returning from foreign parts travelers had to face the portitores.[1] In *St.* 366–69 we read:

> dum percontor portitores ecquae navis venerit
> ex Asia, negant venisse: conspicatus sum interim
> cercurum, quo ego me maiorem non vidisse censeo.

The portitores were evidently authorities on the arrival or non-arrival of ships, presumably because every ship had to report to them and be examined by them.[2] Of the nature of this examination we get a good hint in *Men.* 114–18: "Every time I go anywhere you want to know all about it," says husband to wife; portitorem domum duxi, ita omnem mihi rem necesse eloqui est, quidquid egi atque ago.

To the portitores letters came (see *Ph.* 149, 150). That they broke open and inspected letters appears from *Tr.* 788–95; cf. 793 ff.: si opsignatas non feret, dici hoc potest, apud portitorem eas resignatas sibi inspectasque esse.

Money (portorium), for port fees and tariff dues, I suppose, was paid to the portitores; it would seem that until such dues were paid nothing could be removed from a ship. Cf. *Tr.* 1103–8: curre in Piraeum . . . . iubeto Sangarionem quae imperaverim curare ut ecferantur (ex navi), et tu ito simul. solutumst portitori iam portorium: nihil est morae.[3]

passages lie somewhat close to our subject; in these evidence accumulates that voyaging on the deep was not viewed as an unalloyed pleasure. In *Ba.* 105, 106 the Athenian Bacchis says to her sister: uti navi vecta's, credo, timida es. In *Men.* 226–28 Messenio tells how pleasant it is to get to land (but he has been traveling for five years and is sick from surfeiting on too much). For references to buffeting by the waves see *Mi.* 414, *Mo.* 431–37, *St.* 419, 420. In *Poe.* 210 ff. a woman, in a canticum, brings navis et mulier together as things liable to give one trouble. In *Tr.* 1087–89 there is a general reference to hardships on the sea, with special allusion to praedones (cf. 827, 838). In *Hec.* 415–25 Sosia, just back from Imbros, says: non hercle verbis . . . . dici potest tantum quam re ipsa navigare incommodumst. In 421–23 he continues:

> dies triginta aut plus eo in navi fui,
> quom interea semper mortem expectabam miser;
> ita usque advorsa tempestate usi sumus.

But *triginta dies* can hardly be taken literally. To the slave (as to the meretrix, *Hec.* 85–98) there was only one place in the world, Athens. Cf. p. 285, n. 1.

[1] On the meaning of portitor see Norden on *Aen.* vi. 298, and my paper in the *School Review* XIII, p. 493.

[2] In *Ph.* 462 Demipho says: percontatum ibo ad portum (i. e., probably, ad portitores), quoad se recipiat. *Hec.* 76, 77 is similar.

[3] These bonafide payments light up certain figurative uses of portorium. In *As.* 158 the lena says to Argyrippus: quam magis te in altum capessis, tam aestus te in

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Tabernae.—Travelers occasionally put up at taverns. In *Men.* 435–37 Menaechmus bids Messenio take the pedisequi (and the vasa) to a taberna devorsoria.[1] At 557 Menaechmus goes off to seek Messenio; after a fruitless quest he exclaims (703): immersit aliquo sese, credo, in ganeum, in his impatience substituting the disreputable *ganeum* (*As.* 887) for *taberna devorsoria.* In *Ps.* 658, 659 (the real) Harpax says:

> ego devortor extra portam huc in tabernam tertiam[2]
> apud anum illam doliarem, claudam, crassam, Chrysidem.

Harpax, departing (660), bids Pseudolus send for him when the *leno* returns. Meanwhile, he says, he will dine at the taberna and then sleep (664); cf. 661: nam ut lassus veni de via, me volo curare. He waits in vain for Pseudolus there (1116–20).[3]

Costume.—Hints may be got here and there of the costume of travelers. A marked feature of this was the petasus, the broad-brimmed hat.[4] In the *Amphitruo* Jupiter and Amphitruo are garbed exactly alike, except that Jupiter has a torulus aureus sub petaso (144, 145, 121–23, 131–35). Sosia is distinguishable from Mercury only by the pinnulae on his petasus (141–43, 124–30, 265, 441–46, 455–58, 600, 601). In 443–45 Sosia says of Mercury: itidem habet petasum ac vestitum: tam consimilest atque ego; sura, pes, statura, tonsus, etc. We must suppose that the petasus was hanging down Mercury's back; otherwise the tonsus would not be observable.[5] Harpax, a cacula militis,

portum refert. ego pol istum portitorem privabo portorio. Cf. also 241, 242: portitorum (portuum, Lindsay) simillumae sunt ianuae lenoniae: si adfers, tum patent: si non est quod des, aedes non patent.

[1] Cf. 986, 987, 1035–37.

[2] We note two things about this taberna. (1) It is tertia extra portam. One who remembers how relatively numerous the tabernae are in Pompeii just within the gates, as in Stabian Street, or just without the gates, as in the Street of the Tombs, will appreciate this passage. (2) The taberna is kept by an anus. We may compare copa Syrisca of the Copa, and cum venali Cyane succincta lagona of Juvenal viii. 162. We may compare also the tavern sign at Pompeii which represents a hostess reckoning the dues of a departing guest. St. Augustine (*De civ. Dei* xviii. 18) refers to hostesses.

[3] In *Tru.* 697 Truculentus, about to enter the house of Phronesium, the meretrix, calls it a taberna devorsoria, where he will be sure to get bad treatment. Cf. Wroth in Smith *Dict. of Antiq.*, *s. v.* "Caupona," on the character of ancient taverns.

[4] See Smith *Dict. of Antiq.* II, p. 428, Marquardt *Privatl.* p. 572.

[5] For this mode of wearing the petasus see Smith *loc. cit.*

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wears the petasus (*Ps.* 1186; cf. 735). The sycophanta in the *Trinummus* wears an extraordinarily wide petasus; Charmides, who is watching him, exclaims (851): pol hic quidem fungino generest; capite se totum tegit.[1]

The pallium is the ordinary costume of men in the plays: (cf. the term "fabula palliata"). It was sometimes worn, too, on journeys. Sosia, sent forward by night by the impatient Amphitruo, wears tunicae consutae (*Am.* 367) and pallium (294). In the *Rudens* Labrax, the leno, after the shipwreck, is wearing a tunicula and a pallium (549, 550). This was his costume at the outset, for of a change of costume there is no hint; the shipwreck kept him too busy for that.[2]

The miles (or his messenger) regularly wears a chlamys (*Cur.* 632, *Ep.* 435, 436, *Poe.* 620, 644, *Ps.* 735, 963, 964, 1101, 1139, 1143, 1184), a petasus (*Ps.* 735, 1186), and a machaera (*Ba.* 887, *Cur.* 567, 632, *Ps.* 592, 735, 1185, *Mer.* 926, *Tru.* 927, 627).[3] In *Mer.* 830–944 Charinus talks of leaving home, not militatum, but to search for his lost love. His costume has its points of resemblance, however, to that of a miles. When ready to depart he wears a chlamys (912). On hearing that his love is close at hand, he changes his mind about going and calls a slave out to take his chlamys and give him a pallium (cf. 912, 913 with 922). Presently he resolves again to go, and again calls for his chlamys (921, 922). He has a zona (925), a machaera (926), and an ampulla (927).[4]

[1] Mr. Wroth (Smith *Dict. of Antiq.* I, p. 388) thinks this was a causea. In *Pe.* 155 Sagaristio is instructed to wear tunica, zona, chlamys, and causea while he poses as the messenger who had brought the stolen maiden from Persia. In *Mi.* 1178 the causea is worn by a sailor.

[2] See also *Cur.* 355.

[3] The machaera marked the wearer at once as a soldier or a peregrinus (cf. *Pe.* 155–57, *Ps.* 917, 918). The Athenians were the first of the Greeks to abandon the habit of wearing arms (Thuc. i. 6. 1–3). Cf. also the story told by Herod. vi. 35 of Miltiades: ὀρέων τοὺς Δολόγκους παριόντας ἐσθῆτα ἔχοντας οὐκ ἐγχωρίην καὶ αἰχμὰς προσεβώσατο καὶ σφι προσελθοῦσι ἐπηγγείλατο καταγωγὴν καὶ ξεινία.

[4] For this ampulla cf. Naudet *ad loc.*: "mos erat pedes oleo ungere, antequam calceos induerent (he cites Hesychius in support of this statement): itaque peregre abeuntes ampullam secum portabant, quae oleum in eum usum suppeditaret. Cf. also, perhaps, *Pe.* 124, with Naudet's note.

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To the costume of Sagaristio in the *Persa* reference has already been made (p. 296, n. 1). Cf. also 462, 463, also said of that costume.

The ornatus thalassicus is described in *Mi.* 1177–82:

> facito uti venias ornatu huc ad nos nauclerico;
> causeam habeas ferrugineam, scutulam ob oculos laneam,
> palliolum habeas ferrugineum (nam is colos thalassicust),
> id conexum in umero laevo, exfafillato bracchio,
> praecinctus aliqui: adsimulato quasi gubernator sies;
> atque apud hunc senem omnia haec sunt, nam is piscatores habet.

We may assume that this costume was worn by the mercator, whom Plautus so often mentions. That it was readily recognizable as a sailor's costume appears from *Mi.* 1281–83: nescio quis eccum incedit ornatu quidem thalassico. . . . . nauclerus hicquidem est.[1] In *As.* 69 there is a reference to the nauclericus ornatus, but no description.

In the *Poenulus* Hanno, a Carthaginian, comes to Calydon. His costume is manifestly distinctive; it is recognized at once as Punic by Milphio and his master Agorastocles (977) and as African by Antamoenides, the miles (1304). He wears no pallium (976); his tunic is long, and has long hanging sleeves (1298, 1303), so that Milphio, watching him approach, asks (975): sed quae illaec avis est quae huc cum tunicis advenit? He is called tunicatus in 1121. In 1008 Milphio asks him why, though he has no sona (zona), he has come to Calydon.[2] To Antamoenides, the miles, Hanno seems to be garbed like a woman (1303).

Of women's traveling costume we get but meager hints. In *Ep.* 527 Philippa, a native of Epidaurus, but resident now in Thebes, is in Athens looking for her daughter. As soon as he sees her Periphanes says (533): quis illaec est mulier timido pectore peregre adveni ns . . . . ? Philippa had said nothing

[1] The scutula lanea (*Mi.* 1178, 1430) is not a regular part of the costume. The pseudo-nauclerus explains (1306–10): amoris caussa hercle hoc ego oculo utor minus. On ferrugineus see editors here, Merrill and Ellis on Catullus lxiv. 227, Munro on Lucr. iv. 76.

[2] In *Ps.* 738 Pseudolus says of the substitute Harpax: manuleatam tunicam habere hominem addecet. See Lorenz *ad loc.*

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to indicate that she was peregrina.[1] According to *Pe.* 157 Saturio's daughter is to be ornata lepide in peregrinum modum, that she may pose as a captive from Arabia via Persia. In 464 Toxilus says of her: tum hanc hospitam autem crepidula ut graphice decet!

The *Menaechmi* presents an interesting phenomenon. Had the Syracusan Menaechmus worn the usual traveling costume, no one in Epidamnus would have confused him with his brother, or at any rate explanations would soon have been forthcoming and the chain of events out of which the play is built could not have happened. Plautus therefore (and, we may suppose, his original) for this play disregarded the facts of travel and ignored the whole matter of costume. Cf. Langen, *Plautinische Studien*, pp. 148, 149.

Pedisequi.—The traveler who comes home from abroad commonly has with him two pedisequi. These pedisequi are usually mutae personae.[1] They are present on the stage in *Am.* 551–854, *Ba.* 385–525, *Men.* 226–445 (cf. 436, 986), *Poe.* 930–1173 (see 978–80). *Hec.* 359, 360 would seem to show (what we should a priori expect) that such pedisequi went with the traveler from home and were with him at every stage of his journey, for when Pamphilus says: tu pueris curre, Parmeno, obviam atque eis onera adiuta, Parmeno rejoins: quid? non sciunt ipsi viam domum qua veniant? Cf. 409, 429.[2]

[1] We have evidence elsewhere that foreign costumes are instantly recognizable as such. Cf. p. 296, n. 3. In *Tr.* 852 Charmides says of the sycophanta: Hilurica facies videtur hominis, eo ornatu advenit. Cf. also *Poe.* 656, 675, 801, *Ps.* 616–22, 964, *Eun.* 313–18.

[2] Sometimes the traveler has but one attendant. In *As.* 382 the messenger who comes to pay the money has a puer; in *Ba.* 573 ff. the soldier's messenger has a puer. In *Tru.* 482 ff. (see 535) the miles has a puer. Cf. also *Cur.* 390, *Ep.* 437. If the traveler comes straight from ship to stage, he has two attendants (for then his baggage must be taken care of); if he comes from lodgings in town he has but one. We may remember with profit the fact that hoplites (at least) in the Athenian army had servants with them; see Thuc. vi. 102. 2, and Mr. Spratt's note (p. 364, ll. 2, 3). *Poe.* 978, 979 may show that Hanno had more than two pedisequi with him, but he had made an exceptionally long journey.

On the other hand in *Mer.* 852 ff. Charinus, who is resolved to go from home, has no attendant. In 910 ff., when he wishes to exchange his chlamys for a pallium, he has to call a puer from the house. Finally, beside the pedisequi, a traveler often had with him a favorite or trusted slave. So in the *Bacchides* Mnesilochus had Chrysalus with him; in the *Mercator* Charinus had with him on his two-year trading-trip his one-time *paedagogus* (90, 91, 108, 109).

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Baggage.—Travelers carried at times a goodly amount of baggage. In the *Amphitruo* reference is made to gifts, including a patera aurea, presented to Amphitruo by the vanquished Teloboae (137–39, 260, 261, 418–20, 760). The patera is supposed to be in a cistula (420), which is sealed (421). At 629 Amphitruo says to Sosia: vide ex navi ecferantur quae imperavi iam omnia. Later, Amphitruo has with him a sealed cistellula (773–97); Sosia opens it (787 ff.), but finds no patera within.

In *Ep.* 22, 23 when Thesprio asserts that his master is back in Athens Epidicus exclaims: ubi is ergost? nisi si in vidulo aut si in mellina attulisti. In *Men.* 350, 986, 1035 we have reference to baggage, vasa. Part of this is a marsuppium cum viatico, in a vidulus (1036, 1037, 254, 255, 384–86, 701–3, etc.); in the vidulus is a *peniculus* (286, 391). In the *Miles* Philocomasium, when she leaves the soldier, has aurum et vestis (981, 982, 1099, 1100, 1301–1314, etc.); several bearers are needed to carry her possessions (1191, 1301 ff., 1427). In *Poe.* 978–81 Hanno has pedisequi, sarcinati omnes; they are so burdened that Milphio calls them servi veteres antiquique (they are bent like old men).

In the *Rudens* reference is made repeatedly to a vidulus belonging to the leno (545, 546, 936 *a*, 963 ff., 988–93, etc.). The leather covering of the vidulus is colored (997–1000). Vs. 1177 shows that the vidulus is heavy. And well it may be, for it contains much. First we may name the crepundia, by which Palaestra is proven to be the daughter of Daemones; these include ensiculus aureolus litteratus, securicula ancipes, itidem aurea, litterata, sicilicula argenteola et duae conexae maniculae et sucula, and bulla aurea (1156–71). All these are in a cistella of wood (1109, 1133, 389–93, 1081–86, etc.). There is money, too, in the vidulus (395, 396), in a marsuppium (1313–15). For a general description of the contents see 1309–20; they include aurum atque argentum magnum, nummi octingenti aurei in marsuppio, praeterea centum minaria Philippica in pasceolo sorsus, talentum argenti commodum magnum . . . . in crumina, praeterea sinus, cantharus, epichysis, gaulus, cyathus.[1] Charmides,

[1] Someone may object that the leno is lying, but (1) the *vidulus* was now open before the eyes of Daemones and Gripus, neither of whom comments on or disputes

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the leno's hospes, had had a sacciperium, in which was a marsuppium, plenum auri (547, 548).

In *Tr.* 1105, 1106 Charmides refers to things which he desires to have brought up from his ship. In *Hec.* 359 Pamphilus bids Parmeno run to meet the pueri and to help them with their burdens. In the *Truculentus* the soldier has brought two ancillae ex Syria (530–33), a perula (535), a pallula ex Phrygia (536, 539), tus ex Arabia, amomum ex Ponto (539, 540), gifts which might be sold for twenty minae (543, 544).[1]

The passages thus far cited all deal with travel over seas. In the *Heauton* a meretrix comes from Athens to stay a short time ruri (245 ff., 311 ff.); she is bringing with her much baggage (245–48, 252–54, 451, 452, 739–45).[2] Cf. *Hec.* 611 f.: et compone quae tecum simul (*sc.* rus) ferantur, said by Laches to his wife.[3]

Thanksgiving by returned travelers.—The returned traveler commonly gives thanks to the gods for his safe return. Cf. *Ba.* 346, 347: ubi nunc est ergo meus . . . . filius? deos atque amicos iit salutatum ad forum. In *St.* 402–5 Epignomus gives thanks to Neptune and the Tempestates for his safe return, and to Mercury for his success in trading. In 623 Pamphilippus says: deos salutabo modo, poste ad te continuo transeo (cf. *Ph.* 311, 312). Sometimes the thanks are not wholly courteous, as in *Mo.* 431–37. *Tr.* 820–38 is the most elaborate passage that can be cited in this connection; in 838, 839 its tone approaches that of *Mo.* 431 ff. Sometimes we have a sacrifice of thanksgiving or the formal payment of vows. In *Am.* 946–48 Amphitruo bids vasa pura adornari mihi, ut quae apud legionem vota vovi si domum rediissem salvos, ea ego exsolvam omnia (cf. 966–68). In *Cap.* 843–51 the parasite takes it for granted that there will be a sacrifice and a feast, because Philocrates has returned, bringing with him the slave who had run away years before. The kinsmen of

the leno's statements, (2) the leno was removing his whole fortune from Cyrene to Sicily (49–63, etc.).

[1] I purposely omit such cases as those of the brothers in the *Stichus*, who return home after two years, each in a ship of his own, richly laden (374–83); such passages have to do rather with general trade.

[2] For a commentary on the things a meretrix might bring with her see *Tr.* 250–54.

[3] In *Ba.* 349 there is a reference to mules as carriers; cf. *Mo.* 430, 778–82, *Ph.* 561.

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voyagers sometimes give thanks or make a sacrifice in connection with their return. In *Ep.* 314–16 Epidicus explains that his master had bidden him hire a fidicina, to play for him dum rem divinam faceret, because his son was home again (414–18, 499–501). In *St.* 396, 397 the wife of Epignomus gives orders for a sacrifice, because she has heard of his safe return.[1]

Greetings to returned travelers.—In many passages we have words of courteous greeting to a traveler just returned; these include congratulations, inquiries after his health at present and during his voyage. Salvos sis, Mnesiloche, salvom te advenisse gaudeo (*Ba.* 456), said by father to son, is typical. Cf. *Hec.* 455–57, also said by father to son. Typical again is *Mo.* 448, 449: ere, salve, salvom te advenisse gaudeo. usquin valuisti? usque, ut vides. factum optume. How stereotyped the formula was may be seen from *Tr.* 1073, 1074: o mi ere exoptatissume, salve. salve, Stasime. salvom te . . . . scio et credo tibi. The other passages pertinent here are *Mo.* 805, 806 (senex to senex), *St.* 505–9 (senex, who is virtually a parasitus, to his sons-in-law), *Am.* 714–16, 799, 800 (wife to husband: cf. 680 ff.), *Mo.* 1128, 1129 (adulescens to senex), *Tr.* 1180–82 (son to father), *Ph.* 254–56 (adulescens to uncle), *Ep.* 126–29, *Ph.* 286 (slave to master), *Ph.* 609–611 (slave to master's brother), *Hec.* 81–84 (slave to meretrix), *Tru.* 503, 504 (ancilla to miles), *St.* 465–67, 470, 471, 583–86 (parasite to senex), *Hec.* 353 (mother to son), *Poe.* 685, 686 (leno to vilicus, who is masquerading as a miles), *Ep.* 7–11, 17–19 (slave to slave), *Heaut.* 406, 407 (amica to lover). In *Eun.* 976 Parmeno, in sore distress, catching sight of his older master coming rure, cries: salvom te advenire, ere, gaudeo. In *Mer.* 366 ff. father and son meet after two years; the father is solicitous enough (367, 369, 371, 387–89), but certain special circumstances prevent the utterance of the usual formulas.[2]

[1] With these passages we may compare many others later, e. g., Horace *Carm.* i. 5. 13–16, and the numerous examples of the payment of such vows afforded by Italian churches, for instance, the Church of S. Antonino at Sorrento. Cf., too, the thanksgiving ordered by Dido (*Aen.* i. 632) for the safe coming of Aeneas; she gives a dinner also (637–42, 695–756; see below, p. 302). Cf. also the conduct of Aufidius Luscus in Horace *Serm.* i. 5. 35, 36. *Am.* 180–84 bears, I think, on this subject; see my paper in the *Classical Review* VII, pp. 21, 22.

[2] Congratulations are sometimes extended to the family (see *Tr.* 1178). The prac-

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Banquet to returned traveler.—It was usual to give a dinner party to one just returned from foreign travel, on the very day of his return (hodie, *Ba.* 94, *Mer.* 949, *Mo.* 1129, *Pe.* 710, *St.* 511). Cf. *Ba.* 186, 94: ego sorori meae cenam hodie dare volo viaticam (95–102), 536, 537 (Pistoclerus to Mnesilochus: salvos quom peregre advenis, cena detur), *Cur.* 251–53, 384–88, 728 (Phaedromus here invites the miles, just back from Caria, to dinner; still, he is to marry the soldier's sister), *Mer.* 98, 99 (dinner to an Athenian at Rhodes by his hospes there), *Mo.* 1129–34, *Pe.* 709, 710, *Poe* 1151 (dinner by Agorastocles to his newly found uncle), *Tru.* 127. In *St.* 587–91 the parasite expresses his regret that he is not rich enough to invite Pamphilippus to dinner. In *St.* 510–13 Antipho recognizes his obligation to invite the brothers, his sons-in-law, who are just back from Asia, to dinner hodie. Since, however, he has been forestalled in this, he invites them for the next day.[1]

Conveyances.—At the very beginning of this paper I quoted Blümner's statement that we need an account of traveling vehicles in ancient times. On this theme the plays throw no light. I have noted no passage in which there is reference to any kind of vehicle as actually used in land travel. This is natural, since, as was said above (p. 16), land travel in the plays involves move-

tice of courteously greeting the returned traveler is in some passages burlesqued (see *Ba.* 184–87, *Cur.* 306, 307, *Mer.* 947–50, *Ep.* 395).

Since the plays present to us pictures usually of returning, not of departing, travelers, we get few examples of farewells. Still, in *Mer.* 659 Charinus declares that he is going home to say good-by to father and mother and then go away; in 830–37 he bids an elaborate farewell to his house (cf. 866). Cf. also the farewell of the meretrix when she leaves the soldier (*Mi.* 1311–43).

[1] In *St.* 415 Epignomus himself gives a cena, at his own house, hodie, to which he invites his father-in-law. In 515 ff. his brother declines Antipho's invitation for the morrow, and says: "Come rather to my house the day after." But the play makes it plain that no love was lost between Antipho and the brothers; the old man is rather despicable. In *Heaut.* 183 Clitipho has brought Clinia home from the ship to dinner, but this dinner would have taken place independently of Clinia's coming, in connection with the Dionysia.

In *St.* 430–52, 661–65, 683 ff., two slaves, on returning with the brothers, have a cena. In *Ep.* 7, 8 we have two slaves talking: venire salvom gaudeo. quid ceterum quod eo adsolet? (*sc.* addi. I follow A, against Lindsay) cena tibi dabitur. spondeo . . . . quid? me accepturum, si dabis.

Here, too, we have burlesque at times (see *Cur.* 660, 661, *Ba.* 184–87, *Mer.* 946–50, *Mo.* 1004–7, *Am.* 153–63, 285, 286, 296, 664, 665). The passages cited just above, describing the cena of the slaves, perhaps belong here, too. With this matter of the cena, on its serious side, compare the cena given to Aeneas and the Trojans, *Aen.* i. 637–42, 695–756.

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ment only between some city and its portus or its suburbs; such travel was pursued on foot. quadrigae are mentioned in *Am.* 450, *As.* 279, *Aul.* 600, *Poe.* 369, *St.* 291, but in figurative or extravagant expressions.[1] In *Men.* 863, 865 Menaechmus talks of mounting a currus, but he is feigning madness. In *Mer.* 931 (likewise, I take it, a parody of some tragedy), Charinus fancies himself mounting a currus, and taking the reins in hand, but in 932 he is on foot! In *Mo.* 778–82, 429, 430 there is reference to muli clitellarii (cf. *Ba.* 349, *Ph.* 561), but there is no proof that we must think of them as carrying riders too.

Ships of different kinds are referred to, but none is described. The term most often used is navis; references need not be given. We find navis mercatoria in *Ba.* 236, navis oneraria in *Poe.* 651. Other terms are navis cercurus (*Mer.* 86) and cercurus alone (*St.* 368, 369: conspicatus sum . . . . cercurum, quo ego me maiorem non vidisse censeo, 413 in cercuro, in stega); celox, *Cap.* 874: filium tuom modo in portu . . . . vidi in puplica celoce (in *As.* 258, *Mi.* 986, *Ps.* 1306 celox is figuratively used; so too celocula, *Mi.* 1006); lembus, *Ba.* 279, 286 ff., 305 ff., 958, of the pirate ship.[2] For ratis and catapirateria in a figurative passage see *Aul.* 597, 598. In *Mer.* 259, 193, Demipho puts off in a lembus to his son's ship, just arrived from Rhodes, exactly as the traveler today, in Mediterranean ports, still puts off in a rowboat to board incoming or outgoing vessels.[3]

In general the traveler in Plautus and Terence goes abroad in his own ship. In *Mer.* 86 ff. we read that Charinus' father had a navis cercurus specially built for him. Sometimes, however, a ship is hired or chartered. In the *Rudens* the leno sets out from Cyrene for Sicily in a navis conducta (57, 58). In *Ad.* 224, 225 Syrus says to the leno: aiunt . . . . coemisse hinc quae illuc (to

[1] In *Am.* 422 Amphitruo's seal is cum quadrigis sol exoriens.

[2] In 292 it is called *ratis*. Contrast *Men.* 442: ducit lembum dierectum navis praedatoria (in figurative expression). In a figurative expression, *Poe.* 507, corbitae are named as notoriously slow (cf. 543). In the burlesque passage, *Tr.* 942, a horiola is used, to sail up a stream.

[3] In *As.* 519 reference is made to the casteria of a ship, in *Cis.* 121, to sand ballast (saburra), in *As.* 518 to the portisculus, with which the gubernator beat time to indicate the stroke (cf. *Mer.* 695–97: in mari solet hortator remiges hortarier), all in figurative expressions. For references to the handling of a ship see *Merc.* 174 ff., 191 ff. In *Men.* 402–4, *Mi.* 915–21 we have fleeting allusions to ship-building.

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Cyprus) veheres multa, navem conductam. One could take passage in a ship owned by another; the Lemnian consort of Chremes did this (*Ph.* 571, 572, 576). One could send a letter thus (*Mi.* 130, 131).[1]

Routes.—The ships of the Greeks commonly followed the coast-lines. "The most important route led northward from Aegina, Corinth, and Athens, by way of Euboea, ... Thasos, ... Imbros, Lemnos, ... to the Black Sea.[2] Here the leading traders were Miletus, and her sister-cities, with Megara, Athens, and, later, Rhodes." With this northern route the plays have little to do; the references to Euboea, Thasos, Imbros, Lemnos, Megara, and Corinth are not numerous. "Another important route," continues Mr. Edwards, "crossed the Aegean N. E. by Euboea, Chios (the great slave-mart), and Lesbos, and so reached Clazomenae and Phocaea; another, bearing eastward by the Cyclades to Miletus and Ephesus, was associated with branch lines connecting Athens and the Peloponnese with Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, Phoenicia, and Egypt." The careful reader of the geographical data collected on pp. 5–12, and of the accounts of travel in pp. 19–24, 281–93, will see that the latter route is the one which the writers of the plays have most frequently in mind, naturally, because they wrote in the time of the Diadochi, when men's thoughts had been turned to Asia and to Egypt by the achievements of Alexander and his successors.[3] "To the west the most important route circumnavigated the Peloponnese to Leucas and Corcyra, and thence struck across to Italy, Sicily, and beyond." For this route, too, the plays supply abundant evidence. Finally, we may note that the *Poenulus* points to a regular route from Carthage (and other African points) to western Greece, as the *Rudens* (629–31) points to movement between Cyrene and Capua.[4]

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[1] In *Mer.* 74, 75 a ship is referred to, metretas quae trecentas tolleret.

[2] H. J. Edwards, in Whibley's *Companion to Greek Studies*, p. 428.

[3] Cf. Naudet on *Mer.* i. 1. 76. Philippi, Philippei (nummi) in expressions of money, point the same way; cf., e. g., *Poe.* 165, 166, 415, 558, 781, *Tr.* 955 965, 1158, etc.

[4] There is very little in the plays that throws light on the rate of travel, and to that little reference has already been made. For Harpax's quick journey from Sicyon to Athens see p. 16, n. 1; for the parasite's journey from Epidaurus to Caria see p. 6, n. 1 (latter part). If Caria is, as I have maintained in that note, the district in Asia, the time given for the round trip between Epidaurus and Caria is entirely too short. But, as I have argued there, we are not to take Plautus here seriously.

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THE DEATH OF MENANDER

By William Scott Ferguson

The excellent article of Dr. Clark in *Classical Philology* I, pp. 313 ff., has convinced me that the archonship of Philippos, and hence the death of Menander, do really belong to 292/1 B. C. His proof, which is grounded on the sound maxim that the birth-years of celebrities were often ascertained in antiquity by calculation, while the years of their death rested upon contemporary records, starts with the pretty demonstration that Menander and Epicurus became ephebes, the former in 325/4, the latter in 324/3. Dr. Clark is thus enabled to maintain the report of Strabo that the philosopher and the comedian were *συνέφηβοι*, while he discards the false combination that, for this reason, they were both born in 342/1. 342/1 was the well-established birth-year of Epicurus; the birth-year of Menander, on the other hand, was 343/2, and since he lived 52 years his death occurred in 292/1, or, as is otherwise recorded, in the thirty-second year of Ptolemy Soter's reign (323/2–285).

There are still some weak places in this argument, but it is doubtless the best solution of the problem thus far reached,[1] and it is not invalidated by Wilhelm's new doctrine of the *βασιλεία* (*Urk.*, pp. 215 ff.), or by his redating of *IG.* II 2. 975 f. (*ibid.*, pp. 63 ff.). In my *Priests of Asklepios* (p. 150) I rashly affirmed that the location of Philippos in 293/2 was now beyond doubt. This I should like to emend. What I should have said is that the sequence Philippos-Kimon is indubitable; for that the words used to characterize the activity of Phaidros, hoplite-general in Kimon's year (*καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθέραν καὶ δημοκρατουμένην αὐτόνομον παρέδωκεν καὶ τοὺς νόμους κυρίους τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτόν IG.* II 331), presuppose the presence in the city of the oligarchic leaders,

[1] Wilhelm *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen*, pp. 249 f., uses the same arguments as Clark, but he is apparently afraid of the logical conclusion. Menander, he says, "Konnte als Mann von (freilich noch nicht erreichten) 52 Jahren bezeichnet werden" in the end of 293/2. In other words he was 52 in 292/1.

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exiled in 307/6 and recalled in Philippos' archonship, should be manifest to anyone who has studied the party struggles of Athens at this period. Beloch, indeed, asserts the contrary (*Griech. Gesch.* III 2, p. 36). But apart from the improbability of a dangerous revolutionary activity being displayed by a small band of dispersed and discredited exiles, we have the authority of Philochoros, who states expressly that no constitutional crisis preceded the return of the oligarchs.[1] On the other hand, if the danger referred to in the decree was the disposition of Demetrius to re-establish the exiles, Phaidros could have had no share as hoplite-general in averting it, since the pleasure of the king was not revealed till the year of Philippos. At its beginning it lay in the province of prophecy to foretell the recall of the oligarchs.[2]

It may accordingly be taken as demonstrated that Philippos preceded Kimon directly. But so far as this *datum* is concerned, Philippos-Kimon may be placed in either 293/2–292/1 or 292/1–291/0.

Phaidros, however, as hoplite-general in Kimon's year, *περιστάντων τεῖ πόλει καιρῶν δυσκόλων διεφύλαξεν τὴν εἰρήνην τῆι χώραι, ἀποφαινόμενος ἀεὶ τὰ κράτιστα, καὶ τὸν σῖτον ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καρποὺς αἴτιος ἐγένετο εἰσκομισθῆναι, συμβουλεύσας τῶι δήμωι συντελέσαι . . . .* (erasure of about 38 letters because of some reference to Demetrius). The country was thus in danger, but the threatened invasion did not ensue, and the crops were harvested in safety. The attack was expected in harvest time, that is, in March–April of 291 or 290. This peril of Attica can be brought into connection with two events only—with the second revolt of Boeotia, and the appearance of the Aetolians on the frontier. The first of these occurrences is not dated strictly, but from the general account of Plutarch (*Demetrius* 39 f.) it is possible, indeed, that the siege of Thebes lasted as late as March–April 291, but it is improbable that the prospects of the revolters were at that time so good that the democrats in Athens were

[1] Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Reiske), p. 637.

[2] *Ibid.*, *τοῦ δ' ἐνιαύτου τοῦδε διελθόντος, ἑτέρου δ' εἰσιόντος.* Then follows the omen of a dog on the Acropolis, and its application by the seer, Philochoros himself, to the recall of the exiles. The annalistic arrangement of Philochoros' *Ἀτθίς* makes it clear that we have to do with the beginning of the year in which the main incident occurred.

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tempted to secede also, or that it was feasible for the Boeotians or Aetolians to break through the Macedonian lines and menace Attica in their rear. Still, this contingency cannot be excluded altogether. On the other hand, the Aetolians hung upon the Attic frontier in the early half of 290. This we know from the celebrated *Ithyphallos*, sung when Demetrius came to Athens later on, in Boedromion (September) of this same year.[1] His point of departure on this occasion was Corcyra, where he had been dallying with Lanassa, Pyrrhus' runaway wife, instead of attending to his proper business. The Aetolians took the opportunity of his absence to plunder his possessions far and near. They even seized the Delphic sanctuary (290/89, i. e., before Boedromion, *IG*. II 309). The Athenians were obliged to fight in their own defense. Hence the appeal made to the king in the *Ithyphallos* to take the Aetolians in hand himself.

Another course was open to Athens in this emergency. It might have joined the Aetolians and Pyrrhus, and thus have taken sides against its overlord, and this was, in fact, what the people wished to do; but a revolt at this time would have been most unwise, as the events of the next few months showed. Hence Phaidros took credit to himself at a later date, not for preventing the revolt—he was too shrewd a man to jeopardize the honors he was soliciting by appearing as the opponent of so desirable an issue—but for forestalling its consequences. Secession, he claimed, and with good reason, would have resulted in Demetrius' taking the control of affairs from the democrats and giving it to the extreme oligarchs, who, embittered by a long exile, would have instituted a reign of terror in the city. The temptation to break away from Demetrius was at this time all the greater in that, in the very last days of Phaidros' generalship (supposing Kimon to have been archon in 291/0), or in the very first week of that of his successor, a Ptolemaic fleet under the command of Zenon appeared in Attic waters. It conveyed a gift of corn to Athens,

[1] Athenaeus vi. 253 c. The last doubt as to the connection of the *Ithyphallos* with the coming of Demetrius to Athens in September of 290 has been set aside by the recent discovery of Bourguet (*L' administration financière du sanctuaire pythique au ive siècle avant J.C.*, pp. 141 ff.; cf. Pomtow *Klio* VI, pp. 92 f.) that the Pythia, which the king celebrated in Athens after his arrival, came in October, not in August.

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doubtless from Philadelphus, though significantly enough its donor is not named in the Athenian decree from which we learn of the incident (*IG.* II 5. 309*b*). Zenon was probably commissioned to incite sedition in Athens, but, as we have seen, Phaidros and other moderates induced the Athenians to wait.

In summary it must be reiterated that, while the evidence thus far presented favors 291/0 for Kimon, nothing decisive has been made out.

No one knew better than Phaidros the state of Philadelphus' preparations for a war with Demetrius, since he had been in Alexandria in one of the years between 296/5 and Kimon's archonship. This we learn from the following passage of *IG.* II. 331:

καὶ ἐπὶ Νικίου μὲν ἄρχοντος στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν δὶς πάντων ὧμ προσῆκεν ἐπεμελήθη καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως· καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν χειροτονηθεὶς πλεονάκις καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους γενόμενος τρὶς τὴν πᾶσαν ἐποήσατο σπουδὴν ὅπως ἂν οἱ στρατιῶται ὡς ἄριστα κατ(ε)σκευασμένοι παρέχωνται τὰς χρείας τῷ δήμῳ· πρεσβεύσας δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν πρεσβύτερον Πτολεμαῖον ἐκόμισεν τῷ δήμῳ σῖτον καὶ χρήματα· χειροτονηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα στρατηγὸς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ Κίμωνος ἄρχοντος διετέλεσεν, κτλ.

The space within which the embassy took place is thus sharply defined. It was not in Nikias' year (296/5): it was not in Kimon's year (291/0 at the latest): it was, therefore, in one of the four (or three) intervening years. However, it is noteworthy that in the same interval Phaidros held the generalship *ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν* several times and had charge of the mercenaries three times. Struck by this seeming impossibility, I suggested (*Klio* V, p. 161), that *πλεονάκις* carried us back of 296/5, and Beloch (*Griech. Gesch.* III. 2, p. 377) concluded that the order of events was disregarded in that the embassy to Egypt belonged four years later than 291/0. This was, beyond doubt, harsh treatment of the text; for elsewhere in the document the chronological sequence is strictly adhered to, and it can, I think, be shown now that both of us were wrong. For to my contention the objection is fatal that Phaidros must then have held the generalship *ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν* before that *ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευήν*, or the praetorship before the aedileship. But this is unprecedented and quite unlikely; for the former office involved serious military duties, while the latter, so far

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as we can judge, was a purely civil post. Against Beloch, on the other hand, it can be urged that it is clear from *IG.* II 5. 309*b* that Athens had already opened negotiations with Egypt in 291/0 or earlier. Hence if the embassy of Phaidros is taken out of its context in *IG.* II. 331 (295/4–292/1), and placed later than his chief generalship, we are obliged to replace it by another quite similar embassy. In other words the embassy of Phaidros is needed before 290/89 to explain the relations existent between Egypt and Athens on the eleventh of Hekatombaion of that year. It would be equally erroneous to date any of Phaidros' generalships *ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν* after 291/0; for in that year, at the latest, he was commander-in-chief, and had thus reached the summit of his military career. Subsequently he held no lower military office.

We conclude then, that, since Phaidros was general *ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν* several times and commandant of the mercenaries thrice in the four (or three) years between 296/5 and Kimon's archonship, he must have held these offices simultaneously. On the other hand, we contend that from the moment it is shown that the generalship *ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν* and the command of the mercenaries could be, and were regularly, held at the same time, it becomes unnecessary, nay inconsequential, to demand seven or eight years for the tenure of the one office *πλεονάκις* (not *πολλάκις*, observe) and of the other *τρίς*. My interpretation of the passage is, therefore, this: the people elected ten generals annually, among them one *ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν*. Upon the meeting of the new board the specific district of each was determined, the constitutional definitions being, of course, observed in the process. Thus Phaidros was elected *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν* for four years in succession (295/4–292/1) (*καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν χειροτονηθεὶς πλεονάκις*), and he was put in charge of the mercenaries three times (*καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους γενόμενος τρίς*). In this dual capacity he exerted himself stoutly that the mercenaries should be properly equipped and do their duty (*τὴν πᾶσαν ἐποήσατο σπουδὴν ὅπως ἂν οἱ στρατιῶται ὡς ἄριστα κατ(ε)σκευασμένοι παρέχωνται τὰς χρείας τῷ δήμῳ*). On the other occasion in which he was "home-general" he went to Egypt. There is, indeed, an ambiguity in the words *ποιῶ*, but there was

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none for an Athenian of 275 B. C. The institutional facts, as will be seen in a moment, precluded such a possibility.

In support of this view, which the language allows, but does not prescribe, the following reasons can be urged: (1) Otherwise, Phaidros mentions nothing that he did as general ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν notwithstanding that he had held this office repeatedly. Such modesty is quite without parallel in this document, and is altogether unusual in decrees of this sort. (2) It is clear that a distinction is drawn in the inscription between χειροτονηθείς and γενόμενος—the first being used of election to a magistracy, the second of assumption of a particular command. The author had no stylistic feeling against the repetition of χειροτονηθείς seeing that he used it again and again in consecutive sentences. (3) The general ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν was regularly in charge of the mercenary troops, the several detachments being delegated to professional ἡγέμονες. (4) There could have been no general ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους, since the mercenaries were technically, not ξένοι, but στρατιῶται; nor is the title στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους ever found in the Athenian inscriptions, though scores of them are extant dealing with resolutions, dedications, etc., of the mercenaries.[1]

It may be objected that, if the generalship ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν regularly involved the command of the mercenaries, it was unnecessary to mention the assignment of Phaidros to this duty. But there were other functions which might have been delegated to him, and he was, in fact, intrusted with a different charge on one of his several "home-generalships."[2] When he was absent in Egypt some one of the "reserve" generals had, of course, to be put in control of the mercenaries. Moreover, should the war be beyond the frontier of Athens, the mercenaries, like all the other

[1] The *data* for these last two observations will be found in a work on *Hellenistic Athens* to be published shortly.

[2] The μέν of the phrase ἐπὶ Νικίου μὲν ἄρχοντος (see above, p. 308) holds the military commands together. The δέ of πρεσβεύσας δέ simply contrasts with these the duties of an ambassador: it need not divide the embassy from the generalships in point of time; but, should anyone think this to be the case, he may place the embassy in 292/1 and the mercenary commands in the three preceding years. In fact, this was probably the way in which they were distributed, and the opening of negotiations with Egypt was doubtless connected directly with the return of the oligarchic exiles in the archonship of Philippos (292/1).

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active troops, passed regularly over to the conduct of the hoplite-general. The addition καὶ γενόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους τρίς thus adds the idea of home (not foreign) service, and hence, of domestic danger on three occasions between 296/5 and 291/0.

πλεονάκις accordingly equals τετράκις. The word implied more than the numeral adverb, and hence was preferred. It could not equal τρίς, as would be necessary if Kimon were archon in 292/1; not simply in that "three times" and "several times" are hardly equivalent, but in that, one year being given to the Egyptian embassy, two alone would remain for service with the mercenaries. Hence we conclude that Kimon was archon in 291/0 and Philippos his immediate predecessor in 292/1.

We have thus reached the conclusion from epigraphical and historical considerations to which Clark has come from examining the biographical *data*, namely that Menander died in 292/1, in the archonship of Philippos. This involves an important inference—not simply that there is an omission of a name before Philippos in the archon-list given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus *De Dinarch.* 9 (Reiske, pp. 647 ff.), but that the name which has fallen out is Charinos; for this archon manifestly preceded 289/8 by a short interval.[1] 292/1–290/89 being occupied by Philippos, Kimon, and Diokles, and there being no vacancy prior to 295/4, he can belong only to 294/3 or 293/2. The first of these years, however, must be assigned to Olympiodoros. The year of the re-establishment of democratic institutions had to be given to this distinguished liberal; and, moreover, the solitary decree (*IG.* II 302) of Olympiodoros' archonship betrays restoration politics. Hence Charinos and the gap in Dionysius belong together in 293/2.

Dionysius professes to lay before us the names of seventy archons, Nikophemos in 361/0 being the first. He divides them into four groups, the first ending with Pythodelos in 336/5, the second with Philokles in 322/1, the third of fifteen years with Anaxikrates in 307/6, and the fourth likewise of fifteen years with Philippos in 292/1.[2] It thus resulted that Kairimos (308/7)

[1] *Priests of Asklepios*, p. 150.

[2] That the first period of fifteen years began with Philokles in 322/1 is clear from both the text and the archon-table of Dionysius; that the second began with 307/6 is explicitly stated twice. Dionysius, doubtless, had as many names between 307/6 and

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was all but last in the third group, and Charinos (293/2) all but last in the fourth group. Dionysius, moreover, was accurate in distinguishing between the names of these two archons, but his contemporaries were not equally careful; for in Diodoros (xx. 37) the archon for 308/7 is named Charinos. That is to say, another list of Athenian archons used in Roman times had Charinos twice, once erroneously in 308/7, as we have learned from the new fragment of the Parian Chronicle,[1] and once correctly in 293/2.[2] We thus come very near an explanation of the omission of Charinos in Dionysius' list. How it entered into the head of an editor (a scribe was hardly culpable) to retain Kairimos in 308/7 and abandon Charinos in 293/2, it is impossible to demonstrate, but easy to imagine. He may have found a marginal note defending Kairimos and rejecting Charinos in the second last place in the third group, and, acting upon the misapprehension that the protest was against the only Charinos he could find in his author's list, he may have struck out the archon-name for 293/2 — the second last year of the fourth group.

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Philippos as he had between 322/1 and 307/6, i. e., 14. But as the list stands in our manuscripts there are but thirteen in the former place. Consequently one has fallen out. The only escape from this conclusion requires the assumption of two errors on Dionysius' part, first in giving 69 names while professing to give 70, and secondly in writing a 15 where he should have written 14.

[1] Wilhelm and Krispi *Ath. Mitt.* 1897, pp. 183 ff. and especially p. 209.

[2] Usener *Epicurea*, pp. 132 f.; Seneca *Epist.* ii. 6. 9=18. 9.

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SOME UNFAMILIAR USES OF *IDEM* AND *ISDEM* IN LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

By E. H. Sturtevant

I. Introductory.—A passage[1] in Fabretti's posthumous collection of Latin inscriptions, published in 1702, called the attention of scholars to a remarkable peculiarity of certain Latin epitaphs found, most of them, in the city of Rome. They seemed to contain two hitherto unrecognized forms of the dative singular of *idem*, one spelled *idem* and the other *isdem*. The following five inscriptions are typical examples:[2]

1. *CIL.* VI 15389. Dis Manib(us). Claudiae Cypare fecit Claudius Felix libertae suae piissimae IDEM coniugi et sibi.
2. VI 16306. Dis M(anibus). L. Cornelius Saturninus vix(it) a(nnis) XL. Cornelia Sumferousa patrono suo IDEM coniugi bene merenti.
3. VI 21325. D(is) M(anibus). Liciniae Fortunatae optimae et sanctissimae libertae ISDEM coniugi T. Licinius Sentianus bene merenti fec(it) et sibi.
4. VI 16534*b*. Dis Man(ibus). Cn. Cossutius Cladus. Cn. Cossutius. Agathangelus fratri suo ISDEM liberto bene merenti f(ecit). Vixit annis XXXV.
5. VI 24711. Dis Manibus L. Ponti Callisti. Pontia Briseis patrono ISDEM coniugi b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).

Ritschl pointed out that there is no phonetic difficulty in the way of regarding *idem* as a product of contraction, like the nominative plural *īdem* beside the restored *eidem*. He suggested that the occurrence of *isdem* in the dative must be due to the existence

[1] Fabretti *Inscr. antiq. . . . . expl.*, pp. 291 ff. Fabretti merely stated the fact that idem and isdem appear where et or eidem would be expected. Ritschl *Rhein. Mus.* XIV, p. 380=*Opusc.* IV, p. 385 Anm., seems to imply that he called the strange forms datives.

[2] Other examples are the following: idem with masculine subject, *CIL.* VI 5778, 8801, 10219, 12162, 13773, 14529, 14841, 14930*b*, 16899, 18017, 20675, 22355*a*, 25485, 25504, 26281, 29956, 35503, X 573, 2412, XI 4487, XIV 564; idem with feminine subject, *CIL.* VI 1897, 5360, 6788 = 21853, 7368, 7788, 8449, 9975, 14970, 15600, 17951, 18212, 20270, 20331, 22009, 22137, 23363*a*, 23897, 24008, 24445, 25377, 35806, 28670, IX 1884, 5849, XI 60, XIV 2836; isdem with masculine subject, *CIL.* VI 9719, 10522, 21401, 25319, 35973, XI 4760; isdem with feminine subject, *CIL.* VI 9590, 11368, 11840, 12980, 13819, 14592, 15505, 15624, 16810, 18470, 21996, 22354, 28375, 34966.

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of that form beside *idem* in the nominative masculine of both numbers. Ritschl's theory is followed by the handbooks of Kühner, Georges, Neue-Wagener, and Lindsay, except that Georges does not mention *isdem* and Lindsay expresses the opinion that *isdem* did not differ in pronunciation from *idem*.

But the dative *eidem* would make no better Latin than the adverb *item* in such inscriptions as the above. And, in fact, *idem* has usually been understood as an adverb by the editors[1] of collections of inscriptions from Orelli down to the present day. I have noticed only two exceptions[2]: Hübner emends *idem* to *eidem* in *CIL.* II 1286, and Bormann says that *idem* is used for *eidem* in *CIL.* XI 4487.

II. *idem* as an adverb.—That there is an adverb spelled *idem* nos. 8–16 clearly show. In nos. 6 and 7 a dative singular is syntactically possible, but the formula belongs with that of nos. 8, 9, and 10 rather than with that of nos. 1–5.[3]

6. XIV 439. L. Voluseio (mulieris) l(iberto) Dio, seviro Augustal(i) IDEM quinquennal(i). . . . .
7. XIV 367 (182 A. D.). P. Horatio Chryseroti seviro Augustal(i) IDEM quinq(uennali) et immuni Larum Aug(usti), ex s(enatus) c(onsulto). . . . .

In nos. 8–11 the only possible case of the pronoun would be the genitive.

8. XIV 318. D(is) M(anibus) L. Carulli Felicissimi, bis(elliarii), (seviri) Aug(ustalis) IDEM q(uin)q(uennalis) L(aurentis) L(avinatis), q(uin)q(uennalis) cor[p]or(is) vin(ariorum) urb(anorum) et Ost(iensium). . . . .
9. XIV 381. . . . . D(is) M(anibus) A. Levi Callisti, seviri Augustali (*sic*) IDEM quinq(uennalis). . . . .
10. XIV 383. D(is) M(anibus) L. Marri Moderati sevir(i) Aug(ustalis) IDEM q(uin)q(uennalis). . . . .

[1] E. g., Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* II, p. 531, *s. v.* idem; Mommsen on *CIL.* III 1198, and as quoted by Henzen on *CIL.* VI 10659, and by Hirschfeld on XIII 2016; Dessau *CIL.* XIV, index gram. *s. v.* idem.

[2] Mommsen *CIL.* IX, index gram. *s. v.*, refers to an instance of "idem indeclinabile," but he can hardly mean anything different from "adverbium," in view of the opinion expressed under the references in the preceding note.

[3] Another instance of the sort is to be found in *CIL.* X 1883. In II 1286, the original of which has been lost, Hübner unnecessarily emends *idem* to *eidem*. Either an adverb or a dative is syntactically possible.

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11. XIV 407. Dis Manibus L. Renni L. lib(erti) Philodoxi, mag(istri) quinq(uennalis) coll(egii) fab(rum) tig(nuariorum) Ost(is) IDEM Aug(ustalis); . . . .

In no. 12 the adverb *idem* stands for an ablative singular masculine.

12. XIV 2112 col. I, l. 9 (136 A. D.) . . . . [M. Antonio Hiber]o P. Mummio Sisenna co(n)s(ulibus) Kal. Ian. collegium salutare Dianae [ ] et Antinoi constitutum, L. Caesennio L. f(ilio) Quir(ina) Rufo dict(atore) III IDEMq(ue) patr(ono). . . . .

In nos. 13 and 14 *idem* may be the masculine plural of the pronoun used for the feminine; but an adverb makes no difficulty in either inscription, and in no. 13 it is more natural than a pronoun.

13. XIII 1854. (litteris saec. III). Memoriae aeternae Exomni Paterniani quondam centurionis legionari, IDEMq(ue) memoriae dulcissimae quondam Paterniae Paterniane filiae eius; Tertinia Victorina mater infelicissima marito et filiae et Paternia Victorina patri et sorori ponendum curavit et sub ascia dedicaverunt.
14. XI 3206. M. Ulpio Aug(usti) lib(erto) Thallo proc(uratori) Flavia Inventa uxor et Ulpia Procula filia de se bene merenti; IDEM decurionibus, Augustalib(us), et plebei, coniugibusq(ue) et liberis epulum dederunt; l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

Where a dative or nominative would be syntactically possible, *item* is sometimes so exactly parallel with *idem* that one can hardly avoid understanding both words in the same way; e. g., nos. 15 and 16.[1]

15. X 542 = XIV 425. T. Testio Helpidiano, seviro Aug(ustali) IDEM q(uin)q(uennali) ITEM patrono et q(uin)q(uennali) corporis treiectus marmorariorum, IIII Testii Helpidianus, Priscus, Priscianus, et Felix, fili et heredes, patri dulcissimo.
16. VI 18616. Diis Manibus sac(rum). Fuficia C. l(iberta) Nymphe fecit sibi et P. Valerio P. lib(erto) Addmeto, coniugi suo carissimo, IDEM libertis libertabusque suis posterisque eorum, excepto Forte liberto. ITEM C. Iulio Fausto et C. Iulio Saturnino et C. Clodio C. filio Tyranno fratribus meis pientissimis hoc monumentum feci, IDEM libertis et libertabusque suis posterisque eorum.

The editors of the *Corpus* seem to think of *idem* as merely an orthographical variation of *item*. It is true that final *d* and *t* are often confused in writing, as a result of the varying pronunciation induced by assimilation to the initial of the following word;

[1] *CIL.* VI 22819 is another, I think, but the inscription is very difficult.

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but no such reason can be assigned for a variation between *d* and *t* in the interior of a word, and the indices of the *Corpus* show that it is actually very rare. Aside from the common *adque* and *quodannis*, I find *d* for *t* only in *imudavit* = *immutavit CIL.* II 462, *tigidos* = *digitos* X 8249 (an incantation), *adtamen* XII 944, and *parendibus*, Brambach *CIRh.* 1238.

It may be, however, that *idem* really is a pendant of *item*. For the latter plainly belongs to the *īdem* group. Even in point of etymology, I think, it should be regarded as coming from *itidem*[1] (from **ita-dem*) by haplology. At any rate, their similar meaning must have brought the pronoun and adverb so close together in the linguistic consciousness that *item* might tend to become *idem* by analogy with *īdem*, *itidem*, and the rest.

It is also possible that we have here the neuter accusative of the pronoun used adverbially. This explanation is supported by *CIL.* XI 1074 (cited below as no. 26), where *eadem* seems to be neuter accusative plural used adverbially. We shall notice a third possibility later on.

III. No proof of a dative singular *idem*.—While *idem* occurs where neither a nominative nor a dative can be construed, I do not know of any inscription where we must take *idem* as a dative. On the other hand, it obviously may be a dative in such inscriptions as nos. 1 and 2; and, besides, a dissyllabic dative from this pronoun is what one would expect. For the dative of the uncompounded *is* is monosyllabic in Catullus lxxxii. 3, and the spelling[2] *iei*, twice in *CIL.* I 205, must indicate the pronunciation *ī*. Still, so far as I know, the only evidence for *īdem* as a dative singular is furnished by two hexameter verses, Lucilius 1231 (Marx) and Manilius iii. 73. They are, respectively:

uni se atque EIDEM studio omnes dedere et arti,

and

ordine sub certo duxit, pars semper ut EIDEM.

[1] The retention of *itidem* in slow or emphatic utterance is, of course, nothing strange.

[2] Sommer *Handbuch der lat. Laut- u. Formenlehre*, p. 449, understands it as indicating the pronunciation *ī*, which he thinks is due to the analogy of the nominative and dative-ablative plural. I have shown *(Contraction in the Case Forms of the Latin io- and iā-Stems*, pp. 11 ff., 22 f., and 32), that *ii* and *iis* never represented the pronunciation in those cases. I have discussed the spelling *iei* for *ī* in republican inscriptions, *loc. cit.*, pp. 8, 28.

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Both may be examples of synizesis like Vergil's *ferrei*, *Aen.* vi. 280. The Lucilius instance may be due to iambic shortening. They certainly do not prove the existence of a dative singular *īdem*.

IV. Nominative singular feminine *idem*.—It is possible, as has been said, to construe *idem* as an adverb in all such inscriptions as nos. 1 and 2 above, and, in fact, in most of its epigraphical occurrences which do not fall into the usual syntactic categories. There is, however, a good deal of evidence that *īdem* is sometimes a nominative singular feminine. No. 17 is a hexameter verse, and requires a spondee where *idem* stands.

17. V 6202 = Bücheler *Carm. Ep.* 740.

Cervia quae IDEM vixit Abundantia saeclo,

The inscription has seven false quantities in its five lines, though one of them (*Ābundantia*) may be excused as occurring in a proper name not otherwise to be got into the verse. Such evidence would, of course, have little weight if it stood by itself.

In nos. 18–20 *idem* is more naturally understood as a nominative singular feminine than as an adverb.

18. VIII 19198. Iovi Optimo Maximo res pub(lica) Silensium decreto decur(ionum) sua p(ecunia) f(ecit) IDEMq(ue) dedicavit.
19. XI 3080. Ex voto Matri deum mag(nae) Diacritamenae [I]ulia Tigranis regis f(ilia) Ammia [a] solo fecit, IDEMque dedicavit.

It must be confessed that there are not a few instances[1] of *item* in similar inscriptions, but the nominative (as in no. 24 below) is very much more common; and in a formula it is not surprising that the common *idem* should be substituted for the rare *eadem*. In no. 20 an adverb would be possible, but strange.

20. VI 19659.]bona Ianuaria coniunx illius—IDEM annos XXX cum eo gessit et geret—fecit coniugi suo benemerenti. . . . .

Bonnet[2] quotes *idem* for *eadem* in Gregory of Tours. I have had no opportunity to examine the passage, and so I do not know the context; perhaps it would be possible to interpret the word as an adverb.

[1] E. g., *CIL.* VIII 12018, 14377, 14696, 15476, 15520.

[2] *Le latin de Grégoire de Tours*, 384. His reference is to Mart. 86, p. 546, 27.

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There are a good many inscriptions where *idem* may be either a nominative singular feminine or an adverb; e. g., no. 21:[1]

21. VI 18032. D(is) M(anibus). P. Flavio Crescenti P. Flavi Amaranti filio—vix(it) an(nis) VII d(ie) I hor(is) X—Flavia Euphrosyne mamma IDEM nutrix fecit.

V. Nominative singular feminine *isdem*.—The strongest reason for believing that *idem* is sometimes a nominative singular feminine is that the equivalent *isdem* must frequently be understood as a feminine. That this interpretation is necessary in nos. 22 and 23 is quite obvious.

22. VI 20222.[2] C. Iulio Primigenio—vixit annis LX—Iulia Areschusa liberta ISDEM coniunx patrono carissimo fecit.
23. VI. 17082. D(is) M(anibus). T. Duxsio Sagari Duxsia Tallusa libeta (*sic*) ISDEM coniunx patr(ono) b(ene)m(erenti) fec(it).

We have fifteen[3] more examples of *isdem* as a nominative singular feminine, I think, in the inscriptions like no. 5 above, with a feminine subject. They must be discussed in connection with inscriptions of the type of nos. 3 and 4, which differ merely in having a masculine subject.

VI. The nominative *idem* or *isdem* used in place of a dative. —We have seen that Ritschl, Lindsay, and others call *isdem* a dative, and think that it was substituted for a dative *īdem* because *idem* and *isdem* were equivalent forms in nominative singular and plural. But we have found the existense of a dative *īdem* very doubtful; and the confusion theory is not attractive in itself.

Sommer (*loc. cit.*, p. 452) discusses the matter as follows: "In the later popular language the etymological composition of *idem* seems not to have been always clearly felt; at least the forms of the nominative singular, *idem* and the restored *isdem*, occur as

[1] Others are *CIL.* VI 7790, 20018, 21458, 27196, 29527.

[2] *CIL.* VI 13670 differs from this only in not giving the husband's *nomen*, and in spelling *coniux* instead of *coniunx*. 13670 is taken from an inaccurate (cf. *CIL.* VI, p. lxii, No. lcvi) copy of 220 inscriptions which Ficoroni sent to his friend Gori about the middle of the eighteenth century. He writes that he had bought the originals in the year 1738, but had already sold them. Maffei, writing in 1749, locates the inscription whose text is printed above "in Ficoroni's collection." Of course, it is the same as 13670. It has been in the Capitoline Museum since 1775, when Guasco published the inscriptions at that museum.

[3] Nos. 26 and 30 below bring the total up to nineteen.

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genitive and dative singular (with especial frequency in the city of Rome itself). This points to a fossilization of the pronoun in formulas." The statement is suggestive, but insufficient. The loss of a feeling for the etymology of *idem* can have had only a negative relation to the matter: it removed an obstacle to change. The factors which induced the change are still to seek. That we have to do with some sort of "fossilization" is obvious, and it is noteworthy that our examples occur in a fomula. As will appear later, I think that Sommer is wrong in taking *isdem* as equivalent to a genitive.

The starting-point of the development was, I think, the familiar construction of *idem* (or *isdem*) which Lane[1] describes thus: "*idem*, 'the same,' often connects two different predicates to the same person or thing. In this case it may be variously rendered by 'likewise, also, all the same, on the other hand, at once, very, nevertheless.'"

In the literature *idem* regularly puts a certain emphasis on the identity of subject, but not so in many epigraphical examples; e. g., no. 24.

24. VI 589. Silvano sacr(um). Cn. Antonius Cn. f(ilius) Fuscus aediculam cum ara et cratera d(ono) d(edit) IDEMque dedicavit.

This formula does not differ materially from *dedit, dedicavit* of VI 338, etc. From here it is but a step to no. 25.

25. VI 27556. D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum). Pupus Torquatianus filius bonus qui semper parentibus obsequens vixit annis VIII m(ensibus) VIIII d(iebus) XIII, item alius pupus Laetianus qui IDEM fil(ius) bonus et obsequens IDEM parentibus vixit annis n(umero) V m(ensibus) VI d(iebus) VI. Posuerunt Gaianus et Eucharis parentes. . . . .

Here the subject of the clause containing *idem* has already occurred, but the purpose of the pronoun is to emphasize the identity of the predicate with a preceding one.

In no. 26 we actually have *isdem*[2] with a new subject to emphasize the identity of the predicate.

26. XI 1074. T. Al[fio?] Ecetio posuaerunt servi quos edukav(i)t, ISDE(M) liberta et servi [e]adem b(ene)m(erenti).

[1] *Latin Grammar*, § 2371.

[2] Parallel examples with *idem* are *CIL.* VI 15282 and 24532.

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Our apparent datives in nos. 3, 4, and 5 are due to an extension of the construction in a different direction. The essential difference between the use of *idem* in no. 24 and of *isdem* in nos. 3, 4, and 5 is that in the latter *isdem* is followed, not by a new predicate, but by a modifier of the preceding predicate. In other words, in the formula illustrated in nos. 3, 4, and 5, *isdem*, though in agreement with the subject, is used to emphasize the connection of two parts of the predicate. The use of the nominative instead of the dative or the adverb was also favored by the similar formula which puts the words of relationship into agreement with the subject; e.g.:

27. VI 2334. . . . . C. Vibio Threpto C. Vibius Tyrannus patronus IDE(M) tata eius. . . . .

It is, of course, impossible to separate our nos. 1 and 2 from nos. 3, 4, and 5. *idem* like *isdem* should be construed in this formula as a nominative and not as an adverb. Consequently, the twenty-seven inscriptions which, like no. 2, have *idem* with a feminine subject should be added to our list of examples of feminine *idem*.

There are three important limitations upon the construction in the formula under consideration. There is always a nominative expressed for the pronoun to agree with, the pronoun always stands between two datives, and the usage is confined to the forms *īdem* and *isdem*.[1] I can find no occurrence of the regular feminine *eadem*. *idem*, however, agrees with a nominative plural in *CIL.* XI 4488 and XIII 2774.[2] The fact that a nominative always appears in the sentence shows, of course, that *idem* and *isdem* were still felt to be nominatives. The limitation to the position between two datives reminds us that we have to do with a single formula that varies only slightly. But the exclusion of *eadem*, *eidem*, and *eaedem* from the construction clearly shows that the tendency was toward a fossilization of *īdem* and *isdem*.

[1] *Iisd.* (nominative singular feminine) in *CIL.* VI 13819 is to be compared with the nominative singular *eisdem* in *CIL.* I 576, 577, 1143 = XIV 3002, 1468 = III·1772. Both spellings represent a long vowel that comes from a contamination of *idem* and *isdem*.

[2] Hirschfeld has not seen the original of this inscription, and he has changed the recorded *iidem* to *eidem*. Of course, *iidem* stands for *īdem* just as *ii* often stands for *ī*, nominative plural of *is*.

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VI. A third possible origin of the adverbial *idem*.—On the whole, the construction of *idem* and *isdem* in nos. 1–5 is very nearly adverbial. Another step in the same direction, and we should have to call the words adverbs. It is, in fact, possible that the adverbial *idem* of nos. 6–16 above should be pronounced with a long vowel and explained in this way. In other words, these inscriptions may contain merely a still freer use of the construction of nos. 1–5—a use in which *idem* may take the place of genitive or ablative singular as well as of the dative, and in which no nominative need be expressed in the sentence; as, for example, in nos. 6–12. The spelling of no. 28 certainly indicates a long vowel.

28. XIV 345. D(is) M(anibus) A. Egrili Callistionis sevir(i) Aug(ustalis) EIDE(M) q(uin)q(uennalis); Cominia Secundina coniugi inconparabili.

It is quite possible, however, that *eidem* is a blunder to be compared with the nominative singular neuter *eidem* in *CIL.* I 204, col. II, l. 20.

There are two objections to this theory. In the first place, whereas *isdem* is nearly one-half as frequent as *idem* in the almost adverbial construction of nos. 1–5, it does not appear at all in the purely adverbial construction of nos. 6–16. This is the more striking as the nominative type of the formula of no. 11 does show *isdem* in no. 29.

29. XIV 299. L. Aquillius (mulieris) l(ibertus) Modestus magister quinquennalis collegi fabroru(m) tignuariorum Ostiensium lustri II ISDEM Augustalis fecit sibi et. . . . .

In the second place, while the formula of nos. 1–5 is evidently a peculiarity of urban Latin, the adverbial *idem* is extremely rare in the city of Rome. And conversely, though the adverbial *idem* is especially common at Ostia, the formula of nos. 1–5 occurs there only once. The two idioms seem to belong primarily to different local dialects. It therefore seems preferable to pronounce the adverbial *idem* with a short vowel, and to regard it as an adverbial accusative or as *item* made over on the model of *īdem*, etc.[1]

[1] Cf. p. 316 above.

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By assuming that the adverbial *idem* was of nominative origin, we could trace to one source all the peculiar uses here treated. So simple a solution is very attractive, but mere simplicity can scarcely make a linguistic theory more probable.

VII. No genitive singular *isdem*.—In two inscriptions *isdem* has been understood as a genitive singular. One of these, no. 30, clearly belongs in the same category as no. 26 above. That is, *isdem* is used to emphasize a new subject.

30. VI 8860. Agathopus A[ugusti libertus] invitator e[t Iunia] Epictesis cu[linam (?) ex]struxerunt super t[umulum] suum propter me[moriam] Aureliae Epict[esis filiae] suae dulcis[simae.] Aurelia Ire[ne filia(?)] ISDEM fecit.

No. 31 is more difficult.

31. VI 8861. Agathopus Aug(usti) lib(ertus) invitator que(m) ad modum in introitum porticunculae ad monimentum Aureliae Irenes superposito titulo super ostium scriptura continetur, qui titulus attendit in horto, ea omnia de suo fecit quae pertinent ad monimentum sive sepulchrum ISDEM Agathopi quod vivus a solo et Iunia Epictesis fecerunt; . . . .

As it stands, *isdem* must be a genitive; but there is some reason to suspect the stone-cutter. It appears from the preceding inscription that the tomb in question was intended for Junia Epictesis as well as for Agathopus himself. The idea would be much more natural if we could transpose *isdem* and *quod* and read *Agathopus* —"the tomb which the aforesaid Agathopus, in his lifetime, and Junia Epictesis built." In no. 32 Agathopus expresses himself almost as I think he intended to do here.

32. VI 8862. . . . . pertinens ad monimentum sive sepulchrum quod Agathopus Aug(usti) lib(ertus) invitator vivus et Iunia Epictesis fecerunt. . . . .

The only other inscription I have seen which seems to have a genitive singular *isdem* is no. 33.

33. VI 11005. Aemiliano filio iucundissimo ac pio et ab omnes amantissimo, cuius per blanditiem refrigerium laboris creati sumus, Secundus et Sucessa parentes, item Sutius et Sutia ISDEM [ ]nutritores b(ene) m(erenti) [ ]qui vix(it) ann(is).

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The loss of a corner of the stone makes it impossible to be sure what *isdem* means. If the following word has not been lost, *isdem* may be understood as a nominative plural and construed as *isdem* in no. 26.

VIII. Summary.—An adverb *īdem*, equivalent to *item*, is frequent in inscriptions from Ostia and sporadic in others. The earliest occurrence that can be dated is no. 12 above, which belongs to 136 A. D.

The masculine nominatives *īdem* and *isdem* are frequently employed for the feminine *eadem* in Rome, and occasionally elsewhere. I cannot date any inscription that illustrates the idiom.

A large number of epitaphs employ *īdem* and *isdem*, in agreement with the subject, to emphasize the connection of two datives belonging to the predicate. The construction is confined to a formula which does not show very much variation except in word-order. It is briefly this: *Gaius Gaio fratri idem liberto fecit*. The usage occurs frequently in the city of Rome, occasionally in other parts of Italy, and once (*CIL.* XIII 2774) in Gallia Lugdunensis.

There does not seem to be conclusive evidence for a genitive or dative *idem* or *isdem*.

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PROHIBITIVES WITH ΠΡΟΣ AND THE GENITIVE

By John A. Scott

In this paper I shall try to show that prohibitions with *πρός* and the genitive take the present imperative in urgent advice, i. e., the interest is of the hearer rather than of the speaker; the aorist subjunctive in vehement entreaty, i. e., the interest is of the speaker rather than of the hearer. The speaker with the present identifies his interests with those of the hearer, with the aorist he ignores the hearer's interests or makes them his own.

The total number of prohibitives with *πρός* and the genitive, from Homer to Demosthenes, is less than seventy, so that they may easily be quoted. Homer, Hesiod and the lyric poets have no example of the present imperative or aorist subjunctive in prohibition with *πρός*. The first illustration is Homeric Hymn iv. 187 f.:

> *ἀλλά σε πρὸς Ζηνὸς γουνάζομαι αἰγιόχοιο,*
> *μή με ζῶντ' ἀμενηνὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐάδῃς κτλ.*

This is a perfect example of the constant character of the aorist subjunctive with *πρός* in prohibitions; it is urgent entreaty in the interest of the speaker, and has the personal pronoun *με* as object of the verb. This is the unvarying usage for Classical Greek. *Whenever the object of the verb is the first personal pronoun, the aorist subjunctive is exclusively used.* There are over thirty examples of this rule, and not one exception. Other examples with *πρός* in prohibitions are:

> Soph. *Ai.* 492: *καί σ' ἀντιάζω πρός τ' ἐφεστίου Διὸς*
> *μή μ' ἀξιώσῃς βάξιν ἀλγεινὴν λαβεῖν κτλ.*
> 587: *καί σε πρὸς τοῦ σοῦ τέκνου*
> *καὶ θεῶν ἱκνοῦμαι, μὴ προδοὺς ἡμᾶς γένῃ.*
> *El.* 1206: *μὴ δῆτα πρὸς θεῶν τοῦτό μ' ἐργάσῃ, ξένε.*
> 1208: *μή, πρὸς γενείου, μὴ 'ξέλῃ τὰ φίλτατα.*

Although the personal pronoun is not expressed in this place, it is so clearly implied that Jebb was right in translating it, "Rob me not of my chief treasure."

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1483: μὴ πέρα λέγειν ἄα
πρὸς θεῶν, ἀδελφέ, μηδὲ μηκύνειν λόγους.

This is the first example of the present imperative, the personal pronoun is not expressed nor implied; Electra fears that Orestes will lose his purpose if he delays, so to strengthen *him* she speaks, she advises him for the accomplishment of his plans.

O. T. 326: μὴ πρὸς θεῶν φρονῶν γ' ἀποστραφῇς, ἐπεὶ
πάντες σε προσκυνοῦμεν οἵδ' ἱκτήριοι.

Even if the pronoun of the first person is not expressed, the added phrase, "All we suppliants implore thee on our knees" (Jebb), shows that it is for their own sake they beg.

1060: μὴ πρὸς θεῶν . . . . ματεύσῃς τοῦθ' ἅλις νοσοῦσ' ἐγώ.

The last phrase shows that Iocasta is in a state of mind where she can only beg.

1153: μὴ δῆτα, πρὸς θεῶν, τὸν γέροντά μ' αἰκίσῃ.
1165: μὴ πρὸς θεῶν, μή, δέσποθ', ἱστόρει πλέον.

These last two examples, spoken by the same person to the same person, show fully the distinction between these two tenses: in the first instance the servant pleads for his own sake, to escape bodily injury, hence the aorist, but when he sees that the continued search is to lead to the ruin of Oedipus, he shifts from entreaty to urgent advice. When he pleads for himself he uses the aorist, when he urges the king for the king's good, he changes to the present.

O. C. 49: πρός νυν θεῶν, ὦ ξεῖνε, μή μ' ἀτιμάσῃς.
514: μὴ πρὸς ξενίας ἀνοίξῃς
τᾶς σᾶς, πέπον, ἔργ' ἀναιδῆ.
1409: μή τοί με πρὸς θεῶν . . . . μή μ' ἀτιμάσητέ γε.
Tr. 436: μή, πρός σε τοῦ κατ' ἄκρον Οἰταῖον νάπος
Διὸς καταστράπτοντος, ἐκκλέψῃς λόγον.

Jebb's "Do not cheat me of the truth," shows where the interest lies.

Ph. 470: πρός νύν σε πατρὸς πρός τε μητρός, ὦ τέκνον,
ἱκέτης ἱκνοῦμαι, μὴ λίπῃς μ' οὕτω μόνον.
486: πρὸς αὐτοῦ Ζηνὸς ἱκεσίου, τέκνον,
. . . . ἀλλὰ μή μ' ἀφῇς κτλ.
749: πρός θεῶν . . . . μὴ φείσῃ βίου.
933: πρὸς θεῶν πατρῴων, τὸν βίον με μὴ ἀφέλῃς.

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Ph. 967: ἐλέησον, ὦ παῖ, πρὸς θεῶν, καὶ μὴ παρῇς
σαυτοῦ βροτοῖς ὄνειδος, ἐκκλέψας ἐμέ.
1183: μή, πρὸς ἀραίου Διός, ἔλθῃς, ἱκετεύω
("Do not leave me").
1300: ἆ μηδαμῶς, μή, πρὸς θεῶν, μεθῇς βέλος.
Eurip. *Al.* 275: μὴ πρός σε θεῶν τλῇς με προδοῦναι,
El. 1165: ὦ τέκνα, πρὸς θεῶν μὴ κτάνητε μητέρα.

Here Clytaemestra pleads for her own life, and *μητέρα* is a more emphatic *ἐμέ*.

Heracl. 227: ἀλλ' ἄντομαί σε καὶ καταστέφω χεροῖν
μὴ πρὸς γενείου, μηδαμῶς ἀτιμάσῃς κτλ.

Helpless entreaty of the aged Iolaus for himself and the children of Heracles.

271: μὴ πρὸς θεῶν κήρυκα τολμήσῃς θενεῖν.

These are the words of the herald himself; hence *κήρυκα* is a more impressive *ἐμέ*.

Hipp. 503: μή μοί γε πρὸς θεῶν, εὖ λέγεις γάρ, αἰσχρὰ δέ,
πέρα προβῇς τῶνδ'.

The reading in the first verse is doubtful. I have used that of Weil.

607: ὦ πρός σε γονάτων, μηδαμῶς μ' ἐξεργάσῃ.
I. A. 1183: μὴ δῆτα πρὸς θεῶν μήτ' ἀναγκάσῃς ἐμὲ κτλ.
I. T. 706: πρὸς δεξιᾶς σε τῆσδ' ἐπισκήπτω τάδε· . . . .
καὶ μὴ προδῷς μου τὴν κασιγνήτην ποτέ.
Med. 65: μή, πρὸς γενείου, κρύπτε σύνδουλον σέθεν·
σιγὴν γάρ, εἰ χρή, τῶνδε θήσομαι πέρι.

Here the negative request is really an affirmative and equals, "Tell me;" it is too mild for the aorist, and by using the present the nurse identifies her interests with his, and promises to keep *his* secret.

712: ἀλλ' ἄντομαί σε τῆσδε πρὸς γενειάδος . . . .
καὶ μή μ' ἔρημον ἐκπεσοῦσαν εἰσίδῃς,
853: μή, πρὸς γονάτων σε πάντως
πάντῃ σ' ἱκετεύομεν,
τέκνα φονεύσῃς.

The tone is shown by *ἱκετεύομεν*.

Or. 1031: μὴ πρὸς θεῶν μοι περιβάλῃς ἀναιδρίαν.
Tr. 1042: μή, πρός σε γονάτων, τὴν νόσον τὴν τῶν θεῶν
προσθεὶς ἐμοὶ κτάνῃς με, συγγίγνωσκε δέ.

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Phoen. 925: ὦ πρός σε γονάτων καὶ γερασμίου τριχός,
σίγα, πόλει δὲ τοὐσδε μὴ λέξῃς λόγους.

Creon is pleading with Teiresias for the life of his son.

Aristoph. *Vesp.* 919: πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, μὴ προκαταγίγνωσκ', ὦ πάτερ,
πρὶν ἂν γ' ἀκούσῃς ἀμφοτέρων.

The young man is trying to teach his father to be a fair judge, and gives this advice for the father's sake, certainly not for his own; hence the present.

1418: προσκαλοῦμαί σ', ὦ γέρον,
ὕβρεως. . . . . ὕβρεως; μή, μὴ καλέσῃς πρὸς τῶν θεῶν.
ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κτλ.

It seems to me a very easy emendation to change—μή, μὴ—to—μή μοι; as the sense clearly is, "'Do not,' I pray." There is no doubt that this is a request in favor of the speaker, as he agrees to assume the risk. Reiske followed by Starkie wrote καλέσῃ.

Pax 322: τί τὸ κακόν; τί πάσχετ', ὦνδρες; μηδαμῶς, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,
πρᾶγμα κάλλιστον διαφθείρητε διὰ τὰ σχήματα.
376: μὴ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν
ἡμῶν κατείπῃς, ἀντιβολῶ σε, δέσποτα.
Thes. 228: μηδαμῶς, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,
προδῷς με.
Eccl. 562: μηδαμῶς πρὸς τῶν θεῶν
τουτὶ ποιήσῃς μηδ' ἀφέλῃ μου τὸν βίον.

Lysias iv. 20: πρὸς οὖν παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ θεῶν τῶν τόδε τὸ χωρίον ἐχόντων ἱκετεύω ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀντιβολῶ, ἐλεήσατέ με, καὶ μὴ περίδητε κτλ.

xiii. 95: μηδαμῶς πρὸς θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων, μήτε τέχνῃ μήτε μηχανῇ μηδεμιᾷ θανατον ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν καταψηφίσησθε.

Here the speaker identifies the interests of those slain by the Thirty with his own, as a near kinsman has been slain by them.

xx. 36: δεόμεθα οὖν ὑμῶν πρὸς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν ἑκάστῳ . . . . μὴ ἡμᾶς βουλομένους εὖ ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν ὑμεῖς κωλύσητε.

Isaeus ii. 47: βοηθήσατε καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἐν Ἅιδου ὄντι, καὶ μὴ περίδητε πρὸς θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων δέομαι ὑμῶν κτλ.

Dem. xviii. 199: καί μου πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐνοίας ὃ λέγω θεωρησάτω.

256: καί μου πρὸς Διὸς μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα καταγνῷ μηδείς.

xix. 78: πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μὴ ἀποδέξησθ' ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, μηδ' ὑπομείνητε, κτλ.

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This passage is neutral, it is for the interest of each, so that either the present or the aorist is possible, but the speaker chooses to identify their interests with his, so uses the aorist. He takes their own cause and pleads with them as if it were his own.

xx. 74: *πρὸς Διὸς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι μηδεὶς φθόνῳ τὸ μέλλον ἀκούσῃ, ἀλλὰ τἀληθὲς σκοπείτω,*

xxviii. 20: *ἱκετεύω ἀντιβολῶ πρὸς παίδων, πρὸς γυναικῶν . . . . μὴ περιίδητέ με κτλ.*

xl. 53: *οὗτος νῦν σχετλιάζων καὶ δεινοπαθῶν καὶ τὴν προῖκά με τῆς μητρὸς ἀποστερήσει; ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μὴ καταπλαγῆτε κτλ.*

The *με* in the first part of the sentence shows in whose interest he is pleading.

61: *πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μὴ ἐπιτρέπετε αὐτῷ, κτλ.*

Here the tone lies between simple advice and entreaty, so the speaker chooses to advise relying upon justice and proof rather than to throw himself on their mercy and beg. He demands the dowery not as a favor, but as his right, hence the present. This is the only example of a prohibitive with *πρός* and the present in any of the speeches assigned to the Ten Orators, and this speech is spurious.

l. 2: *καὶ πρὸς θεῶν ἄνδρες δικασταί, δέομαι ὑμῶν, μή με ἡγήσησθε ἀδολεσχεῖν, κτλ.*

lv. 35: *μὴ οὖν πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ προῆσθέ με τούτοις μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα.*

lvii. 50: *καί μοι πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς θορυβήσῃ, μηδ' ἐφ' ᾧ μέλλω λέγειν ἀχθεσθῇ.*

59: *καί μοι πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ δυσκόλως, κτλ.*

Evidently a mannerism with the writer of this speech.

Epist. v. 1: *δέομαι δή σου πρὸς Διὸς ξενίου καὶ πάντων τῶν θεῶν, μή με καταστήσῃς ἀηδεῖ καὶ δεινῷ μηδενὶ περιπετῆ.*

No other of the orators uses *πρός* with the genitive in prohibitions. It will be observed that but three of the orators use it, and that they have but four examples outside of Demosthenes.

From the nature of the construction it could hardly be used in historical narrative, but it might be found in the speeches. Herodotus and Thucydides never use it, and Xenophon but sparingly.

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Xen. *Hell.* ii. 4. 21: *πρὸς θεῶν πατρῴων καὶ μητρῴων μὴ πείθεσθε τοῖς ἀνοσιωτάτοις τριάκοντα.*

These are the words of Cleocritus, the herald of the mysteries, who tries to persuade the Athenians that it is to their interest to cast off the yoke of the Thirty, it is for their sake rather than his own that he speaks, hence the present and not the aorist.

Sym. 8. 6: *πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὦ Ἀντίσθενες, μόνον μὴ συγκόψῃς με.*
Mem. iii. 6. 3: *πρὸς θεῶν, ἔφη, μὴ τοίνυν ἀποκρύψῃ, ἀλλ' εἶπον ἡμῖν κτλ.*

The personal pronoun in the second clause shows in whose interest the request is made.

Cyr. iii. 1. 35: *πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, μὴ οὕτω λέγε, εἰ δὲ μή, οὐ θαρροῦντά με ἕξεις.*

"If it is of any value for you to have in me a bold and hopeful follower, you must not speak that way, it is for your interest I speak;" hence the present is used and not the aorist.

Plato *Gorgias* 500 *b*: *καὶ πρὸς φιλίου, ὦ Καλλίκλεις, μήτε αὐτὸς οἷόν δεῖν πρὸς ἐμὲ παίζειν μηδ' ὅ τι ἂν τύχῃς παρὰ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἀποκρίνου, μήτ' αὖ τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ οὕτως ἀποδέχου ὡς παίζοντος.*

Here there can be no idea of entreaty; the use of δεῖν is conclusive. Socrates is trying to show to Callikles the only method by which truth may be reached, hence it is for Callikles' interest to follow the suggestion of Socrates, therefore the present is used.

Meno 71 *d*: *σὺ δὲ αὐτὸς, ὦ πρὸς θεῶν, Μένων, τί φῂς ἀρετὴν εἶναι; εἶπον καὶ μὴ φθονήσῃς, ἵνα εὐτυχέστατον ψεῦσμα ἐψευσμένος ὦ.*

Here the added words ἐψευσμένος ὦ show that the request is for the sake of the speaker, as he is to receive a knowledge now in possession of the one addressed, hence the speaker is to be benefited, and the aorist is used.

Rpb. 506 *d*: *μὴ πρὸς Διός, ἦ δ' ὅς, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τέλει ὢν ἀποστῇς. ἀρκέσει γὰρ ἡμῖν κτλ.*

Here the speaker asks for his own sake, he wishes to hear Socrates continue his discourse. The benefit is to be received by the speaker; hence the aorist.

There are no more examples of prohibitives emphasized by πρός and the genitive in Greek literature of the classical period. It will be noted that all but eight of these examples have the

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aorist subjunctive. This form of prohibition is emphatic and excited and fits itself to entreaty, so that the present must be regarded as exceptional. In no example where the interest is exclusively of the speaker is the present used, and no case where the interest is exclusively of the hearer is the aorist used.

The present is "monitory or minatory," the aorist is simple entreaty. This distinction lies in the meaning of the tenses themselves. "The present imperative often produces the effect of an action that is watched," Gildersleeve *Greek Syntax* 405. In advice the responsibility continues, the result of the effect produced is to be noted, hence it is that the prohibitives with πρός and the genitive in advice do not take the aorist subjunctive, but present imperative.

With the aorist the result is the thing desired, the pleader is not concerned in the process but the attainment. In entreaty, where the speaker pleads for himself, he has only the achievement in view, the method is ignored; hence he uses the tense which points to the result, the aorist.

Classical Greek has no exception to the rule: Prohibitives with πρός and the genitive take the aorist subjunctive, when the prohibition is in the interest of the speaker, the present imperative when the prohibition is in the interest of the hearer.

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NOTES UPON MSS CONTAINING PERSIUS AND PETRUS DIACONUS

By Frank Frost Abbott

During a visit to Toledo, Spain, in the spring of 1902 for the purpose of collating the MS of the *Germania* of Tacitus which the chapter library in that place contains, I made a hasty examination of a MS of Persius which I found there. It can add little, if anything, to our knowledge of the text, but a few notes upon it here may be of interest to students of Persius, since, so far as I know, its existence has hitherto been unknown. It is No. 101. 25, and on the title-page carries the title: Juvenalis et Persii Satyrae a Johanne Greczero Nurembergense. Seculo XV in membranis conscriptae. The folios are not numbered. At the end of the Juvenal text stands: Juvenalis Aquinatis libri quinq: expliciunt Laus deo. At the end of the Persius text is the subscription: Finis est Persii vulterani satirici liber explicit per me Johannẽ greczer de nūrmberga Anno dnī 1461. The date and the place of residence of the scribe suggest some relation between this MS and Jahn's M6, which has the subscription: Scripsi Hartmannus Schedel de Nuremberga ex veterrimo libro coenobii S. Udalrici Augustae. Anno 1470 die 9 Martii. Laus Deo, but a comparison of the readings of M6 and the Toledo MS makes it seem very improbable that they are related. I add a collation of the prologue and of the first fifty verses of the first satire to show the character of the MS, following the Jahn-Bücheler text:

Prologus—1 cabalino 4 eliconidasque palidamque 5 remitto] relinquo 8 psitaco, chere 9 nostra] nostraque 10 ingenique] ingenii 14 Pegaseium nectar] pegaseum melos.

Satura I—2 hec, min] mi 4 ne] nec, Polidamas 5 pretulerint, nuge 6 examenve] examenne 7 quesieris 8 Rome, ac] at 9 tunc] tum, istud *om.*, triste] turpe 10 quecumque 11 tunc tunc] tunc 12 cachino 13 inclusi] incluti 14 anelet 16 natalitia, sardonice 17 leges] legens legens 18 coluerit 24 quo] quid, quae] q̧ 25 rupto] ructo 28 digito est 31 Romulide 32 hyacinthiña] iacinthia, lena, 33 racidulum, quiddam] quidnam 34 phillidas,

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hysiphylas 35 supplantat] subplautarae 36 assensere, non *om.*, poetae] poeta 37 non] nunc 38 nunc non] nunc 40 viole 43 thus 46 hec 47 metuam *om.* 50 Atti] Acci

The collation which follows I owe to Miss Susan H. Ballou of this University, who kindly examined the MS for me in the monastery of Monte Cassino. It will be remembered that the text of the *Peregrinatio*, commonly attributed to Sancta Silvia, which was discovered about twenty-five years ago by Gamurrini is based upon Codex Aretinus VI. 3 of the eleventh century and upon the excerpts made from Sancta Silvia's work by Petrus Diaconus in his *Liber de locis sanctis*. The text of the book last mentioned is preserved in Codex Casinensis No. 361.

The brief report of the Monte Cassino MS, which I submit herewith, may supplement the fresh collation of the Codex Aretinus which my colleague, Dr. Bechtel, secured for his edition of the *Peregrinatio* (cf. *University of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. IV). The value of the MS lies mainly in the fact that it is helpful at points where the Codex Aretinus is defective. A fresh examination of it adds little to our knowledge of the text, but the sources of our text are so scanty, and the *Peregrinatio* is a work of such peculiar interest that even the meager gleanings which follow may not be unwelcome. I have based the report upon Geyer's edition of the *Itinera Hierosolymitana* in the *Corp. Scr. Eccl. Lat.* because his text contains the readings of *C* from Gamurrini's first edition, since the appearance of which no collation of the MS has been made. The MS abounds in abbreviations which, with one or two exceptions, it will not be necessary to reproduce here. In the collation which follows the references are to pages and lines in the edition of Geyer. The majority of the readings given below are not reported by him. Where they differ from those recorded by him in his critical apparatus, the fact is indicated by the use of bold-face type.

105. 1 diaconi **dyaconi** *Geyer* 3 χ̃o **cristo** *Geyer* 4 diaconus **dyaconus** *Geyer* 6 cupidinis 8 exobtaverim 11 iusta *a in ras. sed a man. prim.* 12 abomine 16 crassante 25 cetus ——— 106. 1 q̃uis 4 praecellentis 12 incognita actenus 23 opus solidum] opus solidum ut decorum 25 fertam 29 iste *ex corr.*, *erat* asta ——— 107. 5 aquilone 5 davit 6 hortus in quo 10 ierusalem 11 golgotha **golgota** *Geyer* 11 salutiphere 13 anulum 16 *ante*

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spinis *om.* et 17 dispoliatio 20 lampades] e *ex* a *corr. prim. man.* 21 argenteis] ar . . . . teis *tres litterae evanuerunt* 22 sci. sam *una littera evanuit* 26 habet 30 illuc 30 arca ——— 108. 1 iſtus xp̃us 2 scultus ibidem ac 9 abitavit 10 columnas 23 ostiis **hostiis** *Geyer* 27 diabolo **dyabolo** *Geyer* 28 iebusei b *ex* s *corr.* ——— 109. 4 tyberii 8 honoratur (?) 15 osanna 16 lucidum 18 martirium 19 orab'it 21 bethaniae **betanie** *Geyer* 24 iusta *sic semper* 26 davit 28 viridiarium 29 grandem 29 ibi est ——— 110. 1 abens 2 aberent 2 annuntiavit 15 arca 19 hebron 22 abrae *bis* 23 abitavit 24 abet 25 abraam 26 davit 27 odie 28 *ante* longe *om.* non; *post. l ras. unius lit.* 29 *post* abram *rasura duarum aut trium litterarum* 29 iacob! 31 abramin ——— 111. 9 cenavit 12 columne 16 sycomori **sicomori** *Geyer* 18 elias 25 odie *o evanuit sed spatium duarum litterarum non est* 28 odie *ut in 25* ——— 112. 7 ortus 15 habitavit **abitavit** *Geyer* 18 synagoga **sinagoga** *Geyer* 19 esaye 25 faul 26 tyberyadis ——— 113. 1 cuius] qui 4 que sinagoga ex lapidibus *renovavit recens manus* sinagoga *corr. e* synagoga 7 erbosus 7 fenum 8 eas septem fontes *scripsit recens manus* 10 saciavit 11 nunc est 12 nunc *om. post* lapide 14 matheus 15 spelunca 19 nichil *terties* 21 quicquid 22 diruebatur r *in ras. trium litt. man. prima scr.* 28 odie 29 elias *sic etiam 31* 31 domino ——— 114. 1 baptiste iotris 2 quo] quibus 5 vicesimo 5 sylo 6 ibi 1Q ierusolimis 10 sochchot **zochchot** *Geyer* 10 inde 11 davit 11 phylisteum 11 eleutheropoli *sic etiam 13* **eleuteropoli** *Geyer* 12 abbacuc 13 miliario quintodecimo 16 dicta *sed multum evanuit* 20 cāpitaney 24 inde] n *ex* m *per ras. corr.* 28 abuit ——— 115. 2 memphis **memphys** *Geyer* 2 babylonia *sic etiam 4* 4 eliopolis **elyopolis** *Geyer* 10 viridiarium 11 fenix 16 quindecī iſt̂ ≡ ≡ ceat *litt. ante* ceat *legi non possunt* 17 salē aū usque *rec. man. superscr.* 18 ginti duo 19 Augustamnica] augustamnyca 22 sina 22 (ca)strum *renovavit rec. man.* 25 abent 27 quadtuor 27 seu amplius] > eo amplius **eo amplius** *Geyer* 28–29 vestigia . . . . (a)ccedit ubi autem *renovavit rec. man.* ——— 116. 1 mari 3 idem 4 columnelle 12 logotetema 13 ligatus 14 ibi stant ipsius 16 egipto *sic in 26* heremi hesint 21 porphireticum *sic. in 24* 22 qui *aut* quia 23 "rosseum iacet "rubrum rosseum *lineolae superscriptae a prim. man. transpositionem indicant* 25 filii 26 ũbi 26 ceperint 29 excisum **excissum** *Geyer* 31 harenas ——— 117. 6 ū promunctoria 11 promunctorio 13 habet **abet** *Geyer* 14 oc 16 oceanum 13 ytalici 20 bucine 20 conchilyi 20 fondili 23 litore 26 umquam ——— 118. 1 abpellatus *sic etiam 8* 4 erba 6 amenus 7 abundante 25 aliut 28 hamalech 32 pharan ——— 119. 1 ammodum 1 cubitu 2 parent 2–3 edificavit altare domino 3 iste *om.* 4 hac 4 pharan 7 abitauūūnt 9 requi 10 soror septem diebus usque 14 plenus 21 syna *totum evan.* 21 quadtuor 29 hostenditur ——— 120. 3 synay 19 syna 27 sarracenorum ——— 121. 1 ingens ē per 1 habens *superscr. rec. man.* 5 obtima 7 odiernum 9 federis 9 fixus 11 ambulare 12 harenam 12 ambuletur 12 eremi 17 quadtuor 18 egipto 18 destra 19 in ante.

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FRIEDRICH BLASS

In the death of Professor Friedrich Blass, of Halle, on March 5, the cause of classical philology lost one of its most learned, most indefatigable, strongest, and sanest leaders. He was born January 22, 1843, and so had just entered upon his sixty-fifth year. He took his degree of Ph.D. at Bonn when he was twenty years old. Two years later he published a volume on Greek eloquence from Alexander to Augustus, a revision of an essay which had received a prize from the University of Bonn. Three years after that, when only twenty-five years of age, he published the first of his four large volumes on Attic oratory. Since then he has published, on the average, more than a volume a year. No living classical scholar, I think, has published so many volumes, covering so large a part of the field of Greek philology. The four volumes on Attic oratory were revised, and published in a second edition. Blass edited the texts of all the Attic orators, except Isaeus; he revised Rehdantz' exegetical edition of nine orations of Demosthenes, and he prepared a similar edition of Demosthenes' *On the Crown*. He edited, with commentary, several of Plutarch's *Lives* and the *Choephoroe* of Aeschylos. He wrote on Interpolations in Homer. More than any other scholar he brought to the attention of philologists the important observations and theories of the ancient rhetoricians, and he published two volumes on the rhythms of ancient prose. Much of the recent discussion of Greek metres is based on an article by him. His work on the pronunciation of Greek is the only learned and sensible treatment of the theme which has appeared for three centuries. He revised the first half of Kühner's *Greek Grammar*, in two large volumes, bringing together the linguistic facts with great accuracy, clearness, and completeness. He did more for the study of the Greek Testament than any classical scholar since Lachmann, by his excellent *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, which contains much more information than its bulkier predecessors; by his edition of the Acts of the Apostles, which called attention, for the first time in a serious way, to the importance of the Codex Bezae; and by minor editions of Matthew, Luke, John, Acts, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. He was the chief adviser of Grenfell and Hunt in their publications for the Egypt Exploration Fund. He did more than anyone but Kenyon to put in order the fragments of the papyrus MS of Bacchylides. His edition of the *Constitution of Athens* is the one most used. He edited the Corinthian inscriptions for Collitz' *SDGI*. For Ivan Müllers *Handbook* he prepared the treatises on "Hermeneutics" and "Greek Paleography." This is not all, but enough has been said to show that a Greek scholar need not be narrow in order to be productive.

T. D. S.

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

AGNUS CURIO IN PLAUTUS *AULULARIA* 562, 563

Megadorus, the wealthy and generous bridegroom-elect, has furnished the entertainment and provisions for his own wedding, and naturally expects his father-in-law to be grateful. The miserly old Euclio, however, churlishly sneers at the quality of the entertainers and the food: the cooks that Megadorus has provided are compared to Geryones—they are six-handed in their thieving, and need an Argus to watch them; the flute-girl is bibulous enough to drink up a whole Pirene of wine. Megadorus at last hopefully suggests that the *lamb* which he sent was satisfactory; the verses, as they appear in all the MSS, then read as follows (561–66):

> EUC. quo quidem agno sat scio
> magis *curiosam* nusquam esse ullam beluam.
> MEG. volo ego ex te scire qui sit *agnus curio*.
> EUC. quia ossa ac pellis totust, ita cura macet.
> quin exta inspicere in sole ei vivo licet:
> ita is pellucet quasi lanterna Punica.

The *agnus curio* in Megadorus' request for information naturally led to an early emendation of *curiosam* to *curionem* (Gulielmius) in the preceding verse; this has been accepted by almost all the editors (Goetz-Schoell, Leo, Wagner, Ussing, Langen); Lindsay's conservatism in retaining *curiosam*, which I should add is confirmed by Nonius (455. 2) in his quotation of the verse, is a notable exception. Yet nobody has offered a plausible interpretation of the accepted reading (cf. Ussing, Wagner, Francken *ad loc.*); at best it is a coined word to prepare for the pun in *cura* in 564, and the possibility of connection with *curio*, the term applied to the priest of a *curia*, hinders rather than helps a satisfactory interpretation. Nor is the MSS-reading *curiosam* strengthened by *incuriosus* (*agnus*) in Apuleius (*Florida* i. 2), for the word there does not mean "fat" as used to be stated in the notes on our verse. Finally, the passages in the epitome of Festus (60 M. = 42 de P.) and in Nonius (86. 1) do not enlighten us.

In his edition of the *Aulularia* in 1877, Francken suggested that there was some connection with κούρειον, the animal sacrificed at the initiation of an Athenian youth into his phratry. But Francken could not make use of his own suggestion. This line of thought, however, is demonstrably right. The context is clearly Greek; if the references to Geryones and Argus and Pirene do not sufficiently prove it, the obvious

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translation of *πανόπτης* in *oculeus totus* (555) is convincing (cf. Ostermayer *De historia fabulari in com. Pl.*, p. 18).

Before I came across Francken's suggestion of a connection between *curio—curiosam* and *κούρειον* I had already made several efforts to turn the words into Greek; I am so bold as to think that the result carries conviction at once:

EUC. quo quidem agno sat scio
magis *κουριῶσαν* nusquam esse ullam beluam.
MEG. volo ego ex te scire qui sit agnus *κουριῶν*.
EUC. quia ossa ac pellis totust, ita cura macet.

The verb *κουριᾶν* means "to need a shearing;" the lexica quote very few examples of its usage, two of them from Lucian of long-haired philosophers, but others also, regularly of persons, from Alciphron, Aelian, and Artemidorus. To these I can at present add only one: Pherecrates, Frag. 30 (K.), and this is little more than the word itself as quoted by Photius, but it is satisfying to find it in the diction of comedy. Now a lamb that needs a shearing is quite obviously a sheep, and Euclio is but sneering at the age and consequent emaciation of the animal sent by Megadorus. I should of course be glad to prove from contemporary Greek sources that a lamb fit for shearing is a sheep, especially as Sterne's theory that "God tempers the wind to the *shorn lamb*" doubtless misleads the average reader into thinking that lambs are regularly shorn.[1] In default of contemporary Greek evidence I must be content with offering this quotation from the *Digest*, hoping that it may be confirmed by the experience of at least some of my readers; continuing a discussion of *agni*, the writer says: nam in quibusdam locis ovium numero esse videntur cum ad tonsuram venerint (Marcianus *Dig.* 32. 65. 7).

The manner of the jest is thoroughly Plautine. Both explicitly and implicitly Plautus uses Greek in his jests, and combines Greek and Latin, sometimes reproduciug his original source, often extending it, and occasionally inventing jests in Greek. As my space is limited, I may refer to the interesting account of this phase of his humor in Leo *Pl. Forsch.*, pp. 93–96. Nor will any sympathetic reader of Plautus object that Megadorus' request for information is absurd; it is true, of course, that if Megadorus knew enough Greek to use the masculine gender of the participle after hearing the feminine from Euclio, he would hardly need to ask the meaning of the Greek. But for the purpose of preparing the way for his pun with *cura*, the poet neglects the psychological requirements: a neglect which Langen's *Plautinische Studien* has made familiar to every specialist in Plautus.

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[1] The earlier parallels quoted in Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations* suggest that the error is due to Sterne, or some intermediate source: "Dieu mesure la froid à la brébis tondue, Estienne, *Premices*, etc., p. 47 (1594); To a close-shorn sheep God gives wind by measure, [George] Herbert, *Jacula Prudentum*."

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LACONIAN ὍΡΚΟΣ IN THUCYDIDES V. 77

In a decree of the Lacedaemonians offering terms of peace to the Argives occurs the following puzzling sentence: *περὶ δὲ τῶ σιῶ σύματος ἐμελῆν* (or *ἐμενλην*) *τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίοις ὅρκον δόμεν δὲ αὐτὼς ὀμόσαι.* There is a great variety of readings, but the best MSS have *ἐμελην, ἐμενλην,* or *ἔμεν λῆν,* the variations in the first words of the sentence being unworthy of attention on account of the parallel *περὶ τοῦ θύματος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος* in v. 53. Ahrens conjectured *περὶ δὲ τῶ σιῶ σύματος, αἱ μὲν λῆν, τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίοις ὅρκον δόμεν, ⟨αἴ⟩ δέ, αὐτὼς ὀμόσαι,* and interpreted thus: *de sacrificio Apollinis Argivi, si placet, iusiurandum in Epidaurios transferant; sin minus, ipsi jurent.* This conjecture is adopted by Böhme-Widmann (1894), and Hude (1901), but rejected by Stahl and Classen. Stahl reads *μέλην τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίοις, ὅρκον δόμεν δὲ αὐτὼς* [*ὀμόσαι*] *dei sacrificium Epidauriis curae sit, iuramentum autem* (*de ea re, i. e. sacrificium sibi curae fore*) *praestent.* Classen thinks that *ἐμενλην* is a corrupted form of some verb meaning *ἐπιτάξαι, ἐπιθεῖναι* and that the general sense is *wegen des Opfers des Apollo müsse den Epidauriern ein Eid auferlegt werden; sie müssten aber schwören, dass sie es darbringen wollte.*

The terms of peace offered to the Argives in this decree were the outcome of the defeat at Mantinea (418 B. C.) of the Argives and their allies by the Lacedaemonians. The war that was thus concluded had been begun in 419 B. C. by an attack made by the Argives upon the Epidaurians. The reason for this attack is given in v. 53 in these words: *πόλεμος ἐγένετο προφάσει μὲν περὶ τοῦ θύματος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθαιῶς, ὃ δέον ἀπαγαγεῖν οὐκ ἀπέπεμπον ὑπὲρ βοταμίων Ἐπιδαύριοι (κυριώτατοι δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἦσαν Ἀργεῖοι).* For *βοταμίων* Stahl suggests, and Hude accepts, *βοτανῶν.* The meaning seems to be that the Epidaurians had refused to send a victim to the Argives, who, as being in chief control of the sacred lands of Apollo, claimed the victim in return for certain rights of pasturage upon these lands which were enjoyed by the Epidaurians.

The conjectures of Stahl and Ahrens are not only unsatisfactory in meaning, but, as Classen points out, the emendations of *ἐμελῆν* are not effected without disturbing the final clause *δόμεν δὲ αὐτὼς ὀμόσαι* which, if left untouched, gives a perfectly satisfactory meaning, namely, *that they* (the Epidaurians) *should swear to give* (the victim). This sentence, it should be noted, is the only reference in the terms of peace to the original cause of dispute. If, then, the *δέ*-clause tells us what is required of the Epidaurians—and the *αὐτώς* certainly refers most naturally to *τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίοις*—the first clause should tell us what is required of the Argives, who, as the other party to the treaty, do not need to be specifically mentioned. Now the Epidaurians were the allies of the Lacedaemonians, the victors in the war, yet they were asked to recede from their position and give the victim. Surely, then, the Argives, the defeated party, must also have been asked to make some concession. If they have

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merely to tender an oath to the Epidaurians or to agree to accept an oath from them, the latter might rightly feel that they were getting very little satisfaction for the invasion and occupation of their territory. Assuming that some concession is required of the Argives we should look to the original dispute for a suggestion concerning the nature of the concession. It may be assumed as probable that the Epidaurians had for a time sent the victim in return for the privileges of pasturage that they enjoyed. Their discontinuance of the custom probably followed upon a curtailment of these privileges. Consequently the concession demanded of the Argives should be a recognition of the rights of the Epidaurians to a share of the sacred domain. It may seem daring to suggest that ὅρκος here means anything but *oath*, when ὀμόσαι follows so closely, but it is precisely ὀμόσαι that seems to rob ὅρκον of any meaning, and Stahl, it may be observed, finds one of the two words unnecessary. ὅρκος may also be used in the sense of Attic ἕρκος *fence, inclosure*. In proof of this we have in Hesychius ὄρκοι· δεσμοὶ σφραγῖδος (cf. ἕρκος σφραγῖδος Soph. *Tr.* 615); and the form ὀρκ- is also found in ὀρκ-άνη, *inclosure* (late ἐρκ-άνη) and ὄρκμος· φράγμα. The form ὀρκ- is of course to be expected in a noun formed with the σ-suffix, while ἐρκ- is to be expected in an ες-stem such as ἕρκος. Reading, then, ἧμεν λῆν we may translate: *in the matter of the sacrifice of the god that the Argives consent to the Epidaurians having an inclosure, and that they* (the Epidaurians) *should swear to give it* (the sacrifice). περὶ τοῦ σύματος is a mere introduction of the well-known subject of dispute. ἐμελῆν might be a corruption of ἐξελῆν, *that the Argives should set aside an inclosure.*

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AN INTERPRETATION OF LONGUS ii. 15

An episode in the second book of Longus' *Pastoralia* describes a visit of a party of Methymnaeans to the part of Lesbos where Daphnis and Chloe pasture their flocks. The Methymnaeans are wealthy young men enjoying a holiday. They man a boat with their own slaves, and coast around the island fishing and hunting (ii. 12). At one of their landings the painter of their boat is stolen by a rustic who needs it to repair his wine-press (ii. 13). At their next stopping-place, which is near the dwelling of the hero and heroine, the picnickers are forced to tie up their boat with an improvised cable of vines. Leaving the vessel, they go hunting among the hills. The barking of the dogs and the shouts of the hunters frighten Daphnis' goats, which run down from their hill-pasture and scatter along the shore. Finding scanty browsing there, they nibble in two the rope of vines and the boat floats out to sea with the receding surge. Returning to the shore, the Methymnaeans are enraged by their loss. Seeking the culprit goatherd, they find Daphnis, beat him, and try to

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drag him away. His vigorous resistance is seconded by other goatherds, and finally all parties agree to submit the case to the arbitration of the old herdsman Philetas (ii. 15). The Methymnaeans, after setting forth their loss, close their statement of the case with this sentence (chap. 15, end): *ἀνθ' ὧν ἀξιοῦμεν ἄγειν τοῦτον, πονηρὸν ὄντα αἰπόλον, ὃς ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης νέμει τὰς αἶγας ὡς ναύτης.*

This is the text adopted by Hirschig and Hercher. The Florentine manuscript, as reported by Seiler on p. 234 of his edition, has *ὃς ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἰδὼν νέμει τὰς αἶγας ὡς ναύτης. ἰδών* has been variously emended, with little success—*ἰών* Courier, *ἁλύων* Jacobs, *φοιτῶν* suggested by Seiler. *ἵζων*, which has been suggested to me by a correspondent, cannot be reconciled with Longus' usage. The verb is very rare in prose, and Longus does not use it at all, though he has about thirty cases of other verbs meaning "sit." Hirschig and Hercher are probably right in omitting the word entirely.

But not all difficulties are removed by the rejection of the corrupt *ἰδών*. What has a sailor to do with tending goats, by the sea or elsewhere? Hinlopen, quoted by Seiler *loc. cit.*, recommended the excision of the words *ὡς ναύτης*. The passage has recently been emended by H. Richards (*Class. Rev.* XX, 1906, p. 21), whose brief note may be quoted in full: "It is difficult to make any sense of the last words. Read *ὡς ναύτην* and join it with *ἄγειν τοῦτον*. As he is a bad goatherd, they will take and make a sailor of him." This suggestion is at first sight attractive, but is open to objection. In the separation of *ὡς ναύτην* from *τοῦτον* there is an awkwardness that can hardly be paralleled in Longus' short and simple sentences. Seiler complained of even such an hyperbaton as is involved in Jacobs' conjecture *ὃς ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἁλύων νέμει τὰς αἶγας ὡς ναύτης;* "nimirum tum oporteret verba coniungi ita: *ὃς ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἁλύων ὡς ναύτης νέμει τὰς αἶγας.*" Again, the Methymnaeans are not a press-gang of sailors, but well-to-do city-dwellers taking a short trip in a vessel which they have manned with their own servants (ii. 12). The clause *ὁδοιπόροι ἀντὶ ναυτῶν* (ii. 19) means, of course, only that they had to walk home instead of going by water. Finally, should it be suggested that *ὡς ναύτην* adds a desirable complement to *ἄγειν*, indicating the purpose of the abduction of Daphnis, it is sufficient to point to ii. 17, where *ἄγω* is used again with no explanatory phrase: *ὑπ' ὀργῆς ὁρμήσαντες ἦγον πάλιν τὸν Δάφνιν καὶ συνδεῖν ἤθελον.*

It has occurred to me that the explanation of the passage may be found in a play—not a brilliant one, it is true—upon a double meaning of the word *αἴξ*. Discussing the symbolism of goats in dreams, Artemidorus (ii. 12, p. 100. 18 ff. Hercher) says: *αἶγες . . . . πᾶσαι πονηραί . . . . μάλιστα τοῖς πλέουσι· καὶ γὰρ τὰ μεγάλα κύματα ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ αἶγας λέγομεν.* For the etymological relations of *αἴξ*, "wave," it suffices to refer to Leo Meyer's *Handbuch* under the word. It is to be observed that Artemi-

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dorus himself is not dealing in etymologies in the passage just quoted—his efforts in that line are usually awkward enough—but making a statement about the colloquial idiom, to which there is no reason for refusing credit. Hesychius has the gloss *αἶγες· τὰ κύματα. Δωριεῖς.* *Δωριεῖς* is suspected by Schmidt, with reason; but the word may at least indicate that the gloss is derived from some other source than Artemidorus. On the other hand, the glosses of Suidas (*s. vv. αἶγες, κῦμα*) are evidently taken from Artemidorus. If, then, *αἶγες* was used colloquially in the sense of "waves," "breakers," the sense of the Longus passage would be: "He is a bad goatherd, who tends goats by the sea, like a sailor," who may be said to tend the *αἶγες* on the sea, that is, watch the waves. The double meaning is somewhat heightened by an additional ambiguity in *ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης*—"by the seaside," "on the shore," or "on the high seas."

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EMENDATION OF PLATO *CHARMIDES* 168*b*

The editions generally read *φέρε δή· ἔστι μὲν αὐτη ἡ ἐπιστήμη τινὸς ἐπιστήμη, καὶ ἔχει τινὰ τοιαύτην δύναμιν ὥστε τινὸς εἶναι· ἢ γάρ;* Jowett accordingly translates: "this science of which we were speaking is a science of something," etc. The point is a slight one, but I think that it can be shown that the more probable reading is *αὐτὴ ἡ ἐπιστήμη* meaning "science (knowledge) in itself (in the abstract) is a relative term (is of something)."

The preceding paragraph has pointed out inductively that there is no desire except *of* pleasure, no love except *of* the beautiful, etc., and has raised the general question whether there can be any *ἐπιστήμη* which is not *of μαθήματος* but *of* itself. To answer this question Plato recurs to the nature of relative terms generally, and begins, as is his manner, at the beginning by demanding assent to the proposition that *ἐπιστήμη*, itself, as opposed to *μία τις ἐπιστήμη* (167*c*) *is* a relative term. It would be quite pointless and tautological to ask whether this supposed *τις ἐπιστήμη* which by hypothesis is *of* itself is *of* something. The argument runs rather: (1) *ἐπιστήμη per se* is a relative term. (2) But other relative terms seem always to be *of* something else not themselves. (3) Hence there is a presumption against *ἐπιστήμη* ever being *of* itself. The first example given is *τὸ μεῖζόν* (in general) *φαμεν τοιαύτην τινὰ ἔχειν δύναμιν ὥστε τινὸς εἶναι μεῖζον.* Only after this general statement is its specific correlate given, namely, *ἐλάττονός τινος.* So starting from the fact that *ἐπιστήμη per se* has some correlate we are to ask: is this correlate as in the other examples something else or by a strange exception itself? Cf. *αὐτή γε ἡ ἐπιθυμία*, etc., *Rep.* 437*e*, and *ἐπιστήμη μὲν αὐτὴ μαθήματος αὐτοῦ ἐπιστήμη ἐστίν, ἢ ὅτου δὴ δεῖ θεῖναι τὴν ἐπιστήμην.* If I am right the error here as often arises from our failure to recognize the extreme minuteness of the dialectical links in Plato's argument.

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HORACE *CARM.* i. 34. 14

hinc apicem rapax
fortuna cum stridore acuto
sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet.

Though all the commentators (beginning with the scholiasts) support the accepted interpretation, there seem to me good grounds for regarding *cum* in this passage as the conjunction—"when (i. e., whenever) fortune takes, etc., she rejoices, etc." Besides giving excellent sense and avoiding the somewhat harsh asyndeton, this view makes it unnecessary to account for *sustulit* as a gnomic perfect which, considering the context, is a doubtful procedure. It also leaves the attendant circumstance in *stridore acuto* to be expressed by the simple ablative. This is the usual method in Horace. In fact, as an examination of the whole text shows, he rarely inserts *cum* in phrases of this character. Moreover, *cum* with the perfect indicative is the precise idiom for the expression of the antecedent iterative action which we have here. Horace makes a fairly frequent use of this construction, often introducing it with *simul* (or its equivalent), *ut*, *ubi*, and *si*. With *cum* there are six examples, each a perfect parallel to the *cum sustulit* of the text—*Carm.* iii. 5. 29; *Epod.* 2. 17; *Sat.* ii. 7. 71; *Epp.* i. 10. 17, i. 15. 18, ii. 1. 205. The position of *cum* in our passage has doubtless led to the traditional interpretation, but the same ambiguity exists in other places, especially in *Epod.* 12. 8 and *Sat.* ii. 7. 53. A Roman would have felt no difficulty in any of these cases.

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THE SECONDARY ACCENTUATION OF LATIN WORDS OF THE TYPE OF *CONSULUISTI*

In *Class. Phil.* II, No. 1, Professor Harkness criticizes a paper of mine on a kindred subject which appeared in *Class. Rev.* XX (1906), pp. 31 ff. In the course of his criticisms, which deal chiefly with minor points, he censures me for suggesting that Latin words of the type of *consuluisti* bore a secondary accent on the second syllable (p. 61, n.). He attributes this heterodoxy to an unwillingness to admit any exceptions to my proposed law of metrical resolution. I select this particular point for notice, not because it is the one most easily disposed of, but because it affords me an opportunity of producing some further evidence in favor of the pronunciation which Professor Harkness condemns.

I suppose any word of the measure of *consuluisti* to have borne a secondary accent on its second syllable, if other inflexions of the same stem had a principal accent in the same place. Thus the principal accent of *consului* corresponds in position with the secondary accent of

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consùlutsti. I pass by for the moment the evidence to be found in dramatic verse, and propose a method of testing the question which should appeal to Professor Harkness with special force. It is rightly held by most metrists that there is a deliberately produced coincidence of ictus and accent in the last two feet of the classical hexameter line; and that the special rules observed by the classical poets, by virtue of which some ways of ending the line were allowed, others forbidden, had no other object than the producing of such a coincidence. Here therefore, if we accept this doctrine, we have a means of testing the accentuation of Latin words; and if the Roman poets paid attention not merely to the principal accent of a word, but also to the secondary accent, then we can test by this means the position of the secondary accent in words like *consuluisti*. Professor Harkness holds that the poets did pay attention to the secondary accent (pp. 52 ff.). He is arguing against Havet, who, with Lucian Müller and some other metrists, denies this doctrine of an intentionally produced coincidence of ictus and accent at the end of a hexameter. Müller and Havet suppose that in some of the forbidden endings there is a perfect agreement of ictus and accent, and that therefore, in those cases, the desire to secure such an agreement cannot have been the reason for the prohibition. Havet selects the ending *mors sepelires*, which is forbidden, although it exhibits, as he thinks, a perfect agreement of ictus and accent. Professor Harkness replies that the agreement is not perfect in endings of that type, because there was a secondary accent on the first syllable of *sepelires*, which here begins a thesis. Consequently, he adds, "it seems reasonable to assume that this type of ending is avoided because the first syllable of the thesis would be almost as strongly accented as the arsis" (p. 53). I agree with him that the reason why certain endings were avoided was because they did not permit the desired coincidence of ictus and accent; and that, as is generally admitted, there was a strong secondary accent on the first syllable of *sepelires*, which syllable was thereby unfitted to begin the fifth thesis, properly unaccented. But how comes it that Professor Harkness makes no mention of the fact that verse-closes of the type of *praecipitauit*, *exorerentur*, are just as strongly forbidden? That is the very type of forbidden verse-close which is selected by Luc. Müller as affording the best proof that the special rules for the verse-close were not designed to secure agreement of accent and ictus (*Res. metr.*², p. 242). Müller, of course, shared the customary belief that, if there was any secondary accent at all in such words, it rested on the first syllable. He considers, therefore, that in endings like *praecipitauit* there is complete harmony of ictus and accent, and naturally infers that the prohibition of such endings must have been due to some other cause than the desire to secure that harmony. How would Professor Harkness meet that argument? He is on the horns of a dilemma: either he must abandon the

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belief that the reason why any particular ending was avoided was because it would have involved the clash of ictus and accent, or he must show how ictus and accent clashed in the forbidden ending *praecipitauit*. I do not see how he can do the latter, unless he admits a secondary accent on the second syllable. Poets who, like Lucretius, freely admit endings of the type *mors sepelires*, also admit, and with equal freedom, endings of the type *praecipitauit;* poets who, like Virgil, strictly avoid endings of the first type, also avoid, and with equal strictness, endings of the second type (Munro *Lucretius*, Introd. to Notes II, pp. 13 f.). Unless, therefore, we deny that there is a designed coincidence of ictus and accent in the last two feet of a hexameter line, the avoidance of such endings as *praecipitauit* is opposed to the view that the secondary accent lay on the first syllable of such words. (The permitted and the forbidden verse-closes are given by Müller *loc. cit.*, pp. 241, 243; and by Havet *Métrique*[4], pp. 53 ff.)

But perhaps Professor Harkness would seek to escape from his dilemma in the same way in which he seeks to explain the Plautine stressing *commóditatém*. He is unwilling to admit that Plautus violated the prose accent in such cases, and equally unwilling to admit that the prose accentuation was *commòditátem*. In these difficult circumstances he suggests that, although the normal prose pronunciation was *còm-moditátem*, there was in Latin what he variously calls a "tendency," or a "general tendency," or a "latent tendency," to "accent the first of two or more short syllables" (p. 52). With a passing protest against the use of the word "tendency" in such a connection, as being unscientific, I must deny that any such tendency existed. It is true that words of the measure of *mulierem* are normally stressed on the first syllable in Plautus; but words consisting of five short syllables are always stressed on the second syllable, e. g., *puéritia*, *Macédonius* (*Pseud.* 50, 347, 1152, 1162; *Trin.* 845)—a fact overlooked by Professor Harkness—p. 52, n. 1. But even if such a "tendency" had existed, it could not be used to explain the prohibition of such endings as *praecipitauit;* for the tendency must, ex hypothesi, have worked with equal potency against endings of the type *poscimus arma*, *condere gentem*, probably the commonest type of all, and certainly one of the most favored. Again Professor Harkness compares the Plautine stressing – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏓ with the occasional stressing of dactylic words on the middle syllable. The comparison is fallacious: the stressing *aduénientém* is found in any part of the line, the stressing *corpóre* only in the first foot.

To his own condemnation of my suggestion Professor Harkness adds a criticism communicated to him by Professor Radford (p. 61, n.). It advances two arguments. First, the accentuation *commòditátem* is said to be "contrary to the old Latin principle of recession (not to mention the earlier principle of initial accentuation)." I confess I do not quite

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understand what is meant by the "old Latin principle of recession." As for the earlier principle of initial accentuation, *commòditátem* is no more contrary to it than *commóditas* is. So also, that *consùluérunt* should have replaced the earlier **cónsuluèrunt*, is not harder to believe than that *consúluit* should have replaced **cónsuluit*. Secondly, the accentuation *commòditátem* is said to be "disproved by the absence of proceleusmatics like *sed ĕxóneratús, et ŏbséqueretúr*." The reasoning is not quite sound. The absence of such proceleusmatics might be due to another cause. But, as a matter of fact, such proceleusmatics occur. Ahlberg gives two examples in his *De procel.*, namely, *id Ámphitruont* (*Am.* 893), *eo ĕxánimatús* (*Bacch.* 298). They were not common, for obvious reasons. They brought a long accented vowel into the thesis, and they were metrically ambiguous.

In conclusion, I claim for investigators in the sphere of language and literature what Professor Harkness seems inclined to deny them—the right to call in question any customary belief whatsoever; to examine the evidence, if any, on which it rests; and to form an independent judgment, evén though they be constrained to depart from the opinions expressed by the most eminent authorities of the present or the past.

CHARLES EXON

DANGAN HOUSE
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REPLY TO PROFESSOR EXON

I do not mention the avoidance of the verse-close – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏓ for the reason stated p. 53, n. 1. This type is avoided by the more careful writers because it affords only a secondary accent for the fifth arsis; but it is, however, used more freely than the other non-classical endings (Winbolt *Lat. Hex. Verse*, p. 134). Hence there is no dilemma for my theory; but Professor Exon's theory encounters two dilemmas: (1) in spondaic endings the type *armentorum* is freely admitted, but his theory accents *armèntórum* (*Class. Rev.* XX, p. 33, "It seems to be generally true," etc.); (2) ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑́ ⏓ is the regular accent in comedy (*Class. Rev.* XX, p. 159; *Trans.* XXXIV, p. 68), his theory accents the second syllable. Again, words of five short syllables are not always accented on the second syllable, as Professor Exon claims (Ahlberg *Procel.*, p. 28). His five references to one proper name do not prove the accent of a type. I contrasted the relatively frequent use of – ⏑́ ⏑ – ⏓, – ⏑́ ⏑ with the avoidance of ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ – ⏓, ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑, and state (p. 64) that the exceptions occur more frequently in connection with the secondary accent. Professor Exon's statement that – ⏑́ ⏑ occurs only in the first foot is not correct (Klotz, p. 274). Of the two proceleusmatics mentioned by him one does not occur in the editions of Leo and Lindsay, and the other is at least doubtful (Ramain *Les groupes de mots*, § 310).

ALBERT GRANGER HARKNESS

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BOOK REVIEWS

Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren mit Benutzung des Attischen Processes. Von M. H. E. MEIER und G. F. SCHÖMANN. Dargestellt von JUSTUS HERMANN LIPSIUS. Erster Band. Leipzig: Reisland, 1905. Pp. 233. M. 6.

The decision of Professor Lipsius to meet the demand for a second revision of *Der attische Process* by compiling a new work was amply justified by the circumstances. The new material was too extensive and varied to be included without destroying the identity of the original work. Not only was it desirable to add a complete discussion of the criminal courts, as Schömann had hoped to do, but it was necessary to make many important changes and additions, owing to the discovery of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, which, besides furnishing a large body of new material, has inspired a number of important monographs and articles. Nevertheless few will witness without regret the passing of a work which for three-quarters of a century "sich als der zuverlässigste Führer zur Kenntniss des attischen Rechts und Gerichtswesens bewährt hat" (Lipsius).

The first instalment of the work which promises to be a worthy successor of *Der attische Process* opens with a historical sketch of the administration of justice in Greece. The succeeding chapters deal with the magistrates, the courts and courthouses, the arbitrators, and the judicial functions of the senate and the assembly.

It is obvious that no arrangement can be devised that would not to some extent involve a divided treatment of a number of topics. Still one cannot but feel that the book might have been considerably improved had the author begun with a classification and description of suits, rather than with an account of the officials charged with the oversight of the processes of litigation. The author's practice of referring to other books and articles for fuller information or proof, instead of giving brief summaries, is not always to be commended. For example, he might well have passed in rapid review (p. 4) the principal theories regarding the significance of the celebrated trial-scene depicted on the shield of Achilles, instead of simply referring to his own exhaustive article in the *Leipziger Studien* (1890, pp. 225 ff.). However, his interpretation of the passage is excellent. He believes that the dispute concerns only the alleged payment of a sum of money agreed upon as compensation for a homicide. The two talents in question have been "paid into court" by

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the defendant and are to be surrendered to whichever party wins the decision of the arbitrator. The reader is left in some doubt as to the author's opinion regarding the identity of the arbitrator, but surely Gilbert is right in identifying him with the king, who in this as in other situations is aided by his council. If this explanation, which is the only one that accords fully with Greek legal procedure as we know it, is not right, it is idle to attempt to solve the puzzle.

Since the publication of this book, Thalheim (*Hermes* CXL, pp. 152 ff.) has shown quite convincingly that the contention (p. 222) that the decision of a private arbitrator was not legally binding, unless given under oath, is not sustained by the proofs offered. Lipsius reiterates (p. 228) his previously expressed view (*Ber. d. Säch. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1891, p. 58) that practically all private suits had to come before a public arbitrator. If this is so it is difficult to understand how in some private suits new evidence could be adduced on the day of trial (cf. Isaeus viii. 42; ix. 18). Aristotle's statements on this point need to be more thoroughly tested by an examination of the extant speeches. The chapter on the method of selecting and assigning the jurymen is particularly successful. Not only has the author made full use of Aristotle's somewhat obscure account of the procedure of his own day, but he has skilfully pieced together the meager evidence that bears upon the practice of the time of Aristophanes.

In conclusion I should like to express the hope that an index of passages cited from the *Orators* will be added to the completed work.

R. J. BONNER

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Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst. Von PAUL JACOBSTHAL. Berlin: Weidmann, 1906. Pp. 60 and four plates. M. 3.60.

The main conclusions of this extremely careful essay are as follows: Babylonian and Assyrian art invented certain closely related symbols for the thunderbolt, adapting for the purpose the conventional means of expressing fire. One of these symbols was taken over by Greek art about the seventh century B. C., and was at once variously modified under the influence of the conception of the lightning as a flower. Of the new forms thus created three belong to Ionia and the adjacent regions of Hellas, two to Greece proper. With the fading-out of the flower-notion further modifications set in. Wings were sometimes added, flames were naturalistically represented, and, above all, the notion of the thunderbolt as a weapon became dominant. The multifarious forms which thus arose are well represented in the four plates accompanying the essay.

F. B. TARBELL

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Ancient Legends of Roman History. By ETTORE PAIS. Translated by MARIO E. COSENZA. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1905. Pp. xiv + 336. $4 net.

This book is made up of the lectures delivered by Professor Pais at the Lowell Institute, with some additional chapters, and six elaborate excursuses. Its scope is indicated by the titles of some of its chapters: "The Excavations in the Forum and Their Importance for the Most Ancient Roman History," "The Origins of Rome," "The Legend of Servius Tullius," "The Fabii at the River Cremera and the Spartans at Thermopylae," "The Saxum Tarpeium."

Since the publication of the first volume of his *Storia di Roma*, Pais has been recognized as the champion of the extreme critical school, and a man who must always be reckoned with, no matter whether his views be accepted or not. In the present work he has developed his theories upon many points that were barely touched upon in the *Storia*, and has discussed other parts of the tradition with a most rigorous application of his critical methods. His present attitude seems to be that not only can no confidence be placed in any portion of the canonical version of the history of Rome before the Gallic invasion, but that much of what is said to have occurred during the fourth century is also impossible. He has likewise fallen a victim to the solar-myth theory, and shows a remarkable fondness for this method of explaining early legends, as when he says (p. 149): "Servius is a Latin conception and belongs to a solar cult, and to that group of legends with which are to be connected, not only Virbius of Aricia and Hippolytus, but also Pelops and Hippodamia;" and again (p. 150): "We do not marvel that a solar and river divinity should have been made king of Rome. Romulus, Tullius, Numa, and Ancus Marcius were all solar deities."

Pais's ingenuity is marvelous, and there is hardly a page that does not contain conclusions of the most striking kind which cause previous historians of Rome to seem like monuments of conservatism. But his fundamental weakness is this, that, basing his arguments upon hypotheses that are themselves uncertain, he proceeds to construct elaborate theories which finally assume in his mind the certainty of facts, and are then used as valid grounds for further inference. This tendency was held in check in the *Storia*, so that, to the present reviewer at least, that work seemed to rest on secure foundations, but in the present book it has been carried so far that the resultant product is a wonderful illustration of the *reductio ad absurdum* of extreme skepticism combined with a most vivid imagination.

The translation, being the work of an Italian, is marred by some peculiarities that occur with annoying frequency.

SAMUEL BALL PLATNER

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Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. Vol. XVII. 1906. Cambridge: Harvard University. Pp. 185. $1.50.

"The articles in the present volume are contributed by instructors in the Department of the Classics as a token of affection and esteem for Clement Lawrence Smith, of the class of 1863, for thirty-four years a valued member of the department, but forced by ill health to resign the Pope Professorship of Latin in this university in 1904." These words from the brief prefatory note explain the purpose of the volume, which contains eleven articles, to wit: "Notes on Vitruvius," Morris H. Morgan; "Catullus and the Augustans," Edward Kennard Rand; "On Five New MSS of the Commentary of Donatus to Terence," Minton Warren; "On the Origin of the Taurobolium," Clifford Herschel Moore; "Aspects of Greek Conservatism," Herbert Weir Smyth; "The Battle of Salamis" William W. Goodwin; "An Unrecognized Actor in Greek Comedy," John Williams White; "The Origin of Plato's Cave," John Henry Wright; "An Amphora with a New Καλός-Name in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts," George Henry Chase; "Sacer Intra Nos Spiritus," Charles Pomeroy Parker; " Valerius Antias and Livy," Albert A. Howard.

With such an array of articles, every one deserving particular mention, the reviewer, with but little space at command, is confined to the most general remarks. Professor Morgan's observations on Vitruvius confirm his previous study in the conclusion that the author's language is thoroughly in keeping with the traditional date which makes him an Augustan. The paper by Professor Smyth is, with some additions, his annual address as President of the American Philological Association for 1905. It states in excellent form some interesting observations on the literary principles of the Greeks. Professor Goodwin's study of the battle of Salamis, a revision and enlargement of an article published in 1885, will take rank as a classic, concluding the controversy, if I mistake not. Professor White sees in the leader of the second half-chorus in Greek Comedy an unrecognized actor. There is the same penetration displayed here as in the author's study of the plays of Aristophanes in relation to the question of a raised stage.

Professor Wright now publishes the paper which he read before the meeting of the American Philological Association at St. Louis in 1904. It would be interesting to find Plato's cave, but the cave of Vari scarcely meets the requirements. Professor Wright discovers only one discrepancy, namely, that, whereas Plato describes the entrance to the cave as equal in width to the cave itself, the cave of Vari is narrowed at the mouth. This objection was raised, I believe, by Professor Shorey. But there is another which to me seems fatal. Plato speaks of a raised road-way running across the cave, along which men carrying various articles pass, some conversing, some in silence. Professor Wright identifies this road-way

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with a platform in the cave of Vari, situated about two-thirds of the distance from the mouth of the cave, doubtless because Plato in that connection alludes to a Punch and Judy show. But Plato clearly had in mind chiefly a road along which ordinary way-farers were passing, though to the prisoners who saw only the shadows above the retaining wall the effect would be that of a stage of a Punch and Judy show. Such a road would naturally cross the mouth of the cave. I find that Professor Shorey casually places the road there (*University of Chicago Studies* I, p. 238) without reference to this proposed identification. Professor Wright may, however, cite in his favor the diagram of the cave given by Adam *Republic of Plato* II, p. 65.

Professor Parker gives in his article an interesting study of *Spiritus* = πνεῦμα in Seneca, Paul, Philo, and Marcus Aurelius. The view, now quite generally held by scholars, that Livy blindly followed Valerius Antias and embodied much of his predecessor's work in his own, is dispassionately considered by Professor Howard, who leaves hardly a shred of evidence to support it. The article is valuable even for this result alone, but acquires added significance from the fact that the search for sources has in our day gone far beyond its proper limits. It is time scholars were recalled to sobriety of method and a proper evaluation of evidence.

W. A. HEIDEL

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De epigrammatis Simonideis. Pars prior: commentatio critica de epigrammatum traditione, scripsit M. BOAS. Groningae: Wolters, 1905. Pp. xvi+256.

While a student of Ribbeck's in the University of Leipzig, I belonged for eight semesters to the *Societas Ribbeckiana*, which met every Friday for a two hours' Latin discussion of some critical *cruces*. Notable among these was the text of Theognis, over which we labored and wrote and wrought throughout one whole semester. Inspired by this experience, I fondled the plan of some day "editing" Theognis—a plan from which I was wisely diverted by a philological veteran, who chilled my youthful enthusiasm with the remark: "Don't do it: much too big a field." Those experiences counted in preparing me for a sympathetic attitude toward just such work as this of Boas', however staggering it be to confront 256 pp. of close reasoning and elaborate research, weighing and considering the Simonideosity of less than 35 pp. of Teubner text:—and the end is not yet; for this is but the introductory part. How do we come by our collection of poems, which we ascribe to this author? According to Boas it is somehow as follows: The original poem, written by S. and engraved perchance on stone, is copied into literature; from that it is still further

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copied into yet other literature, and thus the oldest text which we have, containing a poem by S., is a copy of a copy of a copy etc., etc., never the original itself nor even based on it directly. At some time or other a συλλογή of his poems was made by the ancients—presumably about 310—and it became a sort of Simonidean *textus receptus*. The starting-point for all this is Herodotus vii. 228, where ἔξω ἤ instead of the genitive, as also the following ἐπίγραμμα which "schwebt in der Luft," both give Abicht and Stein some difficulty in their commentaries *ad loc.* And yet on this marshy ground reinforced here and there by countless references to other authors, Boas has erected a fairly stormproof building: the first story of it is completed in the 256 pp. before us. Much in the συλλογή goes back to Ephorus: the συλλογή contained presumably 34 poems, but of those only two were recognized as being by Simonides in those writings from which the compiler had borrowed. Where such results are reached almost purely by speculative philosophizing, we would be bold indeed to accept them as certain—yet equally bold and inexperienced in *Quellenuntersuchung* to reject them entirely. One thing is certain: whoever wrote "Simonides" fg. 92 (151), inspired Cicero (*Tusc. Disput.* i. 101) to give to posterity one of even his most beautiful translations, and as such unique masterpieces of antique beauty are and should be quoted with a frequency otherwise unintelligible and well-nigh unbearable, so we owe great and permanent gratitude to the exhaustive dissertation of Boas, in which philological equipment, philosophic accuracy of thought, and a sympathetic love for his author and the problems to be elucidated combine to accomplish one of the most elaborate and exhaustive pieces of *Quellenforschung* of recent output.

CHARLES EDWARD BISHOP

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Erichthonius and the Three Daughters of Cecrops. By BENJAMIN POWELL. Cornell dissertation. *Cornell Studies in Classical Philology* XVII, 1906. Pp. 86. $0.60.

This thesis contains a good statement of the story of Erichthonius and the Cecropides in literature and art. The work is based mainly on the books of Miss Harrison and on Roscher's *Lexikon* and Pauly-Wissowa's *Encyclopädie*, but the excellent articles on the Cecropides and on Erechtheus-Erichthonius in Daremberg et Saglio's *Dictionnaire* are nowhere cited. The discussion begins with the different classical accounts of the myth. Then follows an attempted explanation of its meaning and of the ritual connected with it. Powell, inspired by Brown's *Semitic Influence in Greek Mythology*, not a good guide, thinks that the sum of the evidence shows decidedly that some eastern or Semitic influence was brought to bear on the character of Erichthonius, a form of Poseidon,

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who was probably the Euphratean Ea. Erichthonius was originally a chthonic or snake-god whom Athena adopted into her cult, but he was later identified with Erechtheus, Cecrops, and Poseidon. Powell argues at length for the symbolism of the snake as sexual and discusses in detail the relations between snakes and men and women, even explaining the ritual of the Arrephoria on a sexual basis. But the origin of any ritual or of any myth is very perplexing and not certain. And such a deep hidden meaning is not necessary for the connection of the snake with the legend of Erichthonius. The snake was an earth-spirit and would naturally protect Erichthonius who was autochthonous and born of Gaea.

In an appendix are printed in full the literary sources, and twelve plates are added with illustrations of the story in art. But no mention is made of the sculptures of the Erechtheum or of the theory that the Cecropides were represented in the west pediment of the Parthenon, though Pandrosus is said (p. 37) to be one of the "Three Fates" of the east pediment. There is also no reference to Wiegland's interesting suggestion that the two snakes of the east pediment of the Old Athena Temple represeted the two guardians of the new-born Erichthonius (cf. *Die archäische Porosarchitektur*, pp. 95. ff; pl. V).

The translations of the literary sources are frequently inexact. Lines are omitted (pp. 2, 5), phrases changed from one sentence to another (pp. 1, 38), and thoughts added which are not in the Greek or Latin (38). To cite only one instance of wrong translation out of several, οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν νησθεῖσαν πυρὰν ὡλοκαύτιξεν, (p. 32) is rendered "his entire body was consumed by fire along with an offering of grain." Misprints are rather frequent and there are several errors of statement. On p. 4 it is said: "Probus, Servius, and Philargyrius, commenting on Vergil (*Georg.* iii. 113), write that Erichthonius was a child of Electra and Jupiter." This is true only of Probus. In fact Philargyrius commenting on Vergil (*Georg.* iii. 35) says that Erichthonius was the son of Dardanus. P. 4, last sentence, the words quoted are not from Servius, but from Probus. The same is true of p. 6, l. 28. P. 6, "Eudocia" is not the Byzantine writer, but the *Violarium* is a compilation of the sixteenth century. P. 15, l. 27, the terra-cotta (Fig. 2) is not in the British Museum, but in Berlin.

The premature death of Dr. Powell a few days before the commencement at which he was to receive the degree of doctor of philosophy deprived the world of a scholar of promise already known to archaeologists by his publications on Corinth and Oeniadae. If he had lived to revise and to superintend personally the publication of his thesis, the treatise would have been much improved both typographically and in the treatment of the subject-matter.

DAVID M. ROBINSON

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Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache. Von WALTHER PRELLWITZ. 2. Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1905. Pp. xxiv + 524. M. 10.

Those who know the first edition of Prellwitz' dictionary (1892) will be ready to believe that this second edition, enlarged and improved, is an important addition to the apparatus of all who are interested in linguistic research.

In judging of the merits of an etymological dictionary, one must ask: What is its purpose? Is it to be a book in which only well-established results shall find a place? Or does it aim to give the best efforts of etymological investigation, though often confessedly uncertain, in order to throw all possible light upon a wilderness of forms? No doubt there is a place for each of these different classes. In consulting the former we shall seldom be led astray, for little is given that is not apparent to every one who studies the word discussed. The other, bolder and more independent, strikes out into untrodden paths that may lead to a clearing or to tangled confusion. Such a book will at times be a dangerous guide to the uninitiated, but always a helpful and suggestive companion to the adept.

To the second class belongs Prellwitz' dictionary. Such a book will necessarily contain many errors: some easily discovered, others noticed only by the specialist in this or that language. But what of it? The cause of science is better advanced by the man who dares than by the man who fears.

Though this book belongs to the second class, there is in it an evident attempt to make it a guide to the layman. This seems to be the reason why modern German forms are sometimes preferred to older forms. This is unfortunate. The oldest obtainable form is all too recent. So under πεῖρα, NHG. *Gefahr, erfahren*, are given instead of OHG. *fāra, irfaran;* and under πάλλαξ, comparison is made with NE. *fellow*. As this is equivalent to ON. *félage*, it would correspond to a Gk. *πεκυ-λοχην.

A lamentable number of incorrect Germanic forms have crept in, most of them no doubt due to the printer. I notice the following: OE. *dran* for *drān* (ὀνθρηδών); OHG. *kerfan* is not recorded and probably never existed (γράφω); Goth. *quinō* for *qinō* (γυνή); ON. *tal* for *tāl* (δόλος); ON. *ero* for OHG. *ero* (ἔρα); Goth. *riqvis* for *riqis* (ἔρεβος); Goth. *runa* for *rūna* (ἐρευνάω); OE. (ags.) *bihwelbian* for OS. (as.) bihwelbian or OE. *behwielfan* (κόλπος); Goth. *hruks* for *hrūk(s)* (κραυγή); OE. *maeð* for *mēð* (μῆτις); OE. *wrthan* for OHG. *(w)rīhan* (ῥίσκος); OHG. *swīgen* for *swīgēn, gaswifton* for *-ōn*, Goth. *sweihan* for *sweiban* (σῖγή); ON. *skiljan* for *-ja* (σκάλλω); ON. *stūkan* for *stūka* (στυφελίζω); Goth. *þēvis* for *þius* (σῶκος); OE. *þracian*, "fürchten"? (τάρβος); Goth. *deigan* is not recorded, but *digan* may be inferred from *digandin*, dat. of pres. part. (τεῖχος);

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OE. *sūfan* for OHG. *sūfan*, OE. *sūpan* (ὑετός); OE. *brysan* for *brȳsan* (φύρω).

Some inexact comparisons are made, though in some cases more closely related forms might have been given. E. g. βδέω, MHG. *vist*, cannot be directly combined. The latter has IE. *i*, as is plain from MHG. *vīsten*, *vīsen*, etc. κράζω, Lith. *krakti*, etc.; why not Lith. *krėgu*, *krogiu*, OE. *hrōc*, *hraca*, *hrēcan*, etc.? στία is probably not related to Lith. *stãine*, "Pferdestall." Cf. with *stãiné* ChSl. *stojati*, OHG. *stēn*, "stehn," etc. (cf. Indo-European $a^x : a^x i : a^x u$ 128). With σφριγάω cf. Norw. *sprīkja*, "ausspannen, vor Fülle ausgespannt stehen," etc. (cf. Persson *Wurzelerw.*, p. 108; Falk og Torp II, p. 273). τραπέω can hardly be compared with Lith. *trỹpti*, "stampfen, trampeln." This probably has original *ī*, and may be connected with ON. *prífa*, "ergreifen" (cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes* XVIII, p. 16).

Not a few comparisons are made that might be objected to. But these are generally worth consideration at least. At any rate, doubtful cases cannot be decided by anyone's dictum. Leaving these out, one can still find combinations that are plainly incorrect. E. g., how can γρῖπος be compared with Goth. *greipan*, NHG. *greifan*? From δόλος strike out Goth. *gatils*, OHG. *zil*. If these contained IE. *e*, we should have **zel* not *zil*. From καλχαίνω strike out Goth. *glaggwō*, in which *ggw* is from *ww;* OHG. *glau*, OE. *glēaw*, etc. Goth. *glaggwō* is again given incorrectly under φύλαξ. νεφρός cannot be compared with OHG. *nioro* if φ is from *bh*. ON. *bjórr* shows a phonetic change that does not occur in the other dialects (cf. Noreen *Aisl. Gram.*, § 231). From παρά strike out Goth. *fēra*, which, as shown by OHG. *fiara*, contains *ēi* not *ē*. σοφός, Lat. *faber* (on which cf. Walde *Et. Wtb.*, *s. v.*), Goth. *gadaban*, etc., is an impossible combination. If *w* was lost after *d* in *gadaban*, why Goth. *dwals*? τεταγών, ON. *þukla*, which has original *u*, is also impossible. ὐδέω, OHG. *far-wāzu* (from *hwāzu*, OS. *hwātan*, ON. *huđta*) is a combination that has served its day, and should now be retired.

Throughout the book a reckless disregard is shown for the different guttural series. Examples can be easily found. But it is easy to pick flaws, and those who wish for more will find them in the reviews of Prellwitz by Leskien, *IF.* XIX, pp. 202 ff., and by Solmsen, *Berliner phil. Woch.*, 1906, Nos. 23, 24. Notwithstanding these flaws Prellwitz has produced a book that will long be serviceable.

In this review it may not be out of place to add other etymologies, mainly from my own contributions, to which Prellwitz seems not to have had access. Some of these I give with diffidence, as mere possibilities. Of others I am more certain: ἄγος: Lat. *eges-tas*, OE. *acan*, "ache" (*A.J.P.* XXVII, p. 59). ἀμολγός: OE. *blæc*, "black" (*Americana Germ.* III, p. 313). ἄεθλον: Goth. *auda-hafts*, "beglückt," ON. *auðr*, "Besitz, Reichtum" (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XVI, p. 309). ἅρμα, ἁρμός: Lat. *sero*, etc.

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(*ibid.* XXI, p. 41). *αὖριον*: Lith. *aurè*, "dort, künftighin" (*A.J.P.* XXVII, p. 59). *βραχύς*: Goth. *ana-praggan*, "bedrängen" (*Mod. Lang. Notes.* XX, p. 41). *γάλον*: ON. *kiós*, "hollow, dell" (*ibid.* XIX, p. 2). *γῦρός*: ON. *kúra*, "untätig sein," NE. *cower*, etc. (*P.B.B.* XXIV, p. 530; *Mod. Lang. Notes* XIX, pp. 2 f.; cf. also Lidén *I.F.* XIX, pp. 342 ff.). Aeol. *γρῖνος*, "hide, skin" (not given by P.): Norw. *krine*, "schnörkeln," NE. dial. *crine*, "shrink, wither" (*I.F.* XVIII, pp. 15 f.). *γένυς*: *γόνυ* (*I.F.* XVIII, p. 32). *γνάμπτω*, Pol. *gnabić*, "drücken," etc.: ON. *knappr*, "Knopf, Knauf," etc. (*I.F.* XVIII, p. 31). On *δενδάλλω* see *Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XIV, pp. 333–35). *δέομαι*: ON. *tión*, "loss, injury," etc. (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XVI, pp. 16 f.). *δυς-*: OE. *tȳran*, *tēorian*, "fail, fall short; be tired," etc. (*ibid.* XVI, p. 17). *δῖνος*: Goth. *tains*, "Zweig," ON. *teinn*, "twig, spindle" (*Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 334). *διδράσκω*: ON. *titra*, OHG. *zittarōn*, "zittern" (*ibid.* p. 340). *δνοπαλίζω*: *δονέω* + *πάλλω* (*ibid.*, p. 335). *δρωπάζω· ἐμβλέπω, δρώπτω· διασκοπῶ· δρώπτω· διακόπτω, δρέπω* (*ibid.*, pp. 338 f.). *δύω, δύνω*: OE. *tūn*, "inclosure," *tȳnan*, "inclose, fence; close, shut," etc. (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XVI, pp. 18 f.). *ἕλος*: Skt. *sṛdʰsatē*, "senkt sich, zerfällt," ON. *slas*, "a coming to harm," Sw. *slask*, NE. *slush* (*A.J.P.* XXIV, p. 44). *ἕπω, ἕψω*: Goth. *sifan*, "frohlocken," etc. (*Jour. of Germ. Phil.* II, p. 218; cf. also Uhlenbeck, *P.B.B.* XXVII, p. 131). *ἐραννός, ἐραστός*: Goth. *razn*, "Haus," *rasta* "(Rast), Meile" (*Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 336). *ἐρεύγομαι*, Lat. *ērūgo*, *rugio*, etc.: OE. *rēocan*, "smoke, reek," etc. (*Jour. of Germ. Phil.* II, pp. 226 f.; *Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 308, base *reug-* "burst out, belch, roar, exhale, smoke, reek." Cf. also Schade *Wtb.*, p. 719). *ἐρέφω*: Lat. *orbis*, OHG. *rebo*, "Rebe, Ranke," etc. (*I.F.* XVIII, p. 13). *ζόφος*: Lith. *žẽbiù*, "sehe schwach," etc. (*A.J.P.* XXI, p. 179). *ἡμέρα*: *ἥμερος*, OHG. *sumar*, "Sommer" (*Mod. Phil.* II, p. 475). *θάλος*: OE. *deall*, "proud, exulting, resplendent" (Uhlenbeck, *P.B.B.* XXVII, pp. 568 f.; cf. *Color-Names*, p. 59). *θιγγάνω*: OE. *dīcian*, "dig," etc. (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XX, p. 42). *θρύπτω*: OS. drūbon, "niedergeschlagen sein" (*ibid.*). *ἰθύς*: OE. *sīdian*, "extend," *besīdian*, "regulate,' etc. (*ibid.* XVIII, p. 13). *ἵκω*: OHG. *sīgan*, "sich vorwärts bewegen, sich senken," etc. (*ibid.* XVIII, p. 14). *ἰξός*: OHG. *wisc*, "Strohwisch," etc. (*ibid.* XVII, p. 18). *ἰλλίζω*: OE. *wlītan*, "look" (*Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 332). *καυρός*: MHG. *hūren*, "kauern" (*P.B.B.* XXIV, p. 529). *κερκίς, κρόκη*, "woof, weft," *κρέκω*, "strike, beat; strike the web, weave; strike a stringed instrument": ON. *hrǽll*, OE. *hrēol*, "weaver's rod," *hrægl*, "garment," *hringan*, "ring, resound" (*Amer. Germ.* III, p. 321). *κλίβανος*: Goth. *hlaifs*, "Brot" (*ibid.* III, p. 317). *κλοιός*: ON. *hels*, "Halsband" (*A.J.P.* XXI, p. 179). *κνιφός*: Lith. *knýbau*, "drānge," etc. (*I.F.* XVIII, p. 30). *κνυθόν· σμικρόν*: ON. *hnoðre*, "Nappe, Flocke," *hnióða*, "schlagen, hämmern," Gk. *κνύω* (*I.F.* XVIII, p. 31). *κύβος, κύπτω*, Lat. *cubo*, etc.: ON. *hopa*, "weichen," etc. (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XIX, p. 3). *κῡδάζω*: Goth. *hwōtjan*, "drohen,"

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OS. *far-hwātan*, "verfluchen," etc. (*Amer. Germ.* III, p. 322; *Mod. Lang. Notes* XX, p. 43). κυκάω: Lith. *kuszù*, "rege mich" (*A.J.P.* XXVII, p. 59). κύκνος: Skt. *çúci-s*, "glänzend, blank" (*ibid.* XXI, p. 179). κύρω: Skt. *cōrdyati*, "stiehlt," OE. *hȳran*, "hire" (*ibid.* XXVII, p. 59). λάκις: OHG. *lahan*, "tadeln" (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XIII, p. 287). λαπαρός, λαπάρα: Lith. *silpnas*, "schwach," *slẽpsna*, "Weichen," ON. *slafask*, "nachlassen," etc. (*A.J.P.* XXIV, p. 42). λύσσα, Arc. λευτός, "wild": Goth. *-liuþ*, "Lied" (*ibid.* XXIII, p. 200; cf. also Uhlenbeck, *P.B.B.* XXX, p. 299). μάργος: Skt. *mṛgá-s*, "wild animal," etc. (*A.J.P.* XXI, p. 179). μάρπτω: MHG. *merwen*, "anbinden, anschirren, vereinigen" (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XXI, p. 41). μαυλίς: Skt. *māuli-ṣ*, "Spitze, Gipfel, Kopf," ON. *múle*, "Felsspitze, Maul, Schnauze" (*I.F.* XVIII, p. 33). μίτος, μίτρα: Skt. *mitrá-s*, "Freund," etc. (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XXI, p. 40). μῦθος: Goth. *maudjan*, "erinnern" (*ibid.* XV, p. 96). οἶτος: Skt. *īti-ṣ*, "Plage, Not," OE. *ādl*, "disease," *idel*, "empty, desolate, destitute, vain," etc. (*ibid.* XVII, p. 6). ὀμφαλός, Lat. *umbo*, etc.: ON. *nef*, "Nasenbein, Nase" (*ibid.* XVIII, p. 16; *I.F.* XVIII, p. 33). ὄρος, ὄρρος: Lat. *servo*, Goth. *sarwa*, "Rüstung," ON. *sǫrue*, "Halsband," etc. (*Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 325). παῦρος (παύομαι, "cease, leave off from, refrain from"): Goth. *gafaurs*, "enthaltsam, gesittet," *unfaurs*, "unrestrained, geschwätzig" (*Jour. of Germ. Phil.* I, p. 466; *Mod. Lang. Notes* XVI, p. 310). πνέω: OE. *fnēosan*, "sneeze," etc. (*Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 312). πῦγή: Skt. *pūga-s*, "Haufe, Menge," *puñja-s*, "Haufe, Klumpen," etc. (*I.F.* XVIII, p. 29). πυκνός: Goth. *fauhō*, "Fuchs" (*Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 319). ῥαδινός (Aeol. βραδινός), ῥοδανός: Goth. *wratōn*, "wandern," Skt. *vradatē*, "wird weich," base *ṷrod-*, "turn, roll, swing, etc." (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XVI, p. 308). ῥέμβω: MLG. *wrimpen*, "das Gesicht verziehen, rümpfen," *wrempich*, "verdreht": NE. *warp*, "werfen, krum ziehen; sich biegen," Goth. *wairpan*, "torquere, werfen," Lith. *verbiù*, "wende um," etc. (*I.F.* XVIII, pp. 13 f.). ῥικνός, ῥοικός: NE. *wry*, "crooked," ME. *wrie*, "twist," OE. *wrīgian*, "strive, tend toward," *wrēon*, OHG. *-rīhan*, "wrap, cover" (*Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 332 [1899], read before the Mod. Lang. Assoc., Dec. 1898; cf. Lidén *Ein baltisch-slav. Anlautgesetz*, 5). ῥῖπος, ῥίπτω: OHG. (*w*)*rīban*, "reibend wenden oder drehen, reiben," etc. (*Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 331). L. Russ. *ripity*, "knirschen," which Uhlenbeck, *P.B.B.* XXVI, p. 306, compares with *reiben*, brings us to a different group of meanings. Cf. rather ON. *rifa*, "brechen," Gk. ἐρείπω, etc. ῥάκος: Goth. *wrōhjan*, "anklagen," etc. (*Jour. of Germ. Phil.* II, p. 231). Cf. λάκις above. ῥαμφός: ON. *ramba*, "schwanken' (*I.F.* XVIII, p. 13). σβέννυμι: ON. *kuasa*, "ermatten" (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XVII, p. 9). σίνομαι: OE. *pwīnan*, "dwindle, fall away" (*A.J.P.* XXI, p. 180). σκάζω: Dan. *skank*, "lahm," ON. *skakkr*, "hinkend, schief," OE. *scacan*, "shake," etc. (*I.F.* XVIII, p. 27). σκορπίζω: Sw. *skrefva*, "die Beine spreizen," ON. *skrefa*, "stride" (*I.F.* XVIII, p. 9).

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σμίλη: Lith. *smailùs*, "spitz; naschhaft" (*A.J.P.* XXI, p. 181). σμερδνός: Lith. *smìrdėti*, "stinken" (*Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 320). σπαρνός: OHG. *spar* (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XIX, p. 1). σπεύδω: Lith. *spáudžiu*, "drücke" (*A.J.P.* XXI, p. 181). So explained later by Fick *B.B.* XXIX, pp. 197 f. στέγω: ON. *stakkr*, "stack," MHG. (*ver*)*stecken* = Skt. *sthagayati*, "hemmt, verbirgt" (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XX, p. 44). σῶκος: OE. *þyhtig*, "strong," Lith. *táukas*, "Fett," etc. (*A.J.P.* XX, p. 270). ταγγή: τέγγω (*Pub. M.L.A.* XIV, p. 315). τατός: OE. *þindan*, "swell" (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XIX, p. 1). On τέρπω and its cognates see *Mod. Lang. Notes* XX, pp. 102 ff.). τῑλάω: OE. *þīnan*, "become moist," Ir. *tinaid*, "verschwindet," ChSl. *tajati*, "schmelzen, vergehen," etc. (*A.J.P.* XXI, p. 180). τίλλω: Skt. *tilá-s*, "Stückchen, Körnchen," etc. (*ibid.*). τρά-πεζα from **tμ̥r-pediā*, "having crossed feet": σαρά-πους, "one that has turned-out feet," OHG. *dweran*, "drehen," etc. (*ibid.* XX, p. 266) τράπηξ: ON, *þrafne*, "beam" (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XX, p. 42). τρῡπάω: Pruss. *trupis*. "Klotz," OS. *thrūfla*, "Kelle" (*ibid.*). τρύω: OE. *þrēan*, "oppress, afflict, threaten," OHG. *drouwen*, "drohen" (*ibid.* XVI, p. 26). τύκος: OHG. *dūhen*, "drücken, schieben; keltern," etc. (*A.J.P.* XX, p. 270). τύλος: OE. *þol*, "thole, oar-peg," etc. (*ibid.*, p. 267). ὕλη: OHG. *sūl*, "Säule," *swella*, "Schwelle" (*ibid.* XXI, p. 181). ὕμνος: Skt. *sumná-m*, "Huld, Gunst, Gebet, Lied" (*ibid.*). φλυδάω: ON. *blautr*, "wet, moist, soft," NE. *bloat* (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XV, p. 328). φῦλον: ON. *bolr*, "Stamm," Goth. *ufbauljan*, "aufschwellen machen," etc. (*ibid.* XIX, p. 4). χανδάνω: Lith. *gõdas*, "Habgier; Klette," etc. (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XV, p. 95). χραίνω: MHG. *grinnen*, "knirschen" (*Mod. Phil.* I, p. 235). χραύω: Ir. *gro*, "Gries," OHG. *grāo*, "grau," i. e., "streaked, gestreift" (*ibid.* p. 241). χρίμπτω: Lith. *grypiu*, "zwicke," MHG. *greibe*, "herb," OE. *grēfa*, "bramble, grove" (*ibid.*). χρῖμα, χρίω: Dan. *grime*, "Strich, Streifen," NE. *grime*, OS. *grīs*, "grau, "greis;" Ir. *grían*, "grober Sand;" Skt. *hrēṣati*, "wiehert," OHG. *grīnan*, "knurren, winseln," etc. (*ibid.*, pp. 239 f.). χρώζω: OE. *grētan*, "touch, handle; visit, treat; address, greet," OHG. *gruozen*, "antreiben; angreifen; anreden, grüssen," Lith. *grõdžia*, "poltert," etc. (*ibid.*, p. 237).

For the explanation of many other Gk. words see my *Color-Names and their Congeners*, Halle, 1902, and *Indo-European* $a^x : a^xi : a^xu$, Strassburg, 1905.

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Römische Bleitesserae. Ein Beitrag zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit. Von M. ROSTOWZEW. Leipzig: Dieterich, 1905. Pp. 141.

Rostowzew had already published *Tesserarum urbis Romae et suburbi plumbearum Sylloge* (Petersburg, 1903) and an Atlas with twelve plates and a *Supplementum* with three plates. The present work in German is a revision of the Russian treatise with some additions and modifications. In it we have for the first time an adequate treatment of the lead *tesserae*, based upon a careful examination of the specimens found in numerous museums, with important conclusions as to the various uses for which they were employed, and their significance. The introduction deals with the use of the word *tessera* in various connections, as *tesserae hospitales, t. paganae, t. militares, t. gladiatoriae*, etc. The designation *tesserae gladiatoriae* Rostowzew considers incorrect, and he follows Froehner in explaining *spectat num*, found on a *tessera* from Arles as *spectat numen* and referring to the *incubatio* in a temple of Aesculapius, e. g., on the island in the Tiber; cf. *CIL.* XII 5691. The name *tessera* was also applied to round objects of the shape of coins, and these were not a Roman invention but borrowed from Greece. Many of the stone molds in which such *tesserae* were cast have been found. An important section deals with the *tesserae frumentariae* and the whole subject of *frumentatio* as varying in practice at different periods. The significance of the numbers inscribed, the various emblems, as snake, scorpion, rabbit, snail, etc., and the legends as *Abundantia, Bonus Eventus, Felicitas*, etc., is carefully discussed, with much that is new and interesting. So, too, the *tesserae* connected with *ludi* receive full treatment. Out of 400 types, only four are found to refer to the theater, by far the greater number refer to the circus or amphitheater. Chapter III deals with the *tesserae* of the city and municipal *iuventus;* and historically is perhaps the most interesting of all, tracing the development of the institution, from its beginning down to the third century, and putting in a clear light its aims and political consequences. The use of *tesserae* in various colleges or guilds, in connection with festivals and trades, as bath-tickets, and as money-tokens in large private establishments is discussed with a painstaking array of evidence, and little that bears upon the subject seems to have been overlooked. Modern parallels are also cited. The use of lead and bronze tickets in traveling by boat is also proved. Some of these have the letters CYD = cydarum, a kind of boat mentioned by Gellius x. 25. 5, others CYD. AES. Compare Horace *S.* i. 5. 13: *dum aes exigitur, dum mula ligatur, tota abit hora.* An appendix at the end gives a list of the principal collections and catalogues of *tesserae* arranged by countries. There are also two plates giving forty-two specimen *tesserae* well executed. After what

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has been said, it will be seen that the work is of more than usual importance and indispensable for those interested in the subject, as well as valuable for collectors. The patience shown in the investigation of these little objects, which have hitherto been too largely ignored, and the skill exhibited in the attractive presentation of the results deserve all praise.

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Sprachpsychologie und Sprachunterricht. Eine kritische Studie. Von FRIEDRICH BAUMANN. Halle: Niemeyer, 1905. Pp. 142. M. 3.

This is a very sane and searching critical discussion of three recent monographs dealing with the teaching of foreign (especially modern) languages, viz., E. v. Sallwürk's *Fünf Kapitel vom Erlernen fremder Sprachen* (Berlin, 1898), O. Ganzmann's *Über Sprach- und Sachvorstellungen* (Berlin, 1902, in Ziegler and Ziehen's *Sammlung von Abhandlungen aus d. Gebiete der pädagogischen Psychologie und Physiologie* IV. 6) and B. Eggert's *Der psychologische Zusammenhang in der Didaktik des neusprachlichen Reformunterrichts* (Berlin, 1904, *ibid.* VII. 4). Baumann warns against the exaggerated importance attached by many adherents of the reform movement to the spoken language as contrasted with the written and literary language. He contends that the main purpose and aim of language teaching in the German higher schools is not facility in the speaking of the foreign language or in the understanding of it when spoken. Those who desire such facility can gain it either in special classes (such as those provided by the Berlitz schools), or by residence in the foreign country, or by the employment of a governess. The main goal of the teaching of a foreign (even a modern tongue) in the Gymnasium, Realgymnasium, and schools of similar character is ability to read the important and valuable literary works written in it. It is not the conversational language of every-day life which is most important for the student of such an institution but the literary language employed by the standard writers. Rather than articulatory and acoustic the training should be visual and graphic. Too little emphasis is now placed, according to Baumann (p. 127), on the methodological value of written exercises as a help toward memorizing. Considering, furthermore, 'Bildung' rather than 'Fertigkeit' as the aim of the linguistic training of the German schools he insists on the retention of grammatical drill. For while a knowledge of grammar is not essential to one whose only object is facility in the use of the colloquial speech it is indispensable for a penetration of the structure of a foreign tongue, and an adequate comparison of the foreign with the native language. In fact the difference between *eine Sprache können* and *eine Sprache kennen* lies in this very point.

HANNS OERTEL

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Euripides and the Spirit of His Dramas. By PAUL DECHARME. Translated by JAMES LOEB. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1906. Pp. xxii + 392. $3.

Decharme's *Euripide et l'esprit de son théâtre* needs no introduction to scholars. But we must give a word of welcome to the excellent translation by which Mr. James Loeb, a pupil of Professor John Williams White, has made it available for the students of our colleges. In one respect Mr. Loeb's version is an improvement on the original: the citations from Euripides are given, not in that French prose into which Mr. George Moore would translate all poetry, but in the admirable poetical renderings of Mr. Arthur Way.

Professor White himself contributes by way of introduction a racy and spirited apology for Euripides, whom he exalts as the great Athenian liberal and an "interesting example of an unusual type, an elderly man with an open mind." Professor White does not venture to add that he was an artist—perhaps from fear of the question which the Devil asks in Kipling. But I am not going to reopen the case of Euripides vs. Aristophanes, which is summed up once for all in Jebb's *Lectures on Greek Poetry*. For I belong to the profane category of "professional scholars, teachers and all that sort" whom Professor White thinks incapable of doing justice to the poet's poet. He enlarges upon the influence which Euripides has exercised on the moderns. But that test would put Seneca above Aeschylus and Ovid above Lucretius. Moreover, the names on his list will not all bear scrutiny. There is precious little of "Byron's fiery spirit" in his schoolboy version of a chorus in the *Medea*. And when Professor White tells us that "this ancient poet" has influenced Swinburne, he discreetly omits to add that the influence sought expression in the following characteristic tribute: "The perfection of such shapeless and soulless abortions as the *Phoenissae* and the *Hercules Furens* is about as demonstrable as the lack of art which Ben Jonson regretted and condemned in the author of *Othello*."

PAUL SHOREY

Dio's Rome: An Historical Narrative Originally Composed in Greek and Now Presented in English Form. By HERBERT BALDWIN FOSTER. Vols. I to VI. Troy, N. Y.: Pafraets Book Co., 1905–6. $2 each volume.

German and French readers have had translations of Cassius Dio for a half-century or more. Now for the first time we have his entire work turned into English. It may after all be fortunate that the task has been postponed to the present time, because Boissevain's lately published edition of Dio furnishes us with a far better text than has been available

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in the past. So far as the importance of the narrative and the excellence of the rendering are concerned, this translation takes its place by the side of White's *Appian* and Shuckburgh's *Polybius*. In magnitude, and perhaps in technical difficulty, it surpasses both the works just mentioned. The difficulties for the translator lay in the involved style of Dio and the complexity of his sentences. But these very difficulties have made an English rendering the more necessary, because they have frightened away the general reader and perhaps the average student of Roman history.

Fate has been not altogether unkind to Dio, because, although a large part of his work is lost, fragmentary, or preserved in an epitome only, the portion of his narrative which extends from 64 B. C. to 74 A. D. has come down to us. This is the part of his *History* of which we could least afford to be deprived, because it deals with the establishment of the empire, and bridges the chasm between Cicero, Caesar, and Appian on the one hand and Tacitus on the other.

The text followed in the main is that of Boissevain, as the translator indicates at Vol. I, p. xi. Vol. I contains the introductory matter and Zonaras' epitome of books i-xxi, with fragments of the earlier books. In Vols. II–IV are books xxxvi–lx, which are complete. Vol. V covers what is left of books lxi–lxxvii, for which we rely largely on Xiphilinus, and in Vol. VI are the last three books of the history, the fragments from books preceding No. 36, and a general index. The table of contents of the last volume includes a glossary of Latin terms, but for some reason it seems to have been omitted from the book itself. The first sixty-six pages of Vol. I deal with Dio and his *History*, and contain a bibliography. These preliminary chapters give a brief but admirable account of such matters as the MSS, the epitomes of Dio, and the characteristics of his narrative. The list of dissertations and articles comprises all the recent publications which are of any importance, and makes the work of value to the technical student as well as to the general reader. So far as the work of translation is concerned a careful comparison with the original of fifty or sixty pages of the English version, chosen at various points in the narrative, shows that Professor Foster has made a very accurate rendering of the *History* into smooth, idiomatic English. The only paragraph in which the reviewer failed to grasp the meaning occurs, strangely enough, in the Preface (p. xiii), where the translator is eloquently describing the intricacy of Dio's style. Now and then the Greek seems to show through its English dress, as in the phrase "members of the sedition" (II, p. 359), and occasionally a misprint occurs, e. g., "Cimbi" (II, p. 281) and "Pompeiians" (II, p. 287), but the fear which the writer expresses at I, p. xiv, that many errors have crept into his work seems to be groundless.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT

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The Sources of the First Ten Books of Augustine's De civitate Dei. By S. ANGUS. Princeton dissertation. Princeton University Library, 1906. Pp. 278. $1.

The direct quotations from classical authors found in the *De civitate Dei* have already been pointed out in the edition of Dombart; but the mere collection of them in a conspectus, as has been done by Dr. Angus, serves to give a vivid impression of the extent of the reading of the great leader of the African church. The scope of the dissertation, however, is much wider than this. The aim has been to "search all the extant sources to which Augustine could have had access," and thus to determine his probable authorities. This task has been executed with great thoroughness, and, in the main, the conclusions drawn are convincing. For his survey of Roman history in the early books Augustine is shown to have used Florus and Eutropius, as well as Sallust and Livy. Perhaps the latter has not always received due credit. For example, the words in *De civ. Dei* iii. 19, *qui non tam narrare bella Romana quam Romanum imperium laudare instituerunt*, are just as appropriately used of Livy as of Florus; while the statement thus introduced (in connection with the second Punic War), *similior victo fuerit ille qui vicit*, may be regarded as a reminiscence of Livy xxi. 1. 2, just as the phrase two lines beyond, *Alpibus disruptis*, may possibly be an allusion to the story found in Livy xxi. 37.[1] The explanation given of Augustine's failure to make any mention of Tacitus is not satisfactory: "But Tacitus' work was not so well adapted to his purpose, as the gloomy pictures painted by Tacitus belong to times after the introduction of Christianity."

For the sketch of Roman religion, the chief sources are Cicero and Varro, and in the case of each of these authors Angus has pointed out a fragment previously unacknowledged. Of special interest is the discussion of Augustine's indebtedness to the Neoplatonists. The commentary is also valuable in its discussion of subjects lying outside the main theme of the dissertation, and to a large extent supplies the place of an annotated edition of the first ten books of the *De civitate Dei*. Naturally some additional parallels might have been included; e. g., the argument against the astrologers drawn from the case of twins in v. 2 is exactly that of Cicero in *De divinatione* ii. 43. 90. A few errors also occur. The authorship of the *Asclepius*, or *Dialogus Hermetis* (sic) *Trismegisti*, is incorrectly assigned to Apuleius, and on p. 201 there is a peculiar misinterpretation of Augustine's comment on the trial of Apuleius. The identification of Labeo, the writer on religious topics, with Labeo, the jurist of the Augustan age, is not at all certain, particularly in view of the use of *angelos* in the passage attributed to him in *De civ. Dei* ix. 19.

[1] Augustine probably did not use the complete work of Livy, but the lost Epitome. See Sanders in *University of Michigan Studies* I, pp. 149–260.

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The latter part of the dissertation discusses the extent of Augustine's knowledge of Greek, a matter of especial importance in connection with his use of the Neoplatonists as a source. By a careful examination of several of Augustine's works it is shown that he had a command of the Septuagint and the New Testament, so far as to distinguish delicate shades of meaning and to venture upon textual emendations. In view of his own conclusions, Angus hardly seems justified in denying the possibility of Augustine's having known Homer or Plato in the original so dogmatically as he has done in his study of the sources.

Mention should be made of the interesting chapter on the composition of the *De civitate Dei* by Professor West, at whose suggestion this study was undertaken and to whose inspiration Dr. Angus evidently owes much. The work is one that will be welcomed by students of Augustine for its abundant collection of material and the light thrown upon many interesting problems. For this reason, it is particularly unfortunate that the proofreading did not receive more careful attention

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The Cynegeticus. By HENRY NEVILL SANDERS. Johns Hopkins dissertation. Baltimore: privately printed, 1906 [1903]. Pp. 32.

The aim of Dr. Sanders is to throw light upon the problem of the authorship of the *Cynegeticus* "by trying to determine more nearly the date of publication from literary allusion and the locality from topographical consideration." In proof of knowledge of the *Cynegeticus* among writers of the fifth and fourth centuries he compares Simon with *Cyn.* iv. 1, Plato *Rep.* ii. 375 with ii. 3, Hypereides v. 18 with ix. 12, Euripides *Bacchae* 862 ff. with ix, and Demosthenes vi. 14 with xi. 3. As an example of these supposed parallels we may take the last. When Demosthenes spoke of Philip as *τῶν Θετταλῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων ὁπλιτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ληφθείς* he had in mind the words used of big game in *Cyn.* xi. 3: *ἀποκλεισθέντα μετὰ ἵππων καὶ ὅπλων ἁλίσκεται.* Sanders believes that Xenophon drew part of his material from Macedonian sources, on the ground that some of the game could have been found only in the highlands, that a qualification of the keeper is ability to speak Greek, and that the objection to hounds which were *χαροποί* indicates a local prejudice, with Macedonia as the locality because the Macedonian for lion was *χάρων*. The thesis cannot be said to make any real contribution to the settlement of the problem discussed.

A. G. LAIRD

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Roman Private Law: Founded on the *Institutes* of Gaius and Justinian. By R. W. LEAGE. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1906. Pp. ix+429. $3.25.

Since the twelfth century, when Vacarius, the Italian glossator, was invited by Theobald, the archbishop of Canterbury, to deliver law lectures at Oxford, this university has been the chief seat of the academic study of the Roman civil law in England. It is true that writers of distinction, like Hallifax, Phillimore, Clark, and Roby, have appeared at Cambridge, and valuable contributions have been made to the study by Scottish civilians, like Mackenzie and Muirhead; still, the most important center of the study of the Roman law in Great Britain has remained at Oxford. During the last forty years there has been a marked revival of interest in this study in the English universities; and nowhere has this interest been more manifest than at this ancient seat of learning, as is shown, for example, in the scholarly commentaries of Poste, Sandars, and Moyle.

The author says that his book is an attempt to meet a want which he himself has felt for "some book which is content to give as simply as possible the subject-matter of the *Institutes* of Gaius and Justinian, following, in the main, the original order of treatment." The chief distinction of the book, however, consists not so much in following the order of the *Institutes* as in being a systematic treatise which presents in an unusually clear and analytical form the subject-matter of the institutional writings. The ordinary method pursued in systematic treatises has been to depart from the order of Gaius and Justinian, and to substitute an arrangement more or less in conformity to that adopted by the German writers. The German civilians have a plausible reason for adopting a new system in expounding the civil law, since their purpose has been (especially in their *Pandekten*) to explain, not the ancient Roman law of Justinian, but the modern Roman law in force in the German states. But such a reason does not exist in the academic study of the Roman law in the English universities. Mr. Leage is, therefore, entitled to the gratitude of English students for explaining the Roman law as the Roman jurists themselves understood it, without an attempt to recast it in accordance with a modern scheme.

The book is introduced by a discussion of the "sources of the law," giving a brief explanation of the nature of custom, statute law, the edicts of the magistrates, and the "responses" of the jurisconsults, closing with a description of the codification of Justinian, and with the plan of the *Institutes*. This introduction, while clear and in a certain sense comprehensive, must still be regarded as quite inadequate as a discussion of the historical development of the Roman law from the time of the *XII Tables* to the time of Justinian; and it, in fact, gives no hint of the historical relations of the Roman law to modern jurisprudence. By thus restrict-

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ing the historical part to thirty or forty pages, the author seems to lose sight of one of the chief reasons which justify the preservation of the Roman law as a part of a modern educational curriculum.

The book is mainly devoted to an explanation of the principles of the law as set forth in the *Institutes*, supplying the deficiencies of the *Institutes* by an appeal to the *Digest*. This exposition shows the author to be a careful student and a faithful follower of the Roman system. The whole body of the law is divided, as Gaius divided it, into that which pertains either to persons, or to things, or to actions (*vel ad personas vel ad res vel ad actiones*). The discussion of these separate divisions is presented in such an analytical form as to make clear the fine distinctions of the law, without confusion or ambiguity. The system of notation which the author has adopted in his subdivisions of the subject will be found a great aid to the student in enabling him to perceive and to fix in his mind the logical relations of the various parts of the law. Although frequent use has evidently been made of the works of standard English writers, such as Sandars, Moyle, Roby, Muirhead, as well as Ledlie's translation of Sohm, there is a certain perspicuity in this book which is due to the author's own peculiar and original method of treatment. The very systematic arrangement of the material, and the frequent illustration of legal principles by concrete examples, give to his discussions an unusual distinctness and reality. While the author has in one or two instances (e. g., in treating of the effect of the "mancipatory" will, or the *testamentum per aes et libram*) expressed an opinion at variance with the chief authorities, he has usually presented the accepted views of the law; and has also wisely left to more recondite works the discussion of certain mooted questions, such as those which have arisen among commentators in connection with the law of "possession." When considered as a simple and systematic exposition of the elements of the Roman private law, both in their broad outline and in their most important details, this book possesses many valuable features and must be regarded as an acceptable addition to the literature of the subject.

WILLIAM C. MOREY

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Tibulli aliorumque carminum libri tres. Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit IOHANNES PERCIVAL POSTGATE. Oxonii: E typographeo Clarendoniano [1906]. $0.50.

This convenient little edition will at once take its place as the most useful text of Tibullus in the market. In pursuance of the plan of the Oxford series its tone is distinctly "conservative." Indeed, to those who have applauded the same editor's Propertius (London and Cambridge, 1894), with its flood of daring and often brilliant innovations, his present performance may not improbably suggest the painful comparison of

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Pegasus harnessed to a dray. Critics of this way of thinking will appreciate the pathos of the following excerpt from the preface:

De caelo descendisse iam illud volgo videtur: *standum codicibus*. adiciunt prudentiores *modo si bonis* et *in re incerta*. ego vero, qui haud paullo audacior sum, *etiam pessimis* inquam, et *vel in re manifesta*.

But Professor Postgate has not carried audacity to the pitch of leaving the received text quite where he found it, and the compact little apparatus contributes a goodly number of suggestions for the guidance of those timid souls who find it easier to stomach the absurdities of the mediaeval scribes when they are seasoned with a dash of scholarly criticism. The selection of the conjectures to be printed is marked by the same good taste and penetration which stamp the editor's own contributions—characteristics which classical students have long been used to expect in work which comes from Dr. Postgate's pen.

B. O. FOSTER

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Catalogus codicum Graecorum bibliothecae Ambrosianae. Digesserunt AEMIDIUS MARTINI et DOMINICUS BASSI. Tomi duo. (Paginae 1161 praeter praefationem et indices locupletissimos.) Mediolani: impensis U. Hoepli. MCMVI. L. 50.

The catalogues of Greek manuscripts in Italian libraries, made and published by native scholars in recent years, are both numerous and excellent. In the first ten volumes of the *Studi Italiani* alone, sixteen scholars, following the admirable method of Vitelli and Piccolomini, have given exact descriptions of the Greek manuscripts in twenty libraries in sixteen different Italian towns. This work requires patience and industry as well as paleographical skill and large acquaintance with Greek literature, and it lays learned men everywhere under heavy obligations.

One of the accomplished editors of the two volumes now under review had executed single-handed, before the present task was begun and while he was still prefect of the Brera, the greater part of a similar task of such magnitude that it might well have deterred him from future labors of the same kind.[1] But he and his colleague, after twelve years' labor, have happily brought a still more important undertaking to successful completion, and the learned world now has at easy command a trustworthy account of the contents of the 1,098 Greek manuscripts, comprehending about 2,500 works, that constitute the chief treasure of the Ambrosian Library.

[1] E. Martini, *Catalogo di manoscritti Greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane:* opera premiata dalla R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli, Vols. I, II, pp. 430, 271 (1893, 1902).

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This collection is fourth in size among those in Italy, the land of Greek manuscripts; yet it was made very rapidly. Its founder, Cardinal Federigo Borromeo, a pious, learned, and far-sighted man, when he determined to establish this seat of learned studies in Milan, proceeded to the execution of his plan with a directness of purpose that seems modern. In order to increase and complete his collection, he committed the purchase of new manuscripts to three friends in particular. Gratius, who was instrumental in securing the 268 Pinelli manuscripts, thoroughly explored central and southern Italy; Salmatius went to the East, where he denuded monastery after monastery of its treasures; Olgiatus, who was subsequently appointed the first prefect of the library, departed into Germany and France. Other books were secured elsewhere, so that, when the library was formally opened in December, 1609, it contained nearly its present number of Greek manuscripts. Among its treasures was—and is—the famous Homer of the third century, that was first described by Mai and has recently been published in facsimile by Mon. Ceriani and Dr. Ratti.

For three hundred years there was no printed catalogue of this notable collection. When the good cardinal founded the library, he established also a Collegium Doctorum. Its members were to use the manuscripts and printed books that he had brought together for the promotion of learning, but were not permitted to publish catalogues of them. The purpose of this prohibition is not stated, but it may be inferred. As the editors of the present catalogue happily surmise, Borromeo may have dreamed of founding another Alexandria or Pergamum in northern Italy. Certainly his college has included famous scholars among its members. The editors, with proper pride, name Muratori and Mai—*chalcenteri ambo.* In consequence of this prohibition, learned men who were not able to resort to the library had only meagre means of ascertaining what it contained, and those that used it—and many came hither from different parts of the world—had at their command only unsatisfactory manuscript catalogues of the books.

It seems well to have waited even three centuries in order finally to secure so satisfactory a guide to the Greek treasures of the library as the present catalogue affords. The mode of description of the manuscripts adopted by its editors is a model of concise but complete statement. All library marks are given. The exact contents of each manuscript is recorded in minute detail. (Such a book as the important manuscript numbered 886—C 122 inf.— furnishes an excellent test of the editors' skill and care,—a great composite folio of 363 leaves, written by different hands in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, often hard to decipher because of the handwriting and the condition of the book.) No errors of scribes are corrected, but all are scrupulously indicated. Printed books that state the results of previous investigations are fully cited. In describing the external features of the manuscripts, the editors give not

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only complete information as to material, form, size, condition, and age, but also all facts that contribute to our knowledge of the history of the books — names of former owners, place of purchase, year of acquisition, and the like. Their record of subscriptions is particularly satisfactory, and they are often able to identify with confidence an unnamed scribe.

Cardinal Borromeo founded his library in the heart of Milan. This has grown to be a great modern city, but even today one may pass in brief space of time from the gay life of the Piazza or the roar of the Via Torino to the quiet of a cloister and to the serene company of learned men. Here the bustle and tumult of the world are forgotten. Those who have studied here ever remember the charm and interest of the place, and they will hope for the speedy fulfilment of the promise of the editors some day to write the complete history of this great collection.

JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Studien zum Commentator Cruquianus. Von JOHANN ENDT. Leipzig: Teubner, 1906. Pp. vii + 76. M. 3.

The object of these studies, a product, apparently, of the Horatian school of O. Keller, is to prove the worthlessness of the Commentator Cruquianus as a source of ancient tradition. The author shows by many examples that the Commentator in fact represents the interpretative activity of Cruquius himself, drawing from the scholia of various MSS, from other ancient sources, and even from earlier printed editions. This result does not differ from the characterization of the Commentator which is given by Teuffel-Schwabe 240. 3, with this difference: that Endt apparently denies that the Commentator contains even a residuum of valuable material which is not found elsewhere. The author has characterized the method of Cruquius with a thoroughness and wealth of illustration which is admirable and useful, but I do not see that his investigation proves his own contention that the commentary of Cruquius may be ignored by the editor of the Horatian scholia. To do this it would be necessary to point out the origins of all the matter which is apparently peculiar to the Commentator, and I do not see that this has been attempted. It is certain that Cruquius drew interpretative material from a MS or MSS no longer extant. That this material is identical with scholia found in existing MSS is a thesis conceivably demonstrable, but until such demonstration is made Horatian scholars may be pardoned for using, though with great reserve and caution, matter derived from the Commentator Cruquianus. To admonish such reserve, and to illustrate Cruquius' method of work, Endt's studies will be found very serviceable: it is the more to be regretted, therefore, that his presentation is singularly obscure and perplexing.

G. L. HENDRICKSON

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Mutter Erde: Ein Versuch über Volksreligion. Von ALBRECHT DIETERICH. Leipzig: Teubner, 1905. Pp. vi+123. M. 3.20.

A generation or more ago the so-called comparative method in the study of mythology and religion was at its height, but the extravagances into which its devotees were led so discredited the procedure that many scholars in the last twenty years have not without reason shown both timidity and hostility toward anything that smacked of the comparative method. Yet the work of the anthropologist and ethnologist cannot be disregarded by the student of religion, who often may be able to interpret fragmentary data of religious custom or ritual among one people by similar, although independent, phenomena found elsewhere. How fruitful such studies can be when properly conducted is shown by this little book by Dieterich, who is widely known for his studies in the religions of Greece and Rome—a book which may well serve as a model of sane investigation in its field. The first two chapters had already appeared in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* VIII (1905), pp. 1 ff.

Starting with three rites existent among the Romans, according to which they placed the new-born babe on the ground, buried, rather than burned, the bodies of infants, and removed the sick, when in extremis, from his bed and laid him on the earth, Dieterich shows that similar practices are attested, not only for European peoples, but for tribes in the remotest part of the world. He deals therefore with the mysteries of birth, death, and a second birth from the common mother Earth. That the earth was thought of as the source of life by the Athenians is known to every reader of Greek classic literature. After discussing this belief, Dieterich shows that it likewise prevailed in other parts of Greece. He then points out how in later antiquity this original concept of the Earth-mother was brought into relation to Venus, Isis, and the Great Mother of the Gods. Chap. vi contains an interesting discussion of data relating to magic rites the purpose of which was to secure the fertility of the earth; and the final chapter in a few pages deals with the influence of the pagan belief on Christianity.

In such studies as this, which must depend in large measure on the combination of data often widely separate in source—data whose meaning must frequently be divined—there is serious danger that the investigator may in spite of himself be betrayed into flights of fancy and led to form baseless hypotheses. Dieterich, however, has successfully resisted all such temptations; he everywhere proceeds from carefully observed facts, and uses with caution analogies drawn from varied peoples, with the result that his investigation is both stimulating and fruitful.

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Classical Philology

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ON CERTAIN ROMAN CHARACTERISTICS[1]

By Elmer Truesdell Merrill

It is a great misfortune that our intimate knowledge of the personality of ancient peoples is so nearly confined to that of two races only, the Hellenic and the Italic, or, as we commonly call them, the Greek and the Roman. Our acquaintance with the Egyptians, with certain of the Eastern races—even with the Kelts, who were perhaps the nearest kin of the Romans—has, to be sure, advanced remarkably during the last century, and especially during the last quarter of a century or so, and we may confidently look forward to much new light in this direction in the future. But the absence among them, for the most part, of what we call literature—the verbal recording of thought and feeling for the sake of itself—will doubtless ever prevent us from forming that inner acquaintance with them that we have with the two races that I have mentioned. If we could have this, we might be compelled to modify in some important degree our total conception of ancient character, though no such fresh visions could interfere with the permanence of our vast mental and spiritual inheritance from Greeks and Romans.

It is to these two races alone that we apply the epithet "classical," and by this adjective we aim to connote no merely ethno-

[1] The substance of this article formed the basis of the President's Address at the annual meeting of the American Philological Association held at Washington, D. C., in January, 1907. This fact may explain, if it does not excuse, the superficiality of treatment that appeared necessary in order to adapt the theme to oral presentation before a general audience.

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logical and chronological marks, but certain deeper characteristics that may be, after all, not essentially connected with their ethnological and chronological and geographical interrelations. We think we observe in them a sufficient similarity in method of thought and expression to justify us in describing them by a common and unifying appellation. But when we endeavor to formulate with some precision a definition of the word "classical" that we so frequently call into service, we are at once involved in difficulties. We find ourselves floating in an imaginative realm, where everything is airy and elusive. It is doubtful whether any of us could agree on a sufficient definition; and if we should perchance be able to unite upon all the elements that we might consider essential to such a precise and complete definition, I seriously question whether we should any longer agree in including the two races under the common term "classical."

In general we are inclined to interpret "classical" not so much by a purely analytical process as by antithesis—by the contrasts that we can point out between "classical" traits and tendencies, and those prevailingly of a later development, which have been often summed up under the widely inclusive term of "romantic." I very much doubt whether our terminology in this matter is happy—whether, indeed, our classification under it is not sure to be defective, in that what we call "classicism" is so fertile in the elements and suggestions that we call "romantic," and what we term "romanticism" is so permeated with strictly "classical" associations and echoes, that the rough and general division that has now become popular is neither scientifically accurate nor as subservient to a useful practical purpose as we may have deemed it. The passion for statistical classification with mathematical precision may easily be carried in things of the spirit to a point where obscuration of view results instead of clarity.

But it is not within my present purpose to carry the discussion farther in this direction. Let us see rather what some, if not all, of the essential elements are that we might all agree in including under the appellation "classical," and this without any immediate regard to a contrast between them and what some persons, by way of following the Germans of a century ago, may

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call "romantic." If there is to be any antithesis, its function is to come in after that of analysis, and not in any wise to condition or modify it.

I take it that we are to consider these "classical" traits and tendencies as a part of the mental habit of the man—and, in some more or less vague and general way, of the race to which he belongs —which condition his mental machinery, and find expression in a marked degree in his political and social life, as well as in his art and literature—for surely one of these things is as much a form of racial expression as the other. And in shaping our definition from the observation of these two ancient peoples, we should certainly not dub as "classical" a trait or tendency that appears individual, or chiefly imitative, as the classical school in France appears to have been chiefly imitative, or the outcome of a conscious and wilful revolution, like that of the German school that I have mentioned. We search rather for such traits as may be called native, instinctive, and unconscious, and find a course of natural and unimpeded expression because they are in harmony with the environment in which they develop. These characteristics are of course sure to be in some true sense racial. It is the innovator and not the developer who finds himself out of harmony with his environment—kicking against the pricks.

In proceeding to run over briefly certain of these essential elements in the definition of the "classical," as it lies within the minds of most of us, I shall not need to elucidate my meaning by examples, especially before my present audience, and in view of my present theme.

The "classical" ideal of spirit appears to look toward a certain self-centredness and self-confidence, which is, however, not self-contained to the degree of finding its chief pleasure in the mental analysis of its own moods, or the elaboration of its own passions. It occupies the mental citadel rather as a vantage-ground where it may live the simple life, and whence it may survey the world outside. Yet it is not arrogantly self-assertive. Its disposition is not so much to enforce dominion over the souls of others as to claim dominion over its own soul. Its passions may be at times ebullient, but they are rather elemental than complicated. There

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is a *naïveté* in them. They subside into as perfect a serenity of dignity and calm as the ocean after a storm.

In mode of expression this classical spirit is accordingly given to a definite clearness and directness of vision and of aim. This it must have above all things. It is thus greatly self-limited, but it resents limitation from without. It therefore cares little for ethics, since ethical distinctions are complicated and confining. It labors after perfection of form along its direct line of purpose, and its finished results are thus characterized by an ideality of beauty and a suggestion of reserve passion that is the triumph of art, but sometimes also of soullessness. They glitter, and entrance, and overpower the aesthetic consciousness more often than they enchain and lift the heart. There is an apparent simplicity of design, which is set off to perfection by a concealed subtlety in every part of the work. The intense study of things as they are leads in one direction to this idealism of formal beauty, and in the other to an end that is equally ideal, but so direct as to approach brutality. The concentration of mentality fosters a devotion to, and appreciation of, literature and art, in which the inner life finds its readiest and most complete expression. The cultivation of the self-restraint necessary to the carrying-out of a limited and undivided purpose tends toward what we call conservatism. The self-assurance engendered and sustained by the successful prosecution of a clearly perceived ideal results in a sort of disregard and contempt for outside influences and achievements, and a mental rebellion against enforced adaptation to new conditions, even though practiced cleverness in the bending of means to a desired end makes such adaptation possible.

"A mind at unity with itself"—that is the classical mind; not that it has necessarily already attained, or is already perfect, but it constantly pursues after its ideal state. A freshness and spontaneity of conception and of execution, but without exuberance, characterizes it, and this not in one sphere or span of life, but in life in general—a "severe economy," someone has called it.

It is certainly possible to illustrate this sketch amply from ancient literature, art, philosophy, politics, and social life. It might also be greatly elaborated by the enlargement of its details,

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and the addition of others. It is more than possible that many of you would phrase otherwise, and more perfectly, the items that I have thus set down. But I trust that most of you would come to agree that all of the traits and tendencies that I have thus stated in barest outline form a part of that general conception of what is "classical" that floats in our minds, and furthermore that I have have omitted few, at most, of its essential characteristics.

I think we should further agree that these classical traits are a distinct possession of the Greek race, or, at least, of that highest type of it which we call Athenian, in the best days of that type. I am not so sure that you will at once agree with me in what I am going on to say, but I trust at any rate that you will not think me guilty of uttering an empty paradox, when I assert that not one of these so-called "classical" traits is properly characteristic of the Romans. If the word "classical" have any more than the most formal geographical, and chronological, and purely linguistic significance, the Romans no more deserve to have the epithet "classical" flung at them than we do. They are in spirit and temper much more nearly allied to us Americans, their distant successors, than to the Greeks, their immediate predecessors and contemporaries in the history of civilization. Their closest kinship in language and in temper was apparently with the Kelts; and it was largely the circumstances of their peninsular isolation, and commercial and other political relations with the neighboring peninsula to the eastward, which was the most advanced region in literature and art, that made them the storehouse of so much that was Greek. They were essentially non-Greek, and non-classical.

Suppose we look for a moment at the traits that they show in various departments of life: and first of all in the political field, since in that direction is to be found our earliest knowledge concerning them. As is the case with all nations, the early history of the Romans is transfigured by the late mists of mingled tradition and sophistication into a mirage of marvel. We see men as trees walking—as demigods moving upon a stage of illusion. It is not yet determined—it probably never will be determined—where the mythical period ends, and that of trustworthy history begins. And for our immediate purpose this does not greatly

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matter. For we are concerned with general characteristics rather than with precise origins. From later survivals of what we can clearly discern to be early institutions, and from the evident germ of traditions surrounded with accretions of romance, we can deduce sufficient material for safe inference.

The political history of Rome from its earliest to its latest days shows nothing of that individualistic type that distinguishes the "classical" life—that splendid isolation of feeling, that assertion of spiritual independence, that is at the foundation of what we call liberty. Liberty was more than once the rallying-cry of a small party of political idealists among the Romans, as it was among the enthusiasts of the eighteenth century, of the middle of the nineteenth—as it is among some sects of revolutionists today. But it was never a cry that held in it anything more than a temporary or factitious appeal. For the liberty to which a scholastic or a selfish adherence was thus pledged was a form of liberty impossible in any developed community life. Only Robinson Crusoe, before the advent of his Man Friday, could have rights that none could dispute. Liberty was never the characteristic watchword of the Romans, though it is a "classical" thing. Their watchword was rather "*res publica*," "my country!" That is distinctly unclassical, but it is distinctly Roman—and I venture to think it more noble than the "classical" cry.

As far back as we can trace the beginnings of Roman life into the darkness of the remote past, we find the citizen no individualist. He is already living in a well-organized community, in which the exercise of personal rights is rigorously subordinated to public opinion and to public jurisdiction. There is a supreme executive who exercises also, but not with untrammeled despotism, legislative and judicial functions. He is advised, and to some extent controlled, by a council of peers, who represent the leading families of the community, and perhaps all the original families of the community. We hear also of a popular assembly which has the right of decision of certain important matters that affect the interests of all the citizens, and without whose approval apparently not even the chief officer of state can enter upon his functions. The government of the community is one of checks and balances

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as truly as our own is. So far is the authority of the head from being personal that his kingship, if, indeed, we may properly call it by that name, is not hereditary, may be held under especial circumstances by officers of temporary rather than of life tenure, and even may be exercised by two magistrates simultaneously, each clothed with the complete authority of the office; and this occasional duality in administration easily becomes the rule under what we are pleased to call the republic, which was re-established more firmly upon its ancient foundations after a period of more personal domination as the result of temporary conquest by Etruscan arms. Even the theoretically absolute authority of the *pater familias* is restrained and overruled by prescriptions of community law that date from the earliest times of which we can deduce any knowledge. And in the gravest matters of adjudication not thus assumed by the community as of right, the authority of the *pater familias* is exercised, only subject to the advice and consent of a council of some half-dozen of his fellow-citizens.

Contrary to the narrow intensity of the "classical" tendency, citizenship in the community is not jealously guarded. According to tradition, which doubtless in this respect also embodies some truth, the original nucleus of the citizen-body was of mongrel type, and the first great step forward in the increment of the state was made by the inclusion, on equal terms, of at least one irruptive settlement of different stock, though allied to that from which the majority of the original group sprang. There are also traces of equitable incorporation of yet other communal groups, as well as of individual families; and in certain cases migration to the growing city, and the acceptance of civic rights and privileges there in place of those held in their former seats, appears to have been enforced upon the chief inhabitants of conquered towns.

With increasing growth a sort of federation is looked to instead of local amalgamation to increase the strength of the community, and the ease of acquisition of full citizenship is in consequence limited. But the significant point is that no narrowness of political view that is characteristically "classical" is responsible for this apparent change of front—no mere pride of lofty isolation—but solely the practical difficulties of adjustment to the new con-

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ditions of a problem that forces a look far into the future, and far beyond the narrow confines of Latium. How is Rome to secure a system of administration that shall be capable of indefinite extension of territorial area, and still preserve unity? A mere league between separated communities for purposes of offense and defense, and to secure amicable commercial and social relations, had proved temporarily useful, but not sufficient for the needs of empire. The mighty conception of a true nation that should yet be a federation of individually sovereign states, such as is familiar to us, was not to dawn upon the world for many centuries; for not even the Achaean League, despite Mr. Freeman's brilliant argument, appears to me to have justified itself as a nation. The solution for Rome appeared to be a wide extension among the outlying communities of a limited form of citizenship, combined with local self-government, which should supplant eventually the relations of an enforced or a voluntary league, and should in turn eventually be supplanted by the full suffrage. Thus at any particular time during the republic one may find within the borders of Italy communities representing a number of different stages in the evolution toward full integration with Rome, which it was the ultimate purpose of this masterly system to effect.

Meanwhile a new and exceedingly important question concerning burgess-rights had been in process of slow solution in the city itself. Since earliest times there had been resident within its borders a class of persons, freely admitted and welcomed, allowed to live and trade without restriction, in no wise treated as pariahs, or as certain truly "classical" communities treated strangers within their gates, but yet not citizens. So little was the "classical" aristocratic pride of civic inheritance regarded, that the enfranchised slave of a Roman citizen became himself a citizen by virtue of his manumission; but these plebeians, though in certain respects apparently treated as a constituent part of the community, and not even as social inferiors, were yet, in the eye of the constitution and of the laws, regarded when they had become a multitude as they had been regarded when they were but few, and of no great significance in the body politic. The progress of the movement toward their admission to complete burgess-rights

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is familiar, and for my purpose it is unnecessary to rehearse it here. If we could only be more completely informed concerning its details, if we could only disentangle the true thread from the later tissue of colored tradition, we might satisfy ourselves whether indeed it is true, as the later narrative appears to represent, that the keen political sagacity of the Romans failed them in the earlier stages of this problem, so that they were unable to comprehend the necessity of provision for the perfect incorporation of the plebeians into the body of burgesses, until the plebeians had become so many that their immediate admission *en masse* to full burgess-rights appeared to threaten the stability of the government. We cannot solve, I think, this difficulty, nor can we easily free ourselves from the prejudices of the annalistic stories, which make each step in the progress a tale of raging strife between the two classes of patricians and plebeians, settled by a concession on the part of the dominant party that sometimes appears ludicrously inadequate to the noise of conflict. Yet, if we were at a sufficient distance to overlook the lively tales that make each point in the forward movement a point wrested from a blind and stubborn oligarchy by a united and determined democracy, we should take quite a different view of the affair. It would seem to be quite in accord with the wise principles of political administration that characterized the Romans in other directions. We should witness a moderate scheme of progressive emancipation carefully worked out from point to point, and leading to an ultimate goal that was reached by the middle of the third century before Christ—the total amalgamation of patrician and plebeian, and that with the minimum of danger or friction. The dramatic stories themselves have one curious thing about them, considering the rude centuries to which they are assigned—there is a surprisingly small amount of gore in them, and yet good red blood is a classic fluid. I think we must see, even in the apparent exception of the plebeian question, a trait of political character among the Romans that is non-"classical."

And if we should choose to regard the whole political system and history of Rome as a system and history of concessions and compromises, we must surely regard it as "unclassical;" for the

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truly classical spirit is too intense in the singleness of its ideal aim to deal patiently with concessions and compromises. It would rather break than bend.

Time would fail me to analyze in detail the political system and ideal of Rome, in order to point out the non-classical elements in it. But let me take one more point, the colonization and provincial policy of Rome.

The acutely centripetal consciousness of the truly classical community did not preclude it from colonization. But its colonial extensions were rather incidents than schemes. They did not form part of any imperial plan. The Greek colony was traditionally an independent offshoot from the mother-city. It was expected to shift for itself, as much as were those Samnite youths who marched out into the unknown as the product of a *uer sacrum*. Its ties of obligation to the homeland were of the loosest sort. This planetary child, thus flung off, might find its own orbit. But while the "classical" Greek thus looked inward, the Roman was ever looking outward. His aim was not individualism, but imperialism. His colony was merely a transplanted bit of the homeland, his province an outlying piece of Roman territory, governed and administred in its general interests, by officials sent from Rome, and deprived of all prospect of autonomy.

Our traditional view of the Romans is of a people distinctly conservative, and conservatism is distinctly a "classical" trait. These Romans doubtless were in some sense conservative, but their conservatism was a form and a framework rather than a living tissue. There never has been until our own day a nation so quick and ready in the adoption and adaptation of new blood and new ideas. Every century of their national existence saw new blood and new ideas grafted into the old community life, and even coming to overtop the old. Even the change from republic to empire, that appears to us in some aspects so portentous, was effected with hardly more than a jar of the complex political machinery. Personal issues there were, wearing the guise of political principles, and these were fiercely and bloodily contested; but these contests affected only the surface of the deep current of national life, the steady course of which was constantly onward.

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No narrow pride of race had been responsible for restraining the plebeians so long in the early centuries of Rome from the enjoyment of equal political rights with the other members of the already mixed community. No such later pride, "classical" though it would have been, debarred the nation from admitting to its citizenship, its service, and its highest rewards, men of provincial birth and lineage. No haughty spirit of self-sufficiency stood in the way of the adoption by Rome of whatever she considered good, wherever she found it. Classicism is national; Rome was cosmopolitan and catholic. When she came in contact with the alien, but more advanced, civilization of Etruria, she greedily adopted from her ancient foe much that contributed to the enrichment of her own life, but not altogether to its true enlightenment. When she found that the Semitic Carthage could teach her farmers a more scientific type of agriculture, she had Mago's great work translated into her own tongue. The extension of her politics and her commerce brought to her knowledge the beauty and the splendor of the truly classical inheritance of Greece, and thongh she disliked and detested the Greek character, even her stubborn Cato learned in his old age to speak Greek.

We may justly condemn, from our more enlightened aesthetic and ethical standpoint, the lamentably rude and violent methods by which the appropriation to Roman life of the artistic riches of Greece was sometimes carried out. They are quite comparable with the more recent artistic activities of the great Napoleon, which convinced the hereditarily facetious descendants of the ancient despoilers that Frenchmen were thieves and robbers, *non tutti*, to be sure, *ma buona parte*. We may properly smile at the naïve form of marine insurance effected by the Roman conqueror of Corinth in the interest of his valuable cargoes. We may deplore, from the severely "classical" standpoint, the overpowering influence upon the germs of a possible Italian literature and art at a relatively early period effected by this exuberant inpouring of foreign masterpieces. I, however, for one, am inclined to think it the most providential thing that could be conceived for the history of Roman civilization and of the civilization of the world. I am not now concerned, however, with the appraisal of the character or

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extent of this Greek influence upon Roman life, nor with the attempt to conceive what might have been, had its conquering inroads not taken place, or had they been postponed to a later period. I might, indeed, argue, as you well know, that there is much more of a distinctly Italian character to Roman literature and Roman art after the Grecian conquest than was readily acknowledged a generation ago. But this, too, is beside my purpose. My only point here is that the Romans displayed an entirely "unclassical," but remarkably broad and cosmopolitan trait, in their quick and eager understanding of the things that were excellent and of good report in the achievements of an alien and a conquered race. Even the untutored Mummius knew that he had won in the capture of Corinth things more precious than mere silver and gold. Customs have changed with the change of years, and no longer may even the loot from a captured Mongolian city be displayed openly without the hearing of a cry of "shame." But wealth is in itself no less unaesthetic than strength, and the acquisition of European art-treasures by the purses of American millionaires is as significant of our eager longing for, and appreciation of, the things we cannot make, as would be any conquest of them by our bow and by our spear. Indeed, I feel reasonably confident that Mummius—and possibly Verres—would applaud us as after all kindred spirits, could they see proudly exhibited in our museums precious antiquities surreptitiously and illegally exported from the countries of their discovery. Yet I doubt whether even Mummius and Verres would be able to comprehend, without long and patient tutelage at the hands of these millionaires of ours, the economic advantage of "encouraging home industry" by imposing a heavy tax upon the importation of works of intellect and genius, when they happen to be of recent achievement. But that is another story.

I have already remarked that the truly "classical" spirit may eagerly range over many of the vast reaches of philosophic speculation, finding therein the fullest enjoyment of its individual power and freedom. But it is likely to find small delight in the study of ethics; for ethics concerns the moral limitation of individual freedom. Human conduct is likely in that realm to find itself

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hemmed in by boundary walls and confronted by categorical imperatives. The Romans developed no school of philosophy. They went to study under the great teachers of Greece, as we have gone to German universities. But their keenest philosophical interest was decidedly "unclassical," in lying, as that of many of us lies, in the direction of practical ethics. The Roman had no difficulty in understanding the "unclassical" proposition that the individual existed, not for himself, but, in some true sense, for the community, instead of the community for the individual. That was bred in his bone and in his flesh. The community was first, the individual second. Hence came that remarkable genius of the Roman mind for law, a phenomenon that appears more remarkable the more closely it is studied. It is distinctly "unclassical," this magnificent structure of complex jurisprudence, grand enough to command the world, and stable enough on its solid foundations of morality and reason to outlast not merely dynasties, but nations, and to furnish the basis for the legislation of communities undreamed of even when Justinian sat upon his throne. And this was possible because Rome, from its rude beginnings upon the scant Seven Hills, had the "unclassical" sense, however inarticular at first, of a true community life based upon eternal sanctions as all-embracing and as permanent as the world itself.

It is not possible to take time to point out fully in the matter of legal conceptions and development the wide difference between the individualistic tendencies of the traditional Greek mind and the broad humanistic sentiment of Rome. But let us take a single instance. Slavery is an institution so old in human history that the Greek philosophers accepted it as a natural institution. It was natural to the "classical" individualism of the Greek world, for that tendency led men to recognize privilege as a basic distinction in human society. Even the idealistic Plato, with all his communal tendencies, failed to rise above the conception of a state founded upon perpetual caste distinctions. In his *Laws* he recognizes, to be sure, some of the inconveniences and burdens to the commune of freemen that arise from the existence of slavery within it, but of the natural right of the slave to freedom, of

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the hope of ultimate universal emancipation, he knows nothing. Aristotle was well aware that some scattered voices had been raised to proclaim that the slave had been made such by force, and so against nature; but he asserted that human society rests upon three supports, man, woman, and slave. Take away any one of these, and the whole structure falls clattering to the ground. "Slavery exists," he says in his *Politics* (1. 2), "as the natural counterpart of freedom. For by nature one man is destined to be master, and another to be slave." And again in his *Ethics* (8. 13), "The slave is but an implement endowed with life; an implement is but a lifeless slave." This, I repeat, is but the logical expression of "classical" individualism. But turn to the utterances of Roman thinkers, and note the difference. And first hear a philosopher (Sen. *Ep.* 47. 1): "'They are slaves.' 'Nay, rather, men.' 'They are slaves.' 'Nay, but comrades.' 'They are slaves.' 'Nay, humble friends.' 'They are slaves.' 'Nay, call them rather your fellow-slaves, when you consider that fortune has the same power over both!'" The jurists, too, speak to the same purport, with less of rhetoric, to be sure, but with more clearness of precise definition. They properly characterize slavery as existing *iure gentium*, for by this they mean merely that it is early in origin and universal in practice. But Florentinus says (*Dig.* 1. 5. 4), "Slavery is a constitution *iuris gentium*, by which one person is subjected to ownership by another contrary to nature." And the great Ulpian declares (*Dig.* 50. 17. 32), "By the civil law slaves are not treated as men: not so, however, by the law of nature, for in the eye of the law of nature all men are equal." What better could William Lloyd Garrison have said?

Nor was the difference between Greek and Roman on this point merely a matter of theory, or confined in the case of the latter race merely to the theoretic opinions of a few late writers. It permeated the legal and social relations of master and slave from the earliest times. We must not, to be sure, think of the condition of the slave as always one of suffering. Outbreaking crimes, rather than commonplace virtues, have always formed the staple of popular gossip; and precisely as the lurid pages of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* afford no true general picture of slavery in our

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own southern states, so the scattered notices of ancient brutality and savagery of masters toward slaves are no fair indication of the conditions generally surrounding slavery in Greece and Rome. But in Greece the slave had almost no claim upon legal protection, and no prospect of becoming a burgess. I am glad to be able to chronicle one striking exception, even though it interferes with the universality of my thesis. At Athens, one of whose glories it is to have taught the other communities the recognition of suppliant rights, the slave might, at one time, claim the protection of the law against excessive abuse at the hands of his master. This was a remarkable exception to the prevalent Greek tendency. But at Rome, from the earliest days, the tendency was otherwise than in Greece. Roman law, like Roman character, shows at many points a curious inconsistency of verbal and formal hardness and conservatism along with practical and sympathetic breadth and appreciation. The Romans held theoretically to a stiff, not to say rigid, ideal of the *dominica potestas*, as they did of the *patria potestas;* but in practice, and in legislation, both *patria* and *dominica potestas* fell far short of the attributes of true ownership. The tendency was to look upon the slave as a man, and a possible fellow-citizen. How early legislation began to throw around the slave the mantle of her protection we cannot tell; for the familiar enactments of the late republic and early empire appear to sanction and repeat some principles already recognized. I need not remind you of their generous details, nor need I do more than remind you that, so far as political rights were concerned, from the earliest times a manumitted slave of a Roman citizen became the political equal of his master, a state of things abhorrent to the "classical" ideal of Greece. Of the wisdom of this immediate and full enfranchisement I shall not argue. If it were unwise, it is even the more to the advantage of my thesis, as showing the modern rather than the "classical" feeling of principle on the part of the Roman community. As a matter of fact, there were evils, grave evils, consequent upon it. The difficulties involved appear to resemble closely those precipitated upon our own southern states by the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. In the late years of Augustus, and the earlier part

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of the principate of Tiberius (by the *Leges Iulia* and *Iunia-Norbana*), an attempt at certain limitations was made; but popular sentiment was evidently too strong for reactionary legislation, and the new acts quickly fell into abeyance. Nor, in the interests of true liberty, need we mourn, as some of our parrot-like historians have been prone to do, that in the late Republic, and under the Empire, freedmen proved their ability to stand beside, and even above, their former masters in all the vocations of life.

I am far from claiming that this lack of sectional and local jealousy, this ready welcome of new ideas, of foreign elements of culture, of unlimited immigration and amalgamation, with all the change of social conditions that they brought in their train, was an ideal system of life and thought for the moral growth of the great Roman city and Roman empire. That is a subject that has interested, and may well interest, the student of political and social science; it may well interest us, who may recognize the ancient prototype of conditions that confront us also, and us, perhaps, more than any other nation since those ancient times. But the discussion of it is apart from my present purpose, which is to point out merely what a wide difference there is between the social exclusiveness of the "classical" ideal, and this enormous inclusiveness of Rome, and how closely the latter resembles our own modern spirit.

Let me carry the discussion just one step further on, that I may speak of the attitude of Rome regarding religion; and on this point I will try to be brief.

The self-centered character of the truly "classical" community leads us to expect—what history shows us to be the case—the predominance of local cults, with the exaltation of the private god above all others. Conjoined with this is the tendency to view unorthodoxy in worship with more or less of suspicion and dislike, and to condemn the innovator, not, perhaps, so much on account of any injury to the majesty of a slighted deity, as because of a perturbation of the staid habits of the community. Athens had her Athene, beside the glory of whose adoration the cult of other divinities seems to the ordinary observer a pale and adventitious thing. But who was the distinctive local god of Rome? Ianus?

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Manors? Pales? Faunus? Vortumnus? Where was his pre-eminent shrine? Through all the history of Rome, from her early days, any and all gods found a welcome within her walls, until the sects there worshiping in common peace and quietness were somewhat comparable in number and diversity to those variegated and wonderfully named bodies of godly folk that our own country shelters in her ample bosom. Rarely, indeed, was there any interference with religious freedom in Rome. When there was any public action that could in any sense be so denominated, it was due to some cause not connected with religious jealousy or exclusiveness. The rites of the Bacchanals were at one time sternly interdicted, but because their association was made a cover for murder and lust. Action was taken more than once against the Egyptian deities, but for similar reasons. Christians suffered at various times, but not truly because of their religion as such. It was their secrecy concerning their most sacred rites, and their puritanic exclusiveness, that at times roused against them popular ill-will, and exposed them to charges of crime and immorality in their private meetings. Moreover, they refused to dissolve their associations, and intermit their assemblies, when the civil law commanded the disbanding of all ἑταιρίαι as suspected centers of treasonable practices; and the faithful among them created a more grave distrust of the civic loyalty of the Christian cult by their stubborn refusal to purge themselves of suspicion by the simple act of dropping a few grains of incense on the altar-fire burning before the emperor's statue. This persistency was incomprehensible to the state officials on any other theory than that the Christians acknowledged an allegiance centered elsewhere than in the Roman emperor; and an *imperium in imperio* was dangerous and intolerable. Only on such accounts as these, and not because of any religious intolerance, such as the "classical" temper might engender, were the Christians subjected to persecution. The Romans held, it is needless to say, quite different views from ours on the nature of religion, and on the obligations arising under it, and their religious toleration was based, therefore, on other principles than those upon which, I judge, most of us would base our own; but the practice of religion was as untrammeled in Rome,

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except for such cases as I have instanced, as it is in these United States.

I have thus sketched, in rude outline, certain of the characteristic traits of that ancient civilization from which so much of later civilization has sprung; and I have done it with the purpose of pointing out what I conceived has perhaps not been sufficiently emphasized before, the essentially "unclassical," but essentially modern, aspect of these traits. I am aware that these matters deserve more critical handling, for which the space at my disposal does not suffice. One topic especially might call for separate treatment—the marvelous steadiness of the growth in true democratic liberty, even when popular assemblies for legislative purposes had vanished, and the prince had become a master instead of a magistrate; the wonderful development of a system of civic order and justice at a time when the average person thinks of the Roman empire as crumbling into a mad chaos of political, social, and moral disintegration.

I may not call the people of these United States a race, though I may call them that which is far more significant and noble, a nation. This nation can claim no organic descent from the Romans of that far-off day, but in a true and enduring sense we feel them bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. They live and breathe among us and in us, not merely because of that vast material and spiritual inheritance that we, in common with other countries, have derived from them, but by virtue of a temperamental kinship that stretches across these subjective bounds of space and time, and transcends the futile bars of race and language. Nor do I need to conclude my apologue with *haec fabula docet*, in order to round out the consciousness of both the inspirations and the warnings that this nation may find in the history of that ancient, but "unclassical," people so inly akin to us.

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THE MEANING OF PARACHOREGEMA

By Kelley Rees

Despite the common assumption that dramatic poets at Athens were limited uniformly to three actors for the production of plays, it has been frequently observed that many of the extant dramas require a fourth. The *Choephori* demands an extra actor for the part of Pylades,[1] the *Rhesus* for Paris. "Extra" actors are also necessary for the rôles of Molossus in the *Andromache* and Eumelus in the *Alcestis*. In the plays of Aristophanes extra performers are required for Pseudartabas, Herald, and Nicarchus in the *Acharnians*, Triballus in the *Birds*, Lampito in the *Lysistrata*, the two daughters of Trygaeus in the *Peace*, Prytanis and Heraldess in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, and for Pluto and Plathane in the *Frogs*. In addition to these, many other characters are found in the plays which are not specifically provided for either by the choregus or by the state, if we assume that the former furnished only the regular chorus and the latter only three actors: for example, the companions of Hippolytus (*Hipp.* 61–120), the chorus of boys in the *Wasps* (248–316), the Propompi in the *Eumenides* (1010–47), the chorus of shepherds in the *Alexander* of Euripides (cf. schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 58), and mute characters.[2] All these and other[3] characters of a similar nature

[1] The scholiast ad vs. 889 avoids the difficulty by assuming that the same actor played the part both of the evangelus and of Pylades: *μετασκευάσται ὁ ἐξάγγελος εἰς Πυλάδην ἵνα μὴ δ' λέγωσι.* So Müller *Eumenides*, p. 130, and Tucker *Choephori*, p. 5. But five verses (886–91) would not allow the necessary time for exit and change of dress. This is the prevailing view, I think, and is supported by Müller *Bühnenalt.*, p. 175; Richter *Vertheil. d. Roll.*, pp. 39 ff.; Lachmann *De mensura*, pp. 21 ff.; and by Schneider *Att. Theaterw.*, p. 137. O. F. Hermann *De distrib.*, adn. 48, holds that such a lightning change would not be impossible, but thinks that the employment of an "extra" would be the easier and more natural plan.

[2] (1) Those who appear as body-guards or attendants, *δορυφορήματα*; (2) "mutes" like Hermes in the *Eumenides*, Bia in the *Prometheus*, and Pylades in several plays, cf. Hermann *De distrib.*, p. 24; (3) persons that took the place, as is generally supposed, of regular characters when the actors of such characters were temporarily required for other speaking parts, e. g. Ismene in *Oed. Col.* 1096–1555; (4) and finally, crowds of people such as the suppliants in *Oedipus Rex* or the Areopagites in the *Eumenides*.

[3] Cf. Müller *Bühnenalt.*, pp. 175–80, and Haigh *Attic Theatre*[3], pp. 264–68.

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overstep the three-actor limit. A discrepancy, therefore, exists between the actual demands of the plays and the assumed limitation of actors. How is the conflict to be explained?

When confronted by such a dilemma students of the drama usually take refuge in the convenient term "parachoregema," which is defined by Haigh, for example, as including "all extra performers as distinct from actors and chorus. This word obviously means something which is supplied by the choregus in addition to his ordinary expenditure."[1] The fact that a Greek name can be applied to the phenomenon has here, as in so many other cases, served to shield the explanation from the close scrutiny to which it should have been subjected; for the word *παραχορήγημα* is a late and rare term, the sphere of its application is uncertain, and there is no a priori reason why we should suppose, if its meaning were perfectly clear, that it is correctly applied to the provision made in the fifth century B. C. for actors beyond three, or for such secondary choruses or supernumeraries as the poet might, in writing his play, find it convenient to employ. This word occurs but five times: in the scholia ad *Prom.* 12, *Eum.* 573, *Pax* 114, *Ran.* 205, and in Pollux iv. 109; while the verb *παραχορηγεῖν* occurs but once, in Athenaeus iv. 140*e*. Let us first examine these passages.

1. Pol. iv. 109: *ὁπότε μὴν ἀντὶ τετάρτου ὑποκριτοῦ δέοι τινὰ τῶν χορευτῶν εἰπεῖν ἐν ᾠδῇ, παρασκήνιον καλεῖται τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὡς ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι Αἰσχύλου· εἰ δὲ τέταρτος ὑποκριτής τι παραφθέγξαιτο, τοῦτο παραχορήγημα ὀνομάζεται, καὶ πεπρᾶχθαί φασιν αὐτὸ ἐν Μέμνονι Αἰσχύλου.*[2]

2. Schol. *Prom.* 12: *ἐν παραχορηγήματι αὐτῷ εἰδωλοποιηθεῖσα Βία.*

3. Schol. *Eum.* 573: *ἐν παραχορηγήματι αὐτῷ εἰσιν οἱ Ἀρεοπαγῖται μηδαμοῦ διαλεγόμενοι.*

4. Schol. *Pax* 114: *τὰ τοιαῦτα παραχορηγήματα καλοῦσιν, οἷα νῦν τὰ παιδία ποιεῖ καλοῦντα τὸν πατέρα· εἶτα πρὸς οὐδὲν ἔτι τούτοις χρήσεται.*

5. Schol. *Ran.* 209: *ταῦτα καλεῖται παραχορηγήματα* (Dind., *παραγορήματα* MSS), *ἐπειδὴ οὐχ ὁρῶνται ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ οἱ βάτραχοι, οὐδὲ ὁ χορός, ἀλλ'*

[1] *Attic Theatre*[3], p. 265.

[2] So the best MSS; other MSS omit after *πρᾶγμα* the phrase *ὡς ἐν Ἀγα. Αἰσ.* and read *Ἀγαμέμνονι* for *Μέμνονι* at the end. The reading of the inferior MSS was accepted by Lachmann *De mensura*, p. 3, who was first to recognize dittography in the best codices. Cf. Hermann *Opusc.* VII, p. 346, and Fritzsche *Thesmophor.*, p. 251. Schultze *De chori Graecorum tragici habitu externo*, p. 24, retains the reading of the best MSS. See Müller *Bühnenalt.*, p. 175, n. 1, for further discussion of the passage.

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ἔσωθεν μιμοῦνται τοὺς βατράχους· ὁ δὲ ἀληθῶς χορὸς ἐκ τῶν εὐσεβῶν νεκρῶν συνέστηκεν.

The first passage may be simplified to a certain extent if we eliminate from the discussion the references to the *Agamemnon* or *Memnon* of Aeschylus. The *Agamemnon* presents no situation where παρασκήνιον as here described might be used. As to the lost *Memnon*, we are quite ignorant of the situation referred to. If, however, we accept Lachmann's reading and omit ὡς ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι, substituting Ἀγαμέμνονι for Μέμνονι, we must (with C. F. Hermann[1]) understand under the title *Agamemnon* the whole triology and find in the passage a reference to the situation in *Choeph.* 889, where a fourth person is actually required for the part of Pylades. This is a plausible conjecture, but if we adhere strictly to the MSS it must be affirmed that neither the *Agamemnon* nor the *Memnon* seems to illustrate to us the use of παρασκήνιον or παραχορήγημα as defined in the passage.[2] We are thus justified in disregarding the references to these plays. The rest of the passage yields an intelligible meaning, To begin with the last clause, "if a fourth actor should speak anything (τι) in supplement (παρά), this was called "parachoregema," i. e., a fourth speaking[3] actor was designated by the word parachoregema. The distinction drawn by Pollux between "parascenion" and "parachoregema" causes some difficulty. "Whenever," he adds, "it was necessary for a chorus performer instead of a fourth actor to speak in lyric, this was called 'parascenion,' 'Nebenscene.'" Obviously such a case could happen only in the situation where

[1] *De distrib.*, p. 39; cf. Schneider *Att. Theaterw.*, p. 136: "d. i. in den Choephoren, da im Agamemnon nichts dergleichen gefunden wird, und der Name Agamemnon bisweilen für die ganze Tetralogie gebraucht worden ist." Haigh, p. 264, n. 2, holds that "the reference cannot be to the speech of Pylades in the *Choephori* because the *Choephori* could not be called the *Agamemnon*."

[2] Verrall *Class. Rev.* IV (1890), pp. 3 ff., has evolved an ingenious theory. On the strength of the Pollux passage he has added to the cast of characters in the *Agamemnon* two new rôles, the Conspirator and Soldier. To the Conspirator are assigned vss. 1522, 1523; to the Soldier 1650-53. These lines were originally in the text, but were thrown out on the ground that they made no sense in the mouths of those characters to whom they were assigned. The verses are in codex Florentinus. The part of the Conspirator fits Pollux' definition of "parascenion." Verrall thus brings the *Agamemnon* into accord with the statement of Pollux.

[3] I. e., in dialogue, as contrasted with εἰπεῖν ἐν ᾠδῇ.

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three speaking actors are present on the scene at once and something is to be sung behind the scene. The extant dramas offer no such case so far as is discoverable now, and if there really were such situations, a fourth performer would be necessary, so that parascenion would be a special name for a parachoregema under a special condition. Both terms have the common characteristic of being used of a fourth actor; *παρασκήνιον*, a chorus member as a fourth actor sings; *παραχορήγημα*, a fourth actor speaks. Every fourth performer, whether employed for lyrical parts or otherwise, is a parachoregema, but is a parascenion only in the one case when the fourth person has to sing from the back-scene.[1]

Pollux thus defines in terms reasonably clear the application of parachoregema, restricting it to a fourth actor. Schol. *Pax* (4 above) also employs the term to designate supernumerary actors. But the word is given a wider application and is used with reference to mute characters in schol. *Prom.* 12 and in schol. *Eum.* 573,[2] and to a supplementary chorus in schol. *Ran.* 209[3] (2, 3, and 5 above).

We thus learn from Pollux and the scholiasts certain applications of the term. The actual meaning of the word they do not define, nor do they state or imply that the choregus had anything

[1] Jebb *Oed. Col.*, p. 8, n. 1, holds that there is no good reason or authority for *παρασκήνιον* being used of a supernumerary actor; for according to the passage under discussion the term was used when a chorus member took the place of a fourth actor. However, if *παραχορήγημα* includes all extras (whether provided by the choregus or otherwise) the extra chorus member used for actor's parts would certainly be comprehended by the term, though the latter had a more specific name in parascenion. The explanation offered by me is essentially the same as that proposed by Richter *Verteil. d. Rollen*, pp. 20 ff., and by Beer *Zahl d. Schausp.*, pp. 12 ff. Müller *Bühnenalt.*, p. 179, finds the peculiarity of parascenion to be in this, that the term includes everything that takes place "in den Seitenflügeln" as distinguished from what goes on in the orchestra or "on the stage." For instance, the chorus of frogs would be a parascenion, in that they are not visible to the spectator.

[2] The scholiast seems to lay special emphasis on the *μηδαμοῦ διαλεγόμενοι*, "since they do not speak," they (*Ἀρεοπαγῖται*) are *ἐν παραχορηγήματι*. Apparently he has in mind a period when all mutes were regarded as parachoregemata.

[3] It seems unnecessary to assume that this chorus involved an extra expense to the choregus, since it is extremely probable that the same persons who appeared later as the chorus of Mystae here sang the frog chorus. Schneider, p. 137, prefers to retain the MS *παραγορήματα* and translates, "Nebenrufe," "unsichbare Stimmen." Dindorf's emendation is now generally accepted. Assuming it to be correct, the conclusion, I think, is obvious that the scholiast regarded the frog chorus as constituting a supplementary chorus.

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to do with the matter. The current definition of the word is really an interpretation of modern scholars, designed to explain and justify a preconceived notion that the poet could employ only three actors regularly. In the passages quoted there is no hint, except it be in the composition of the word itself, that the ancients looked upon the parachoregema as an extra duty which devolved upon the choregus. Pollux, who seems to have derived most of his information on scenic matters from Juba,[1] is often a very unsafe guide for the student of the classical drama. His statements about matters theatrical are often applicable only to the post-classical period. So too with the scholiasts to the dramatic poets. Often uninformed as to the conditions of the fifth-century theater, they naturally are prone to interpret the classical dramas in terms strictly applicable only to their own day. We must, therefore, be on our guard against applying to the classical drama at Athens a late term used first and only by the scholiasts and by Pollux.

To summarize the preceding discussion: According to the definition of Pollux and schol. *Pax* 114 "parachoregema" means a fourth actor; according to scholl. *Prom.* 12 and *Eum.* 573, mute characters may be designated by the same term, and by a further extension (schol. *Ran.* 209) supplementary choruses are included. The meaning of the word is nowhere defined; only its application is known. The word itself seems to be of late origin and may have been used with reference to stage conditions in the post-classical period.

What then is the meaning of παραχορήγημα? A correct interpretation of the simple word χορήγημα will enable us to give a plausible answer to this question. It should first be observed that χορήγημα was never used in classical Greek nor is it ever found as a synonym of χορηγία in its technical sense of "office of choregus," though etymologically it might have been so used. χορήγημα is a word of late development indicating the concrete thing resulting from the action of χορηγεῖν *in its derived meaning*. Let us then trace briefly the development in meaning of χορηγεῖν (χορηγία), starting with the classical period.

[1] Rohde *De Pollucis fontibus*, pp. 36 ff.

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In the classical period *χορηγία* meant "the office of the choregus," "the expense of the office;" *χορηγεῖν*, "to be leader of the chorus," "to defray the expense of the chorus." In the Orators there is a tendency to employ the words in a metaphorical sense as early as Antiphon.[1] In two passages in Demosthenes the original force of the words is no longer felt: xi. 6 (in *Epist. Phil.*): *βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν χρήματα χορηγεῖν ὑμῖν προτρέψονται*, and in a law quoted xviii. 106: *ἀπὸ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν εἰς τετταράκοντα, ἐπ' ἴσον τῇ χορηγίᾳ χρωμένους*. In Aristotle *χορηγεῖν* means "to furnish" or "to supply" in several passages: *Eth. Nic.* 1101*a* 15 (i. 10. 15): *καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἀγαθοῖς ἱκανῶς κεχορηγημένον*; *ibid.*, 1179*a* 11 (x. 8. 11), and 1099*a* 34 (i. 9. 15). *χορηγία* = "that which is provided," "means," "resources;" in a wider sense "anything which the state requires to be furnished:"[2] *Pol.* 1332*a* 1 (iv [vii]. 13. 2): *δεῖται γὰρ καὶ χορηγίας τινὸς τὸ ζῆν καλῶς*; see also *Pol.* 1325*b* 37 (iv [vii]. 4. 4. 1) and *Eth. Nic.* 1178*a* 2 (x. 8. 4). In *Pol.* 1326*a* 6 the population is regarded as an important part of the state's assets (*πολιτικῆς χορηγίας*). In late Greek these words mean regularly "to furnish" and "that which is furnished or supplied." Since the fact is familiar to all, a few examples will suffice: Plut. *Moral.* 956 *d*: *ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς* [*ὠφέλεια*] *χορηγίας δεῖται καὶ ὑλῆς*; Polyb. iii. 68. 8: *τὸ τῶν Κελτῶν πλῆθος . . . . δαψιλῶς μὲν ἐχορήγει τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις*; Diod. xx. 37. 2: *χορηγήσειν σῖτον καὶ χρήματα*; schol. *Nub.* 807: *ἀντὶ τοῦ ἕτοιμός ἐστι μισθούς σοι χορηγεῖν οὓς ἂν θελῇς*; schol. *Ach.* 348: *ὄρος χορηγίαν ἔχον πολλῶν ξύλων*; Dittenberger *Syl.*[2], 552. 72[3] (latter half of the second century, B. C.): *χορηγῆσαι τὸ γινόμενον δαπάνημα*.

From these examples it becomes clear that *χορηγεῖν* meant in late writers, when the choregic system no longer existed, regularly "to supply or furnish;" that the derived meaning, though common enough in the fourth century, probably then was felt to be a figurative use of the word. *χορήγημα* came in when the figurative meaning was practically the only one, except in antiquarian references to

[1] Antiphon *Chor.* 13; Aeschines *Ctesiph.* 240: *καὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς σεαυτοῦ χορηγεῖς.*

[2] See note in Susemehl-Hicks *Politics*, 1225*a* 14, and 1331*b* 41.

[3] See also *Syl.* 418. 77, where the word has the same meaning.

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the ancient custom. This is confirmed by the fact noted above that *χορήγημα* does not occur in Greek literature in the technical sense of "choregia." The first and only appearance of the simple uncompounded form of the word, so far as I have been able to discover, is in Plut. *Otho* 9.[1] Here *χορήγημα*, "the thing provided," becomes "the means for providing something." *ἐπιχορήγημα*[2] occurs but once, in Athenaeus iv. 140*c*: *ἀλλ' ἐπάϊκλα μὲν λέγεται ταῦτα, ὄντα οἷον ἐπιχορηγήματα τοῦ τεταγμένου τοῖς φιδίταις ἀΐκλου*, i.e., that is called *ἐπ-αΐκλου* which is, as it were, "an additional supply" (cf. Liddell and Scott). Thus *χορήγημα* in the form *ἐπιχορήγημα* and the simple word in Plutarch means merely "the thing furnished or supplied."[3] Formed from *χορηγεῖν* at a late period, it could not have had any other meaning. *χορηγία* had already been instituted for the technical sense and continued to be so used wherever the ancient custom was referred to, and was never confused even in antiquarian notices with *χορήγημα*, which was always restricted to a non-technical sense. Even assuming that *χορήγημα* came in earlier than our evidence would indicate, it is highly improbable that the two words were ever used currently side by side to designate the choregic system, since the distinction was felt so strongly at a late period. *παραχορήγημα* would signify accordingly "that which is furnished in supplement," an extra or additional furnishing."

The verb *παραχορηγεῖν*[4] bears out the correctness of this interpretation. *παρά* signifying "additional" or "extra" is not uncom-

[1] *ἢ Ὀθωνίλλῳ λαιμαργίας καὶ οἰνοφλυγίας ἢ τρυφῆς καὶ ἀκολασίας Ὄθωνι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν χορήγημα παρθεμένους.*

[2] Other compound forms do not occur, excepting those cases with *παρα-* already mentioned.

[3] According to Stratton *University of Chicago Studies*, II, pp. 115–243, nouns ending in *-μα* or *-αμα* derived from verbs commonly denote the result of the action of those verbs. Thus *χορηγεῖν* "to furnish," *χορήγημα*, the concrete result, "the thing furnished."

[4] Athen. iv. 140*e*; *ἦν εἰς τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν φιδίτια κομίζουσι, σκευοποιεῖται ἔκ τινων ξύλων ὡρισμένων, παραχορηγοῦντος αὐτὰ τοῖς φιδίταις ἑνὸς τῶν εὐπορούντων, ἐσθ' ὅτε δὲ καὶ πλειόνων.* According to Sophocles' *Lexicon* *παραχορηγεῖν* means in this passage, "to furnish over and above," "to furnish in addition." Such must be the sense of *παρά* here, though the whole word in the sense of *παρέχειν* would give an intelligible meaning. The passage would mean then: "the men had flesh of certain animals *in addition to a fare* such as was given to the boys at the Phiditia." Jebb *Oed. Col.*, p. 8, n. 1 says: "*παραχορήγημα* (from the verb *παραχορηγεῖν*) meant simply something furnished in supplement to the ordinary duties of the choragus," correctly interpreting the force of the preposition at least.

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mon, as the following examples will show: Aristoph. *Eccles.* 226, *παροψωνοῦν*, "to buy a dainty in addition to a regular fare" (Aesch. *Aga.* 1447, *παροψώνημα*, "a dainty"); *Vesp.* 1228; *παραπολεῖ βοώμενος*, "you will perish incidentally, etc;" also 481 *παρεμβαλεῖν* "to throw in, slip in parenthetically;"[1] Aristotle *De part. anim.* 662 *a* 9 (3. 1. 7); *ἀναγκαῖον παρεισδέχεσθαι τὸ ὑγρὸν ἅμα τῇ τροφῇ*; Lucian *De hist. scr.* 9: *ἡ ἱστορία, εἰ μὲν ἄλλως τὸ τερπνὸν παρεμπορεύσαιτο*, i. e., "if history should give delight besides instruction" (*χρήσιμον*); *Ety. Mag.* 172. 3 *παράχυμα* "an additional pouring in;" Bekker's *Anecdota* 59. 31, *παρασόφισμα* "an additional invention;" Hesychius *s. εἴλιον*, *παράφερνα* "that which a bride brings over and above her contracted dowry." *πάρεργον*, *παρενθήκη*, and *παρεμπόρευμα* (quoted by C. F. Hermann *De distrib.*, adn. 52 after Wyttenbach ad Plut. *Moral.* 151 *e*) reveal the same force of the preposition.[2]

The usual interpretation is untenable because certain functions are involved which either do not belong to the choregus, or which constitute a regular part of the "choregia." But first let us state briefly the current theory. Assuming that *χορηγία* includes the ordinary and legal duties of the choregus, such as providing the chorus, mutes,[3] victims for sacrifice,[4] *παραχορήγημα* "that which is furnished in supplement by the choregus" would embrace all those provisions made by the choregus over and above his prescribed duties, "alles was über die gewöhnliche gesetzliche Leistungen des Choregen hinausgeht, also jede aussergewöhnliche Leistung des Choregen."[5] Thus a fourth actor would be a "para-

[1] So Theophrastus *Char.* vii (of the loquacious man) *καὶ κατὰ τῶν πληθῶν γε ἅμα διηγούμενος κατηγορίαν παρεμβαλεῖν* "throw in some abuse of the masses *too* in the course of his narrative" (Jebb). *παρεμβολή* was a "parenthesis" (Walz *Rhet.* viii. 483, 576). See Starkie's *Wasps* ad vs. 481.

[2] Other examples of this use of *παρά* are found in Soph. *Trach.* 537, Aristoph. *Ran.* 1116; Poll. iv. 109 *παραφθέγξαιτο* "to speak in supplement;" Plut. *Agis* 16; Collitz *Sammlung d. griech. Dialect. Inschr.* 4254; Bréal *Aegypt. Urkunden aus den Königl. Mus. zu Berlin* 246. 10 and 340. 24.

[3] Plut. *Phoc.* 19: *ὁ μέν τραγῳδὸς εἰσιέναι μέλλων βασιλίδος πρόσωπον, ἤτει καὶ κεκοσμημένας πολλὰς πολυτελῶς ὀπαδοὺς τὸν χορηγόν, κ. τ. λ.* But see below, p. 395.

[4] Aristoph. *Pax* 140: *χοὔτω τὸ πρόβατον τῷ χορήγῳ σώζεται.* For a detailed discussion of the duties of the choregus see Müller, pp. 177, 330–34, and Haigh, pp. 86, 87.

[5] Beer *Zahl d. Schausp.*, p. 12. The same interpretation is offered by Sommerbrodt *Scaenica*, p. 172; O. Müller *Rhein. Mus.* V (1837), p. 342; C. F. Hermann *De distrib.*, p. 39; Richter *Vertheil. d. Rollen*, p. 18; Schneider *Att. Theaterw.*, p. 136; Müller

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choregema," an extra provision of the choregus. Mutes also, according to the application of the term scholl. *Prom.* 12 and *Eum.* 573, and side-choruses schol. *Ran.* 209, would be "parachoregemata" in that they overstep the ordinary and legal duty of the choregus. Are these applications of the word consistent with our knowledge, drawn from other sources, of what constitutes the legal and regular duty of the choregus?

Unfortunately our evidence on the responsibility of the choregus in matters of detail is fragmentary and not absolutely conclusive. It is certain, however, that the choregus had to provide and maintain the chorus at his own expense. It is but reasonable to suppose that he was also legally bound to provide everything in the nature of a chorus or side-chorus.[1] No extra duty of the choregus prescribed by law could be properly called a parachoregema which, assuming it existed in the classical period, could have been applied only to a voluntary duty, since "choregia" included all of his legal duties. It seems to me improbable that the provision of any extra necessary for the presentation of a play should have been left to the will or generosity of a choregus.[2]

It is implied in the passage of Plutarch quoted[3] above that the choregus was responsible for the provision of mutes. How far we are justified in accepting his anecdote as evidence for the Athenian practice of the fourth century it is difficult to say, for Plutarch cares little for historical accuracy in matters of antiquity when telling a story.[4] However, if the choregus did furnish the mutes,

Bühnenalt., p. 179. Weismann *Scenische Anweisungen* (Prog. Bamberg, 1895), p. 32, has a different explanation of "parachoregema" which is substantially as follows: When the poet presented his play to the archon he had to specify what extra services of the choregus the play required, if the usual three actors were insufficient. The specification of such a demand would naturally be indicated best in the text at the point where the extra person was needed. The later grammarians were the first to designate these notices previously placed on the margin of the text by earlier grammarians as "parachoregemata," thinking more of the position where they found the notices (παρά "on the side") than with any intention of implying that they were extras furnished by the choregus. Weismann's theory is not received favorably by Holzinger, Bursian's *Jahresb.* CXVI (1903), pp. 276, 277.

[1] So Böckh *Staatshaushalt* I[1], pp. 601 ff.

[2] Cf. Müller *Bühnenalt.*, p. 177: "So waren diese für derartige ausserordentliche Erfordnisse lediglich auf die Güte der Choregen angewiesen."

[3] Phoc. 19, quoted p. 394, n. 3.

[4] Flickinger *Plutarch as a Source of Information on the Greek Theater*, Chicago, 1904.

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I cannot but think that he was compelled to do so by the archon. In no sense of the word can they be said to constitute an irregular, occasional duty ("aussergewöhnliche Leistung"). They are essential to a full and complete production of almost every extant tragedy or comedy,[1] and this very fact would remove them from the category of "extras." Is it reasonable to suppose, considering the important rôle that mutes take in the presentation of the dramas, that their provision was left wholly undetermined? Would not the fact that all the plays require such persons for one purpose or another make it imperative that someone should be legally forced to provide them? Müller (*Bühnenalt.*, p. 179) correctly observes that mutes do not belong "zu den Parachoregemen, sondern zu den ordentlichen Leistungen der Choregen," but fails apparently to see that this is inconsistent with the scholiasts' application of the word to Bia in the *Prometheus* and to the Areopagites in the *Eumenides*. The conclusion seems obvious that "parachoregema" had no application to mutes in dramatic productions of the classical period at Athens, when mute characters formed just as much a regular duty of the choregus as the furnishing of the chorus, but that at a later period, under a different system and under different conditions, to which the scholiasts evidently refer, a mute was regularly a "parachoregema," an extra.

What about the provision of "extra" actors? I might add at this point that I have endeavored to prove in a study which is soon to appear[2] that the so-called rule of three actors had no existence in the classical period, but rests upon a misinterpretation of the lexicographers and of Aristotle, and upon a false deduction from the terminology of the period of the guilds; that there was never a fixed limit to the number of actors that might be assigned to the poets, but that it was rather the policy of the state to provide all the actors necessary for a creditable presentation of plays.

[1] Koob *De mutis quae vocantur personis in Graecorum tragoediis*, Halle, 1882. In Sophocles and Euripides mutes average one or two to each play. In Aristophanes it is impossible to say just how many supernumeraries there are. Such plays as *Thesmophoriazusae*, *Lysistrata*, and *Acharnians* probably required dozens. Cf. White "The 'Stage' in Aristophanes," *Harvard Studies* II (1891), pp. 188–92.

[2] *The Rule of Three Actors in the Classical Greek Drama*, University of Chicago Press, 1907.

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Assuming that this conclusion will be found to be essentially correct, it follows of course that the state[1] furnished freely a fourth, fifth, or sixth actor, or such other persons as were needed. This would have been more natural and a far simpler method than that of the current theory, that the state furnished some of the actors while the choregus furnished others. Either the state furnished all the actors, or the choregus furnished all.

Assuming for the moment that there was a division of responsibility in the matter of actors, that the state furnished only the three and the choregus the rest, I find it difficult to see just why the choregus should voluntarily take a special interest in actors. His duty was primarily with the chorus, for which he not seldom made liberal provision. Liberality in this case occasions no surprise when we remember the rivalry between competing choregi and the special distinction that attended a successful choregus. Many instances are recorded where choregi lavished money upon their choruses through eagerness for victory.[2] No such motive or incentive existed with reference to "extra" actors. Choregi as a rule could not be relied upon to furnish more of them than the law required. Some were parsimonious and shirked even their prescribed function, as may be inferred from the fact that the archon was empowered to compel them to perform their legal

[1] I follow the opinion of the majority that the state, not the choregus, furnished and paid the actors. The fact that the state assigned actors direct to the poet, not to the choregus, is thought to imply that actors were paid from the state treasury. Cf. Müller *Bühnenalt.*, p. 336: "mit der Ausstattung der Schauspieler dagegen scheint der Chorege nichts zu thun gehabt zu haben." So Wilamowitz *Hermes* XXI (1886), p. 613. Wolf *Proleg. ad Dem. Lept.*, p. 91, favors the other view: nihil enim dubitandum, quin ejusdem, qui choris scaenicis sumptum suggeret commissio totius esset. One of the strongest reasons, as it seems to me, for the view that the state paid the actors is that the treasury was full of money to be devoted to the festivals, while the expense of the choregus for the equipment of the chorus alone was very great and it is hardly to be expected that he should be forced to bear the extra expense. Cf. Böckh *op. cit.* I², pp. 600 ff. For the production of old plays the state seems to have defrayed the expenses, not the choregus. Cf. *IG.* II. 971*g*, new frag. 339 B. c. (City festival): *παλαιὸν δράμα πρῶτον παρεδίδαξαν οἱ κωμῳδοί.* The plural shows that some other provision than the appointment of the usual choregi was made for old plays. See also *IG.* II. 971*d*, Wilhelm *Dram. Urk.*, pp. 23, 27.

[2] Antiphanes (*Athen.* 103*e*) speaks of a choregus ruining himself by dressing his chorus in gold. Dem. *Meid.* 61, choregi spent all their money on such competitions; cf. also *Meid.* 16. Of course *dramatic* choregi also would have the same incentive for liberality as those for dithyrambic choruses.

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duties.[1] The episode mentioned by Plutarch[2] (*Phoc.* 19) shows that the attitude of some choregi was to do as little as possible. The inclination on the part of a few choregi to be remiss would make it both advisable and necessary that the duties of the choregus should be specified in minute detail by law, or, what amounts to the same thing, by the archon in charge. Otherwise misunderstandings would be sure to arise. Suppose the choregus for a play similar to the *Acharnians*, which requires at least three extra performers, should refuse to defray the expense of providing these extras, who could force him to do so, to whom would he be responsible, since the provision of extras was outside the sphere of his regular and legal responsibility? The probabilities are: (1) that all actors were furnished by the state; (2) that, in case "extra" actors were provided by the choregus, it would have been prescribed by law, i. e., would be included under the term "choregia."

In view of the different applications of "parachoregema," to (1) extra actors, (2) mutes, (3) side-choruses, the word could not have meant in the classical period an extra provision of the choregus in excess of his legal duty.[3] The results of our investigation up to this point have shown us: (1) that *παραχορήγημα*

[1] Xen. *Hiero* ix. 4. On the choregia in general see Reisch's valuable article in the Pauly-Wissowa *Encyclopädie*.

[2] Whether the story is historically correct or not does not matter, as far as the *attitude* (not the *duties*) of the choregus is concerned. The very mention of the affair indicates that such a case was likely to arise. Cf. Plut. *Dem.* 29: *ἔδόκει γὰρ ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι τῷ Ἀρχίᾳ τραγῳδίαν ὑποκρινόμενος, εὐημερῶν δὲ καὶ κατέχων τὸ θεάτρον ἐνδείᾳ παρασκευῆς καὶ χορηγίας κρατεῖσθαι.*

[3] The current interpretation involves another difficulty. The question arises: By what persons were the so-called parachoregemata-rôles played? Lachmann *De mensura* held that such parts were carried by members of the acting chorus, but this view was held up to ridicule by Richter *op. cit.*, pp. 20 ff., who would assign them to bona-fide professional actors provided by the choregus. K. O. Müller *Litt. Geschich.* II, pp. 146 ff., followed by C. F. Hermann *Berliner Jahrbücher* (1843), Nos. 49–55 was of the opinion that these parts were taken by *überzählige choreuten* which were left after the twelve or fifteen had been taken from the fifty, the regular number supposed to be in the hire of each choregus. On this assumption Hermann denied the application of "parachoregema" to tragedy on the ground that persons furnished from extra chorus members already at the disposal of the choregus could not have been *an extra expense*. Beer *op. cit.*, p. 15, discards the view that they came from *Ueberschüsse* as proposed by Müller and Hermann; for no one holds that a comic chorus ever exceeded twenty-four, the regular acting chorus, and yet in comedy "parachoregemata" are far more numerous than in tragedy. Beer finds Lachmann's theory also untenable, for it takes the

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was never used so far as is discoverable in a technical sense with reference either to the choregus or to his office. The truth of this is confirmed by the fact that *παραχορήγημα* is applied by the scholiasts to certain functions which in the classical period belonged to the regular prescribed duties of the choregus ("choregia"); (2) that *παραχορήγημα* is a word of late origin, derived from *χορηγεῖν* in its *non-technical derived meaning* of "to furnish or supply," and was thus applicable to stage conditions in the post-classical period.

If we have arrived at the true meaning of the word and have rightly determined the period of its origin and use, we must next consider in what way it came to be applied to the production of plays as indicated by Pollux and the scholiasts.

The number of actors that constituted a regular dramatic company in the period of the *τεχνῖται* was three. These guilds (*σύνοδοι τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν*), composed of musical performers as well as actors, were established in many cities in all parts of the Greek world. The most important guild on the mainland of Greece possessed headquarters at Athens (*IG.* II 551. 26: *τοῖς ἐν Ἀθηνοῖς τεχνίταις*), while outside of Greece proper the most significant was probably located at Teos in Asia Minor (*CIG.* 3067: *τὸν κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἐπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου*). The different guilds of technitae had practically complete control of all dramatic exhibitions throughout the Greek-speaking world during the period when their order was recognized and sanctioned by the states. Thus it devolved upon them to furnish the performers for festivals, cities, and private celebrations that required dramatic or musical exhibitions. The Soteric games at Delphi, as well as the Delian contests, were supplied by the Athe-

extra actor from the acting chorus; but he thinks that the choregus always had in his employment a few extra chorus performers capable of acting. This does not overcome Hermann's objection that all persons already at the choregus' disposal involve no extra expense, and therefore could not be called "parachoregemata." Beer's assignment of actor's parts to chorus members is remarkable in view of the contention of Bergk and others that poets were allowed only three actors owing to the lack of competent actors for minor rôles. Besides the Pollux passage seems to imply that a choreutes was used for a fourth actor only when there were lyrical parts. It seems probable then that the choregus had to hire extra actors of professional standing, and the very fact that professionals were used indicates that the state supplied them, if the state provided actors at all.

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nian guild, as the names of performers contained in the records of these contests show.[1] The same guild no doubt sent troupes to all parts of Greece to fulfil contracts, and the synod of Teos sent out companies to the remotest cities of Asia Minor and to Greece. Owing to the commercial and economic basis upon which the guilds were managed, as well as the matter of convenience, there grew up the custom of restricting the number of actors in a traveling company to three, the fewest possible number with which a play might be produced. It is to be regretted that the documents which might have contained the contracts made by the guilds with the festivals or cities for dramatic exhibitions are not preserved. However, it is but reasonable to suppose that when a guild entered into negotiation with the manager of a festival for dramatic contests, everything, especially "extras," were specified in the contract. To use a hypothetical case, the synod at Athens agrees to furnish (*χορηγεῖν*) the people of Megalopolis with the usual troupe of three actors, a flute player (*αὐλητής*), and possibly a chorus for a certain specified sum, but if the people desire a fourth actor (as would be necessary for the *Oedipus Coloneus*), or a certain number of mutes (as for the *Orestes*), or a supplementary chorus, the guild will supply these extras (*παραχορηγεῖν*) for a certain additional sum. *παραχορήγημα* was thus "an additional supplying," "an extra expense," and was applied to "extra" actors, supplementary choruses, and to *all extras* that might be desired in addition to the *regular traveling troupe.*

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[1] Capps *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* XXXI (1900), p. 119.

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NOTES ON GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

By William Scott Ferguson

I. ARIARATHES V AND QUEEN NYSA

Ariarathes V came to the throne of Cappadocia in 163 B. C.,[1] but in 160 he was still unmarried; for in this year he refused the offer of Demetrios I of Syria to give him his sister.[2] In the troublous times which followed—in 159/8 when he was driven from his kingdom by Orophernes—he can hardly have celebrated his marriage. In 157, when through Rome's intervention he received back half of his realm, or after 156, when he reconquered the whole of it, he was in a position to choose a queen. He died in 130; hence Ditt. *OGIS.* 352, a resolution of the Dionysiac artists in Athens in favor of King Ariarathes and Queen Nysa, can be dated between 157 and 130. Since it requires the proclamation of the honors conferred upon the two rulers to be made at the Dionysia, Panathenaia, and Eleusinia, but not at the Ptolemaia, it is probable that it should be dated after the accession of Ptolemy Euergetes II to the throne of Egypt in 146.[3] With this dating accords a prosopographical fact. Menelaos, a tragic poet, who was one of the ambassadors of the Dionysiac club to Ariarathes V, appears as a Pythaïc *theoros* in a document of the year 128/7.[4] His son, Aristion, figures very prominently in the Pythaïs of 97/6.[5] The earliest mention of Queen Nysa thus belongs after 146 B. C.

Nysa may have been a very good wife, and have given her husband no reason to regret his refusal of a Syrian princess. She bore him six children or more, at any rate. After his death, however, she proved to be a most inhuman mother. Justin xxxvii. 1, 2 ff. says:

[1] Niese *Gesch. d. griech. u. maked. Staaten* III, pp. 248 ff.

[2] Justin xxxv. 2; Diodoros xxxi. 28.

[3] See an article entitled "The Ptolemaia in Athens" in *Klio* for 1907/8.

[4] Colin *Culte d'Apollon pythien à Athènes*, p. 113. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

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post haec regibus, qui adversus Aristonicum auxilia tulerant praemia persoluta: Mithridati Pontico Phrygia maior, filiis Ariarathis, regis Cappadociae, qui eodem bello occiderat, Lycaonia et Cilicia datae. fideliorque populus Romanus in socii filios quam mater in liberos fuit; quippe hinc parvulis auctum regnum inde vita adempta. namque Laodice (*sic*) ex numero sex filiorum quos virilis sexus ex Ariarathe rege susceperat, timens, ne non diutinam regni administrationem adultis quibusdam potiretur, quinque parricidali veneno necavit; unum parvulum sceleri matris cognatorum custodia eripuit qui post necem Laodices (*sic*) (nam propter crudelitatem eam populus extinxerat) solus regno potitus est.

Justice to humankind forbids us to accept this story if we can possibly reject it, and we cannot forbear to remark that if the children had been carried off by a contagious disease rumor would have credited an ambitious and unpopular mother with their murder just the same. However that may be, it is clear that the oldest son cannot have been more than twenty years of age in 130; hence the marriage of Ariarathes V probably took place at about 150. He was at that time a man of nearly fifty. That was late for a king's marriage, but his older contemporary Pharnakes of Pontus was equally dilatory. It was not till 172 B. C., two or three years before his death, that he appears with a queen.[1] Her name was also Nysa, and she was the granddaughter of Antiochos the Great, the niece of Epiphanes, and the aunt of Demetrios I. From this marriage sprang a son, afterward Mithradates Euergetes,[2] the father of Mithradates the Great. Did it have issue in a daughter also, Nysa, the queen of Ariarathes V? Nothing disproves it, and a babe born in 170/69 would probably have been called Nysa, and must have been of about the same age as the Nysa whom Ariarathes V wed in *c.* 152.

The name[3] henceforth persisted in Cappadocia; for the younger Nysa's granddaughter, the daughter of Ariarathes VI, who became the wife of Nikomedes IV (94?–74 B. C.) of Bithynia, was also named Nysa. The mother of this Nikomedes was likewise called Nysa, so that the name got into Bithynia, or was native there, before the marriage of Nikomedes IV. Perhaps one of the

[1] Ditt. *OGIS.* 771.

[2] Salomon Reinach *BCH.* XXX, pp. 46 ff.

[3] Theodore Reinach *Mithridate Eupator*, s. v. "Nysa" in index.

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sisters of Ariarathes VI—for the unnatural mother is said to have put to death only her five eldest *sons*—married Nikomedes III. The name also persisted in Pontus; for it belonged to the elder Nysa's granddaughter, the sister of Mithradates the Great, and was given by this latter prince to one of his own children. It has been conjectured by Dürrbach[1] that the name was brought into the Asia Minor dynasties by the Syrian wife of Pharnakes.

Now, an Ariarathes appears in Athens, as third mint official, upon a series of coins which is dated shortly after 146, but which may easily belong to c. 130 B. C. This person Kirchner[2] holds to be the son of Ariarathes V and Nysa, the subsequent Ariarathes VI. So, too, in a recently discovered Delian inscription an Ariarathes is designated *ἐπιμελητὴς ἐμπορίου*. This Ariarathes Dürrbach[3] holds to be either the fifth or sixth of that name in Cappadocia.

A daughter of Ariarathes VI, the above-mentioned Nysa, was married and the mother of a son at the time of her execution before 91 B. C.;[4] her brother commanded an army in 100/99;[5] their father died in 111 at the latest.[6] Hence the marriage of Ariarathes VI cannot have taken place later than 114 B. C., and since only two children are known to have been born of it, it probably was consummated near 116 B. C. Ariarathes VI may thus have been quite a child in 130 B. C.

The *epimeletes* of the Delian *emporion* can hardly have been Ariarathes V; for the residence of this prince in Athens doubtless belongs to 178 B. C.[7] It is improbable that he was elected to such an office in his absence. Certainly, the Ariarathes who was *epimeletes* was a prince—otherwise his father's name must have been given—but not a king, since the regal title is absent. Athens got Delos at the beginning of 166 B. C.; she can have had *epimeletai* there prior to the accession of Ariarathes V to the throne of Cappadocia only in the years 166, 165, and 164. We

[1] *BCH.* 1905, p. 191.

[2] *Zeitschr. f. Numis.* XXI (1898), pp. 84 ff., 92 f. [3] *BCH.* XXIX, p. 227.

[4] Ed. Meyer "Bithynia" in P.-W. III, p. 521.

[5] Reinach *Mithridate*, p. 50, n. 2. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 90, n. 3.

[7] See an article on "The Dating of Certain Panathenaic Inscriptions" in *Klio* for 1907/8.

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do not know that *epimeletai* of the *emporion* existed at this time: moreover, Ariarathes was unquestionably in his own country during these years.[1]

On the other hand, Ariarathes was probably *epimeletes* of the *emporion* before the committee of three, which at first had charge of the business affairs of Delos, had been replaced by a single officer. In 133/32 B. C.[2] the board still existed; in 124/23,[3] as in 100/99,[4] there was but one *epimeletes*, and his office was quite important. He enjoyed along with the priest of Apollo and the governor-general of the island the distinction of receiving honors from the general assemblage of the Delians.[5] In 100/99 Aristion of Oion, who in 95/94 became governor-general,[6] was superintendent of the *emporion*, and as such paid 200 drachmae to the Pythian Apollo, the maximum amount levied on a magistrate or priest in that year. Only the hoplite-general and the governor-general of Delos paid as much. Since there was a fundamental reconstruction of Delos in 131/30 B. C.,[7] it is probable that at this time the *college* of the *epimeletai* was replaced by a single magistrate. Ariarathes, assuming him to be the son of Ariarathes V, was a boy of about 18 in 132, an ephebe in all likelihood; hence too immature for the *epimeleia* of the *emporion* such as existed after 131/30. He might have been the colleague of two capable men, but not the sole official responsible for the harbor, docks, and import and export trade of Delos. He would have had to spend too much of his time on the island for that. On the other hand, Ariarathes V can hardly have had a son 18 years old before 135, yet the Ariarathes, who was a mint officer and *epimeletes*, was certainly old enough for Athenian citizenship. The regency in 130 B. C. ff. is inexplicable, however, if a son of Ariarathes V was at that time a fully matured young man. Besides, if Nysa was the daughter of Pharnakes, she can hardly have been a mother before 154. The conditions are best fulfilled when we place the *epimeleia* of Ariarathes in 132/31; his birth in *c.* 151, and the marriage of Ariarathes V and Nysa in

[1] His father wished to abdicate in his favor; see the article on Ariarathes V in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie*.

[2] *BCH.* XVI, p. 375. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 152. [4] *IG.* II, 985.

[5] *Klio* VII, p. 236. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 218, n. 1. [7] *Ibid.*, pp. 235 ff.

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c. 152. The youngest of the six sons, born, we may assume, in *c.* 138, escaped his mother's machinations (or the pest), and, after succeeding to the throne as Ariarathes VI, married at the age of *c.* 22 in *c.* 116 B. C. The *epimeletes* of the *emporion*, being the oldest son and heir-apparent, spent his *ephebate* at Athens, like his father before him,[1] and the sons of his brother's successor after him,[2] and perished shortly after his father's "heroic death" in 130 B. C.

II. THEOPHILOS OF PERGAMON

The inscription *IG.* II 5 451 *b* is published by Köhler without comment. It is placed, however, in conjunction with *IG.* II 451, which belongs to the second half of the second century B. C. The document contained two decrees, the end of the first and the beginning of the second alone being extant. The secretary mentioned in the second part was—*-άκου Εὐπυρίδης*, from the Leontis tribe. Leontis had the secretaryship in 178/7 (Philon), 166/5, 154/3, and 142/1. Before or after these years we cannot go.

In the first decree the Athenians honored ———, son of Theophilos, of Pergamon, and gave him the *proxenia;* in the second, Theophilos of Pergamon is the subject. The two are doubtless father and son, otherwise their honors would not have been inscribed on the same stone. Theophilos is introduced as *πρότερόν τε διατρίβων [παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ - -] καὶ ἐν τιμεῖ ὢν παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ προαγωγεῖ μεγ[άλει]*.

With these two decrees we have to compare Ditt. *OGIS.* 334: *ὁ δῆμο[ς]* (of Pergamon) *Ἀπολλωνίδην Θεοφίλ[ου] τὸν σύντροφον τοῦ βασιλ[έως], ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας [τῆς] πρός τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἐα[υτόν]*. In his commentary Dittenberger reports that the writing indicates the later Pergamene period—the reigns of Attalos II and Attalos III. The title *σύντροφος* shows that Theophilos was of approximately the same age as the ruling king.[3]

These are the data with which we have to work.

Because of the lettering, as indicated by Köhler's location in the *Inscriptiones Graecae*—a very good criterion—we are hardly

[1] See the article on "The Ptolemaia in Athens" already cited.

[2] Wilhelm, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1902, p. 1098.

[3] Dittenberger *OGIS.* 247, n. 2.

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warranted in carrying *IG.* II 5 451 *b* as far back as 178/7. Since Theophilos is said to have been formerly in high favor with King ——, it is natural to think that he served a different ruler at the time the Athenians honored him. In 166/5 no change of monarch had taken place in Pergamon for thirty-one years. If these two years are rejected for the second part of *IG.* II 5 451 *b*, Apollonides, the son of Theophilos, must have been a contemporary of Attalos III, who was born in 171 B. C. Hence, too, Ditt. *OGIS.* 334 belongs to the reign of Attalos III (138–133 B. C.). The second part of *IG.* II 5 451 *b* will then fall in the reign of Attalos II, that is to say, in either 154/3 or 142/1 B. C., and preferably in the earlier year, both because of its greater proximity to the death of Eumenes (159), and because of the phrase *ἐν τιμεῖ ὢν παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ προαγωγεῖ μεγάλει*, which recurs in Athenian decrees of 188 and 168 B. C.[1]

Since Apollonides was born in about 170, his father, Theophilos, must have seen the day somewhere in the neighborhood of 200 B. C. His *akmé* thus belongs to *c.* 168, that of Apollonides to *c.* 135, and that of Theophilos' father, to whom the first part of *IG.* II 5 451 *b* is devoted, to about 200 B. C. This portion of the document was doubtless *inscribed* in 154/3 or 142/1; but it had been passed by the Athenians somewhere between 229 and 200 B. C. This we know because in it the value of the house and land tenable by the new *proxenos* was specifically mentioned—a peculiarity, as can be seen from a glance through the citations in Larfeld's *Handbuch* II, p. 795, of the decrees of the last quarter of the third century B. C.

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[1] *IG.* II 5 417 *b* (Symmachos 188/7 B. C.); 441 *d* (Xenokles 168/7 B. C.)

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THE JURISDICTION OF ATHENIAN ARBITRATORS

By Robert J. Bonner

The earlier writers on Greek legal antiquities insisted strongly upon a comparatively limited jurisdiction for the public arbitrators. Disregarding to some extent the scanty and often obscure notices of the lexicographers, they examined with great care the extant speeches, seizing upon every bit of evidence that seemed to support the view that arbitration was not always compulsory in private suits. So convincing were the arguments of Hudtwalcker[1] and Meier[2] that their leading opponents were won over to their view and thus the matter stood until Hubert and Lipsius[3] insisted upon giving due weight to the testimony of the lexicographers and turned the balance in favor of compulsory arbitration for nearly all private suits. This view was apparently so strongly confirmed by Aristotle (*Ath. Const.* 53) that it has won universal acceptance. My reason for reopening a question thus satisfactorily settled is the conviction that the statement of Lipsius,[4] "dass die öffentlichen Diäteten für Privatprocesse die unerlässliche erste Instanz bildeten," is too sweeping.

Aristotle, after discussing the cases that came within the jurisdiction of the Eleven, the εἰσαγωγεῖς and the ἀποδέκται, continues with a description of the duties of the Forty πρὸς οὓς τὰς ἄλλας δίκας λαγχάνουσιν. This body decided all cases under ten drachmas; other cases were handed to the arbitrators. If there was an appeal from their award the case was referred back to the Forty and by them brought to trial. The words τὰς ἄλλας δίκας are taken to mean that all private suits except those previously mentioned came within the jurisdiction of the arbitrators;[5] and

[1] *Ueber die öffentlichen und Privatschiedsrichter in Athen*, 1812.

[2] *Die Privatschiedsrichter und öffentliche Diäteten Athens*, 1846.

[3] Lipsius, *Attische Process*[2] (1887), pp. 1009 ff.; Hubert *De arbitris Atticis et privatis et publicis* (1885), p. 38.

[4] *Ber. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* (1891), p. 58. This has been repeated in similar form by all subsequent writers.

[5] Lipsius *op. cit.*, p. 57; cf. Sandys' note on Arist. *Ath. Const.* 53. 1.

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so far as the Greek is concerned this is the natural interpretation of the words. But the difficulty encountered in attempting to reconcile this interpretation with Aristotle's subsequent statements is practically unsurmountable. He nowhere mentions the arbitrators apart from the Forty. These two groups of legal officers are so closely linked together that, as Pischinger[1] rightly insists, cases could go to the arbitrators only through the Forty. Indeed Aristotle says very distinctly that the cases of resident aliens went from the polemarch to the arbitrators through the Forty. We should expect the same practice to be followed by other magistrates. Lipsius[2] believes that each magistrate sent his cases directly to the proper arbitrator without the intervention of the Forty. This view, however, finds no support in Aristotle. Suits originating with the archon or the thesmothetae would have to go through an intolerably cumbersome procedure. This in itself is enough to arouse suspicion. For example, a case is entered before the archon; he holds an *ἀνάκρισις* and sends it to the Forty. From them it goes to the proper arbitrator and thence, in case of appeal, back to the Forty or the archon. For here we find conflicting statements in Aristotle. In one place we are told that appeals from an arbitrator's award went to the Forty, who took them into court;[3] in another that the archon took his own cases into court.[4] To escape this contradiction, Pischinger resorts to the doubtful expedient of denying the accuracy of Aristotle. Relying on Harpocration he holds that all cases which came to the arbitrators were referred back on appeal to the magistrates who first received them. But the words *καὶ σημηνάμενοι* (sc. *οἱ διαιτηταὶ*) *παρεδίδοσαν τοῖς εἰσαγωγεῦσι τῶν δικῶν* are too indefinite to support an impeachment of the testimony of Aristotle; *τοῖς εἰσαγωγεῦσι* may refer as well to the Forty as to the original magistrates in the various cases.[5] But apart from this Harpocration is as usual

[1] *De arbitris Atheniensium* (1893), p. 39. [2] *Attisches Recht* (1905), p. 227.

[3] *Ath. Const.* 53. 1. ff.: *κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ τετταράκοντα . . . . πρὸς οὓς τὰς ἄλλας δίκας λαγχάνουσιν· . . . . καὶ τὰ μὲν μεχρὶ δέκα δραχμῶν αὐτοτελεῖς εἰσι κρίνειν, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦτο τὸ τίμημα τοῖς διαιτηταῖς παραδιδόασιν, ... παραδιδόασιν* (*οἱ διαιτηταί*—in case of an appeal) *τοῖς τέτταρσι . . . . οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες εἰσάγουσιν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον.*

[4] *Ibid.* 56. 6: *γραφαὶ δὲ καὶ δίκαι λαγχάνονται πρὸς αὐτόν* (i. e., the archon), *ἃς ἀνακρίνας εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον εἰσάγει.*

[5] Cf. Lipsius *Attisches Recht*, p. 227, n. 30.

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following Aristotle and is evidently of the opinion that he is simply reporting, not correcting, him, for he adds, *λέγει δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν* (sc. *τῶν διαιτητῶν*) *Ἀρ. ἐν Ἀθ. πολ.*

In describing the legal duties of the chief magistrates Aristotle (58. 2) has nothing to say about arbitration, except in cases involving resident aliens, which the polemarch sent to the Forty. The case then follows the regular course of suits originating before the Forty. Occasionally his language is such as to preclude the possibility of arbitration in the regular cases within the jurisdiction of these magistrates. Speaking of the archon he says: *γραφαὶ δὲ καὶ δίκαι λαγχάνονται πρὸς αὐτόν, ἃς ἀνακρίνας εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον εἰσάγει.* Why does he pass over without a word the important process the case went through between the *ἀνάκρισις* and the trial, if there was indeed an arbitration? Pischinger[1] has observed this difficulty, and complains of Aristotle's carelessness; but his explanation that *ἀνακρίνας* refers to *γραφαί* only and not to *δίκαι* serves only to emphasize his appreciation of a difficulty which calls for such heroic treatment. Similarly we find Demosthenes passing immediately from the archon's *ἀνάκρισις* to the trial: *καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' ὁ ἄρχων ἀνέκρινε πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσι, καὶ ἀνακρίνας εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον.*[2] In one case the situation is practically unintelligible if arbitration intervened. The plaintiff in *Callistratus* v. *Olympiodorus*[3] in his account of litigation in which he and his present opponent had sought to establish their claims to the estate of a deceased relative, says that after the *ἀνάκρισις* before the archon they found themselves totally unprepared to go to trial and cast about for some excuse for delay to enable them to prepare the case for the jury. Their excuses, however, were not accepted and the case went against them by default. Now if they had arranged their case sufficiently to enable them to produce all their evidence and arguments before an arbitrator, the preparation of the case for trial would not have been formidable enough to justify their risking the loss of the

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 34, n. 3: "hanc totam materiam Aristoteles minore cura aut scientia tractavit."

[2] Dem. 48. 31, cf. Dem. 43. 7–8.

[3] Dem. 48. 23. *καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀνεκρίθησαν πρὸς τῷ ἄρχοντι ἅπασαι αἱ ἀμφισβητήσεις καὶ ἔδει ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, ἀπαράσκευοι ἦμεν τὸ παράπαν πρὸς τὸ ἤδη ἀγωνίζεσθαι.*

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suit by default in order to get more time to prepare an address for the jury.

But in any event the theory that *τὰς ἄλλας δίκας* include all the remaining private suits proves too much. For no one, I fancy, is prepared to believe that *αἱ τοῦ φόνου δίκαι* (57. 2) were subject to arbitration. How could an arbitrator settle a murder case? And yet these cases must be included equally with those that were within the jurisdiction of the other archons. If, however, they be excepted the whole case so far as Aristotle is concerned falls to the ground. Evidently Aristotle has used *τὰς ἄλλας δίκας* loosely. All the difficulties above mentioned disappear, if we understand him to mean that all private suits not otherwise assigned in his treatise belong to the Forty and that these cases alone were subject to arbitration.

It is extremely doubtful if anyone would have tried to read this view into Aristotle had it not been for the evidence of the extant speeches.[1] In the Orators a number of arbitration cases appear which have long been regarded as falling within the jurisdiction of the archon and the thesmothetae. I give here Pischinger's list of these cases.[2]

I. Archontis actiones. (1) *ἐπιτροπῆς*: Lys. 32; Dem. 27; 29. (2) *κλήρου*: Dem. 43. 31. (3) Status familiae: Dem. 40. 10.

II. Thesmothetarum actiones. (1) *κλόπης*: Dem. 22. 27, 28. (2) Status civitatis: Lys. 23; Isaeus 12; (Dem.) 59, 60.

It is worth while to examine carefully the adequacy of the evidence relied upon by Pischinger in constructing this list. It has been observed[3] that in none of the so-called inheritance cases (*κλήρου*), which are comparatively numerous, is there any mention of arbitration.[4] The argument *ex silentio* is materially strengthened by the peculiar situation that occurs in *Callistratus* v. *Olympiodorus* already discussed. On two occasions[5] litigants

[1] Pischinger *op. cit.*, p. 34: "non enim pagorum iudices soli, sed etiam alii magistratus arbitris causas instruendas tradebant, id quod ex orationibus Demosthenis satis intellegitur."

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

[3] Hubert *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[4] The affidavit inserted in Dem. 43. 31 is discussed below.

[5] Isaeus 8. 42: *καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, δεδίασι μὲν αὐτόν, ἴσως δ' ἂν μοι καὶ μαρτυρῆσαι ἐθελήσειαν· εἰ δὲ μή, τοὺς εἰδότας παρέξομαι μάρτυρας. καί μοι κάλει δεῦρο αὐτοὺς πρῶτον.* Isaeus 9. 18: *ὅμως μέντοι καὶ κάλει Ἱεροκλέα, ἵνα ἐναντίον τούτων μαρτυρήσῃ ἃ ἐξομόσηται.*

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in inheritance cases introduce new evidence on the day of trial, and in two other inheritance cases it is manifest that the speakers did not know what affidavits would be produced by their opponents. In *Chaerestratus* v. *Androcles* the plaintiff says: *οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἴπῃ μητρὸς ὄνομα, γνήσιοί εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐπιδεικνύῃ ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγει, τοὺς συγγενεῖς ⟨μάρτυρας⟩ παρεχόμενος τοὺς εἰδότας.*[1] To the same effect are the words of the speaker in another case of Isaeus:[2] *ὥστε ἂν ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον καταφεύγῃ καὶ μάρτυρας παρέχηται ὡς διέθετο.* Had these cases come through the hands of an arbitrator neither of these situations could have arisen, for it was the uniform practice of the arbitrators to reduce to writing all the evidence produced before them and to seal it up. If the case was appealed, practically no new evidence was allowed.[3]

An attempt has been made to save the rule forbidding the introduction of new evidence by assuming that when a witness did not appear at the arbitration, an unacknowledged affidavit was nevertheless filed.[4] But no one has been able, so far as I have observed, to cite any authority for this theory. Indeed, it is even contrary to the express statement of a client of Demosthenes, the plaintiff in *Apollodorus* v. *Timotheus*, who says:[5] *τοῦ μὲν γὰρ μαρτυρίαν με ἐμβαλέσθαι πρὸς τὸν διαιτητὴν παρεκρούσατο, φάσκων ἀεί μοι μαρτυρήσειν εἰς τὴν κυρίαν [ἀπόφασιν]. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἡ δίαιτα ἦν, προσκληθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας (οὐ γὰρ ἦν φανερός), ἔλιπε τὴν μαρτυρίαν.* Moreover, this assumption fails entirely to explain how a litigant could be ignorant of any part of the evidentiary apparatus of his opponent, for all documents filed at the arbitration were certainly accessible to both parties. If, however, there was no arbitration, it is easy to understand how new evidence could be introduced without the previous knowledge of an opponent. For, as I have elsewhere shown, the rule requiring the arbitrator to close the case did not apply to the *ἀνάκρισις* in non-arbitration cases,[6] and new evidence was permitted at the trial.

[1] Isaeus 6. 64. [2] Isaeus 10. 23; cf. 9. 9.

[3] For a discussion of several regular exceptions see the writer's *Evidence in Athenian Courts* (1905), p. 55. They do not include, however, evidence of the kind introduced in the cases under discussion.

[4] Kennedy in *Dic. of Antiq. s.* "martyria." [5] Dem. 49. 19.

[6] *Evidence in Athenian Courts*, pp. 48 ff.; Thalheim (*Berl. phil. Woch.* XXV [1905], col. 1575), takes exception to several of my minor arguments in this connection, but

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This consideration is materially strengthened by the fact that in no case that indisputably came before an arbitrator is there any attempt to introduce new evidence or any sure indication that the speaker is not fully aware of the evidence he has to meet. Pischinger and Hubert[1] have misgivings in classifying inheritance cases as arbitration suits, but are convinced by the mention of arbitration in an affidavit of doubtful authenticity inserted in *Eubulides* v. *Macartatus*.[2] The facts are briefly as follows: The estate of one Hagnias was claimed by a young man, whose mother Phylomache had at first been triumphantly adjudged in court heiress of the estate but in subsequent litigation had been defeated by the father of Macartatus, the defendent in the present suit.[3] Now the plaintiff Eubulides gives a detailed account of this litigation and calls for evidence to prove that his mother won the first suit. But the affidavit that we find inserted at this point proves only that she won her case before the arbitrator.[4] And as a public arbitration was not final the affidavit proves absolutely nothing. It is as if a modern lawyer should attempt to prove to a jury that his client had been finally aquitted of a charge of murder by producing the verdict of a coroner's jury in his favor, instead of the verdict of a criminal court of last resort. It is idle to attempt to escape the difficulty by asserting that since Phylomache's victory was not in dispute this affidavit served the purpose well enough.[5] Something is wrong, for the affidavit does not prove what an affidavit introduced at this point should prove; but the question of its genuineness is beyond the scope of this paper.[6] I merely submit that in view of the suspicions[7] that this document has always aroused it cannot properly be cited as the

practically admits my contention when he proposes to extend *ἀνάκρισις* so as to include the activity of the magistrate right up to the moment of trial, for it is to be presumed that this would include documents deposited with him even on the day of trial. Of these an opponent would not likely have any knowledge.

[1] Pischinger *op. cit.*, p. 35; Hubert *op. cit.*, p. 38. [2] Dem. 43. 31. [3] Dem. 43. 4 ff.

[4] *μαρτυροῦσι παρεῖναι πρὸς τῷ διαιτητῇ ἐπὶ Νικοφήμου ἄρχοντος, ὅτε ἐνίκησε Φυλομάχη ἡ Εὐβουλίδου θυγάτηρ τοῦ κλήρου τοῦ Ἀγνίου τοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντας αὐτῇ πάντας.* Dem. 43. 31.

[5] Drerup *Jahrbücher f. class. Phil.* XXIV (1889), p. 325.

[6] Blass suggests *δικαστηρίῳ*, instead of *διαιτητῇ*.

[7] Pischinger *op. cit.*, p. 35.

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sole proof that inheritance cases came before an arbitrator, especially against strong evidence to the contrary, drawn from the speeches themselves.

The so-called guardianship suits (ἐπιτροπῆς)[1] constitute an important class of arbitration cases which have always been regarded as coming within the archon's jurisdiction. But neither in the Diogeiton case, nor in Demosthenes' suits to recover his patrimony, including the three speeches against Aphobus and the two against Onetor, is there any indication that the archon had charge of the litigation. In *Aphobus* v. *Phanus*[2] Demosthenes enumerates the various phases of the litigation before arbitrators both private and public and before the jury. Had there been an ἀνάκρισις before the archon we should expect the proceedings to be mentioned here, as they are, for example, in nearly all the inheritance suits referred to in the Orators.[3] In *Demosthenes* v. *Onetor*[4] the plaintiff goes into details about dates and says that he brought the suit against his guardians "in the archonship of Timocrates," ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄρχοντος. Had it been possible it would have been more effective to say "before the archon Timocrates," πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα. It is true that Lipsius[5] sees in a passage in this speech a reference to the archon as the presiding officer. Demosthenes is arguing that Onetor cannot plead that he was an "innocent" mortgagee of the property of Aphobus, because he must have been well aware of Aphobus' mismanagement of the property of Demosthenes and the consequent liability of his entire estate to execution in case of a successful suit. He says that the embezzlement of his guardians was so well known from the very first that everybody was confident that he would

[1] Lysias 32; Dem. 27; 28; 29; 30; 31. For a complete list, see Schultess *Vormundschaft nach attischem Recht* (1886), pp. 244 ff. There is no mention of the archon in any of these suits.

[2] Dem. 29, 30 ff.

[3] Cf. *Theopompus et al.* v. *Phylomache; Eubulides* v. *Macartatus;* Dem. 43. 8, 15; *Leochares* v. *Aristodemus*, Dem. 44. 1: *Callistratus* v. *Olympiodorus*, Dem. 48. 23, 31; *The Nephews of Dicaeogenes* v. *Leochares*, and *Chaerestus* v. *Androcles*, Isaeus 5. 18; 6. 12.

[4] Dem. 30. 15.

[5] *Attische Process*, p. 58, n. 46.

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surely institute successful legal proceedings against them on attaining his majority. The passage is as follows:

ἐγὼ γὰρ ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ πολλοὺς τ' ἄλλους Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦτον οὐκ ἐλάνθανον κακῶς ἐπιτροπευόμενος, ἀλλ' ἦν καταφανὴς εὐθὺς ἀδικούμενος· τοσαῦται πραγματεῖαι καὶ λόγοι καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἄρχοντι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγίγνονθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμῶν. τό τε γὰρ πλῆθος τῶν καταλειφθέντων ἦν φανερόν, ὅτι τ' ἀμίσθωτον τὸν οἶκον ἐποίουν οἱ διαχειρίζοντες ἵν' αὐτοὶ τὰ χρήματα καρποῦντο, οὐκ ἄδηλον ἦν. ὥστ' ἐκ τῶν γιγνομένων οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅστις οὐχ ἡγεῖτο τῶν εἰδότων δίκην με λήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστ' ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκιμασθείην.—Dem. 30. 6.

Dareste, Beauchet,[1] and others see in this passage evidence of official interference by the archon and other officials (*παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις*), but have difficulty in explaining who the other officials were. It is of course not impossible that proceedings before the archon were instituted during the minority of Demosthenes in an attempt to force his guardians to do their duty. But it is somewhat improbable. For it is difficult to understand how the archon could have taken any sort of official action without curing such gross irregularities as were afterward proved to the satisfaction of the jury.[2] And if we suppose with Lipsius that it refers to the archon's *ἀνάκρισις*, we lose the whole point of the passage, which lies in the fact that the *πραγματεῖαι* and *λόγοι* belong to a period much earlier than the termination of the guardianship and the institution of the final legal proceedings. For after the *ἀνάκρισις* it would be impossible to say:

ὥστ' ἐκ τῶν γιγνομένων οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅστις οὐχ ἡγεῖτο τῶν εἰδότων δίκην με λήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστ' ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκιμασθείην.—Dem. 30. 6.

For the *ἀνάκρισις* could not be held until Demosthenes had attained his majority. Schäfer[3] is probably right in paraphrasing thus: "Umsonst war das Stadtgespräch bis zu dem Archonten gedrungen." The case was so notorious that it was common gossip everywhere, even in the highest quarters. Moreover, in Aristotle's account of the archon's duties, we find no mention of a *δίκη ἐπιτροπῆς*, nor any general statement of jurisdiction that includes it. The whole passage so bristles with details that it would seem to be fairly

[1] *Histoire du droit privé des Athéniens* II, p. 273.

[2] Aphobus was fined ten talents (Dem. 29. 60). Such irregularities as the retention of the widow's dower and the failure to rent the house could surely have been rectified.

[3] *Demosthenes und seine Zeit* I, p. 270.

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exhaustive, and in any event, none of the suits mentioned could be instituted during the minority of a ward.[1] The evidence of the lexicographers[2] is valueless in comparison with Aristotle. Pollux, who is most explicit, does speak of a *δίκη ἐπιτροπῆς ὀρφανῶν*, but he is merely reproducing Aristotle without the details and includes under this single head Aristotle's (*δίκη*) *εἰς ἐπιτροπῆς κατάστασιν* and (*δίκη*) *εἰς ἐπιτροπῆς διαδικασίαν*.[3] So, too, the *δίκαι ὀρφανῶν* of Photius and Harpocration cannot include more than the suits specified by Aristotle. The consideration that the archon is after all the proper official to deal with litigation involving guardian and ward is of little weight, since the *δίκη ἐπιτροπῆς* was really only a special kind of damage suit which could not be instituted until the wardship was terminated.[4]

Another case cited by Pischinger is *Boeotus et al.* v. *Mantias*, which is referred to in *Mantitheus* v. *Boeotus*.[5] It is a suit brought by two young men to compel their putative father to recognize them as his legitimate sons. The case was settled in favor of the plaintiffs before an arbitrator by an evidentiary oath of the mother. As it does not belong to any of the classes of suits mentioned by Aristotle as coming before the archon, and there is no mention of the archon in the notice of the suit, we have no valid reason for regarding it as falling within his jurisdiction.

One of the arbitration suits mentioned by Pischinger is an appeal from the decision of the deme denying the plaintiff's citizenship.[6] It has always been a matter of surprise that a case involving so serious a penalty as slavery should have been subject to arbitration, particularly when an Attic deme was the defendant. Nevertheless Schömann's[7] view that such cases were treated as private suits has been generally accepted. But Aristotle's[8] reference to these suits shows conclusively that they were regarded as

[1] Beauchet *op. cit.* II, p. 280.

[2] This evidence is conveniently collected in Sandys' edition of Aristotle's *Ath. Const.*, p. 206.

[3] *Ath. Const.* 56. 6.

[4] Beauchet *op. cit.* II, p. 308.

[5] Dem. 40. 9 ff.

[6] Isaeus 12. 11.

[7] On Isaeus, p. 478.

[8] Arist. *Ath. Const.* 59. 4. Lipsius *Attisches Recht*, p. 70, failing to observe the significance of this passage, still adheres to Schömann's view.

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public. After enumerating the *γραφαί* which came before the thesmothetae, he adds:

εἰσάγουσιν δὲ καὶ τὰς δοκιμασίας ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἁπάσαις, καὶ τοὺς ἀποψηφισμένους ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν, καὶ τὰς καταγνώσεις τὰς ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς. εἰσάγουσι δὲ καὶ δίκας ἰδίας, κ. τ. λ.

Some difficulty is involved in the appearance of an arbitrator in a public suit, and no more satisfactory explanation can be offered than that of Wyse.[1]

I conjecture that, when a general revision of the roll of citizens was ordered, special measures were taken in order to assist the thesmothetae in dealing with the sudden increase of their work. Thus, while the summons probably was, as usual, before the thesmothetae, these magistrates might have been empowered by the decree ordering the revision to commit the preparation of the case to a public arbitrator, instead of conducting the examination (*ἀνάκρισις*) themselves and managing all the preliminaries of a trial.

Wyse further remarks that "no weight can be laid on the absence of any notice of an arbitration in *Euxitheus* v. *Eubulides*." It is true, however, that the proposal in this case to introduce new evidence[2] at the trial is incompatible with a regular arbitration. If an arbitrator did intervene he must have acted in some such exceptional manner as Wyse supposes, else new evidence could not have been introduced.

The plaintiff in *Phrastor* v. the members of his phratry, which is cited in *Theomnestes* v. *Neaera*,[3] proposed to introduce his son into his phratry. On their refusal to accept him he entered an action against the members of his phratry. Being challenged to swear before the arbitrator that the boy's mother was a citizen regularly wedded to himself, he refused and dropped the case. Here again internal evidence is lacking that the case came before the thesmothetae, though in three[4] other suits mentioned in this speech the thesmothetae are specifically referred to as having charge of the litigation. One cannot but wonder why he does not

[1] On Isaeus (*Or.* 12), p. 716.

[2] Dem. 57. 14. *συμβαίνει δέ μοι περὶ τούτων τῶν μὲν φίλων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων μηδένα μάρτυρα παρεῖναι, διά τε τὴν ὥραν καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδένα παρακαλέσαι, αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς ἠδικηκόσι με χρῆσθαι μάρτυσιν. ἃ οὖν οὐ δυνήσονται ἕξαρνοι γενέσθαι, ταῦτα γέγραφ' αὐτοῖς.*

[3] Dem. 59. 60.

[4] Dem. 59. 16, 52, 66.

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here also mention the thesmothetae. Neither does the case belong to those in which a man is ejected by a deme—τοὺς ἀποφισμένους ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν. It is quite another matter. A mere child is refused admittance to a phratry, not to a deme, and his father brings the action. Besides, the present case is a private suit, while the other is public.[2]

In *Euctemon* and *Diodorus* v. *Androtion* one of the plaintiffs, in discussing the various means of redress that lie open to an aggrieved person,[3] mentions larceny as a crime that may be dealt with in four distinct ways. One of these is a civil action (δίκη κλόπης) which was subject to arbitration. But nothing is said about the magistrate who would preside at the trial in this kind of case. Meier and Schömann[4] suggest, without giving any reason for their view that it belongs to the thesmothetae.

Similarly I am at a loss to know why Pischinger regards the suit against Pancleon[5] as an arbitration case or why he assigns it to the thesmothetae, for there is no reference to arbitration in any part of the speech. Neither are the thesmothetae mentioned. It is true that some have erroneously regarded τοὺς τῇ Ἱπποθωντίδι δικάζοντας as arbitrators, but Lipsius[6] rightly regards these as the Forty.

At this point a brief summary of my position may be helpful. τὰς ἄλλας δίκας cannot include all suits subsequently mentioned by Aristotle, because—

1. The language of both Aristotle and Demosthenes is incompatible with the intervening of arbitration between the archon's ἀνάκρισις and the trial.

2. Aristotle would be involved in a contradiction, for, while he says in one place that the arbitrators acted only in conjunction with the Forty who introduced arbitrated cases into court if there

[1] Aristotle *Ath. Const.* 59. 4. It is unlikely that Apollodorus, the speaker, carelessly uses δίκη for γραφή, because we are told that he was well versed in the law (Dem. 59. 15).

[2] Dem. 22. 27, 28.

[3] *Att. Process*, p. 453: "Die Behörde, vor welche diese Klage gehört, war bei der Dike und Graphe *warscheinlich* das Collegium der Thesmotheten, bei den andern Klagformen aber gewiss die Elfmänner."

[4] Lysias 23. 2; cf. Schuckburg's note on this passage.

[5] *Att. Process*, p. 90, n. 143.

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was an appeal, he elsewhere says that the archon himself introduced into court all cases within his own jurisdiction.

3. Too much is proved. We should be obliged to regard the *δίκαι φόνου* as arbitration cases—a manifest absurdity.

4. It cannot be satisfactorily shown that a single arbitration case mentioned in the Orators belonged to the jurisdiction either of the archon or of the thesmothetae. Two of the cases regarded by Pischinger as arbitration suits did not in fact come under the jurisdiction of the arbitrators. A third is a public suit in which an arbitrator could not appear in his ordinary capacity. In the remaining five cases there is no internal evidence to connect them with any particular magistrate. External evidence also is lacking. Clearly the *onus probandi* is upon those who undertake to determine what magistrate had charge of these cases. As yet no satisfactory proof has been offered.

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ENOPLIC METRE IN GREEK COMEDY

By John Williams White

The lively song that closes the Vespae is composed mainly in a verse that modern metricians both of the old school[1] and of the new school,[2] if I may be allowed this expression, classify as dactylo-trochaic. Yet this same verse occurs in the Ecclesiazusae and Rhesus in lyrics that all modern authorities agree belong to the class commonly denominated dactylo-epitritic.

The last three lines of the Vespae read:

ἀλλ' ἐξάγετ', εἴ τι φιλεῖτ' ὀρχούμενοι, θύραζε
ἡμᾶς ταχύ· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδείς πω πάρος δέδρακεν,
ὀρχούμενος ὅστις ἀπήλλαξεν χορὸν τρυγῳδῶν.

The metrical form of this verse as it appears in Greek comedy and tragedy is:

⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑

Hephaestion discusses it at the beginning of the fifteenth chapter of his Manual. The disproportionate length of his treatment[3] would seem to indicate that he regarded the facts he here records as of singular historical importance. They certainly bear, with a significance that seems to me not to have been duly appreciated,[4] on the question now rife of the proper scansion of the metre that has been named dactylo-epitritic or Doric, but is better denominated enoplic.[5]

It is not my intention to revive the discussion that was begun by Friedrich Blass in 1886[6] and was renewed with great vigor on

[1] Roesbach *Griechische Metrik*[3], p. 383.

[2] Gleditsch *Metrik der Griechen und Römer*[3], § 126, 6.

[3] Pages 47–50 in Westphal's edition.

[4] This may be due in part to the summary manner in which they were dismissed from consideration by Hermann in 1816 as vain speculations concerning a matter about which there could be no sort of doubt! See his *Elementa Doctrinae Metricae*, pp. 592 ff.

[5] For the name, see Blass *Bacchylidis Carmina*[3] (1904), p. xxxviii, and Schröder *Hermes* XXXVIII (1903), p. 202. Schröder, in his *Pindari Carmina* (1900), pp. 498 ff., has brought together conveniently for inspection the ancient evidence for the signification of the terms προσοδιακός and ἐνόπλιος.

[6] *Kleine Beiträge zur griechischen Metrik*, in *N. J. f. classische Philologie* CXXXIII (1886), pp. 455 ff.

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the publication of the Princeps of Bacchylides in 1897,[1] but, after consideration of the facts recorded in Hephaestion, to state in the manner he reports and to comment on the metrical constitution of half a dozen odes in Aristophanes. Still less is it my purpose to discuss origins. The paroemiac, the Anacreonteus, the catalectic iambic dimeter, the prosodiac—to cite certain common dimeters—are doubtless genetically related, and ultimately derivable from the same element, but they early became strongly individualized, and it is as such that they were known to the Greek dramatic poets. This is the point of view of the present discussion. The comic poets—to limit the range of inquiry—must have had a definite conception of the metrical constitution of the odes named enoplic. What was this conception? But as enoplic lyrics are few in number in Aristophanes, their discussion will require the consideration also of similar lyrics in tragedy, and the citation in general illustration of the subject of facts and verses from other poets, especially Pindar. So far as I am aware these lyrics of Aristophanes have never been presented in any modern treatise in the form that will here be given them.

Hephaestion, in the chapter cited, quotes as his first example of episynthetic rhythm a famous verse from Archilochus:

Ἐρασμονίδη Χαρίλαε, χρῆμά τοι γελοῖον—

[1] For recent discussions see in particular: F. Blass *Bacchylidis Carmina*[3] (1904), pp. xxxv ff.; O. Schröder *Pindari Carmina* (1900), pp. 497 ff.; "Die enoplischen Strophen Pindars," in *Hermes* XXXVIII (1903), pp. 202 ff.; "Binnenresponsion in den Singversen der Griechen," in *N. J. f. d. klassische Altertum* VIII (1905), pp. 98 ff.; T. D. Goodell *Chapters on Greek Metric* (1901), pp. 184 ff.; F. Leo "Zur neuesten Bewegung in der griechischen Metrik," in *N. J. f. d. klassische Altertum* V (1902), pp. 157 ff.; "Der saturnische Vers," in *Abhandlungen d. K. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (1905), No. 5; W. Christ "Grundfragen der melischen Metrik der Griechen," in *Abhandlungen d. K. bayerischen Akademie* XXII (1902), pp. 213 ff.; E. B. Clapp "A quantitative difficulty in the New Metric," in *The Classical Review*, XVIII (1904), pp. 339 f.; P. Maas "Kolometrie in den Dactyloepitriten des Bakchylides," in *Philologus* LXIII (1904), pp. 297 ff.; E. Herkenrath "Der Enoplios. Ein Beitrag zur griechischen Metrik" (1906). Also O. Schröder "Die neueste Wendung in der griechischen Metrik," in *Verhandlungen d. 45ten Versammlung deutscher Philologen u. Schulmänner* (1899), pp. 52 ff.; H. Jurenka "Die neuen Theorien d. griechischen Metrik," in *Zeitschrift f. oesterreichischen Gymnasien* (1901), pp. 1 ff.; K. Brandt, *Metrische Zeit- und Streitfragen*, Program der K. Landesschule Pforta (1902), and, in general, H. Gleditsch's "Bericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete d. griechischen u. römischen Metrik von 1898 bis Anfang 1903," in *Bursian's Jahresbericht* CXXV (1905), pp. 1 ff.

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It consists, he says, of an anapaestic hephthemime and a trochaic sesquimeter, 'the ithyphallic of current speech.' Archilochus, he continues, always maintains the hephthemimeral caesura and sometimes admits spondees in the anapaestic colon, as:

ἀστῶν δ' οἱ μὲν κατόπισθεν ἦσαν· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ—

He then adds the following statement:

οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν τῇ μὲν τομῇ ἀδιαφόρως ἐχρήσαντο, ὥσπερ Κρατῖνος (323)

χαῖρ', ὦ μέγ' ἀχρειόγελως ὅμιλε ταῖς ἐπίβδαις,
τῆς ἡμετέρας σοφίας κριτὴς ἄριστε πάντων·
εὐδαίμον' ἔτικτέ σε μήτηρ ἰκρίων ψόφησις.

ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ὁμοίως τὸ τρίτον τέτμηται τοῖς Ἀρχιλοχείοις, τὰ δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ δύο πρὸ συλλαβῆς. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοὺς σπονδείους παρῃτήσαντο τοὺς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ οἱ μετὰ τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον, οὐχ ὡς ἀναπαιστικὸν ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλὰ προσοδιακόν, τὸ ἐξ ἰωνικῆς καὶ χοριαμβικῆς, τῆς ἰωνικῆς καὶ βραχεῖαν τὴν πρώτην δεχομένης. δύναται δὲ καὶ εἰς τρίπουν ἀναπαιστικὸν διαιρεῖσθαι, εἰ ἀπὸ σπονδείου ἄρχοιτο, οἷον τὸ Σαπφοῦς (82)

αὐτὰ δὲ σὺ Καλλιόπα,

τοῦ προσοδιακοῦ ὂν καὶ τοῦτο εἶδος, τὸ ἐξ ἰωνικοῦ καὶ χοριαμβικοῦ συγκείμενον. τὸ τοίνυν ἀναπαιστικὸν εἴ τις οὕτω διαιροῖτο, εὑρήσει τῷ προσοδιακῷ ἐφαρμόζον. ἐὰν μὲν γὰρ σπονδεῖον ἔχῃ τὸν πρῶτον, τοὺς δὲ ἑξῆς ἀναπαίστους, τὰς τοῦ δευτέρου ἀναπαίστου δύο βραχείας προσθεὶς τῷ σπονδείῳ ποιήσεις ἰωνικὸν ἀπὸ μείζονος, τὸν δ' ἑξῆς χορίαμβον.

Hephaestion thus states with unusual particularity that the poets who followed Archilochus, among whom he names and quotes Cratinus, employed a verse of which the metrical form was identical with one of the forms of the line used by Archilochus, but gave it a different metrical constitution, since they regarded its first colon not as an *ἀναπαιστικόν*, but as a *προσοδιακόν*, *consisting of an Ionic and a choriamb.* This means that the verse employed by these poets was not a composite verse, such as that of Archilochus, in which the cola were respectively in two-quarter and three-eighth time, but a catalectic tetrameter in which the cola were both in six-eighth time, as follows:

‖ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –

Here is explicit testimony, unless the authority of Hephaestion is denied, for verse mensuration as early as Cratinus, by a unit

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(a dimeter) that normally had eight syllables and twelve 'times' and consisted of a major Ionic and a choriamb. This unit was associated in the same verse with an iambic dimeter,[1] that also normally has the same number of syllables and times and is in constant use in Greek dramatic poetry.

Hephaestion's historic consciousness did not enable him to penetrate the beginnings of Greek poetry and determine when the prosodiac in six-eighth time became a fundamental form of verse, but he shows no confusion of mind in regard to it: he recognizes its complete differentiation from the anapaestic tripody, although both cola may have precisely the same metrical elements (– – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – and – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –). His phraseology is explicit. The poets of whom he speaks employed a form of verse in which the first colon was a metrical phrase already in use and well known. He is very far from stating that they invented the prosodiac in six-eighth time; nor does he, I think, regard what these poets did "with disapproval," as has recently been surmised. He simply states an historical fact, but in a manner that displays lively professional interest and complete understanding.

This tetrameter found favor with the Greek comic poets. In the hyporchematic lyric that ends the Vespae it recurs seven times at the close. The lyric begins with ode and antode composed of the same cola.

ODE 1518–1522

1518 ἄγ' ὦ μεγαλώνυμα τέ-
κνα τοῦ θαλασσίοιο,
πηδᾶτε παρὰ ψάμαθον
καὶ θῖν' ἁλὸς ἀτρυγέτοι-
1522 ο καρίδων ἀδελφοί·

6/8 ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ^A
– – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –

ANTODE 1523–1527

ταχὺν πόδα κυκλοσοβεῖτε, καὶ τὸ Φρυνίχειον
ἐκλακτισάτω τις, ὅπως ἰδόντες ἄνω σκέλος 'ὦ' ὤζωσιν οἱ θεαταί.

1519 θαλασσίοιο Dindorf: θαλασσίου 1526 'ὦ' ὤζωσιν: ὤζωσιν.

[1] Cf. Schol. Heph., p. 203, 17–23. The statement at the close of his comment is significant: ἐφθημιμερὲς γὰρ ἰαμβικὸν τῷ προσοδιακῷ τῷ καθαρῷ ἐπιμέμικται καὶ προσοδιακὸν ὁμοίως καλεῖται.

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The ode and antode consist of the tetrameter under consideration and a catalectic hexameter composed of repeated prosodiac and iambic dimeter.

The verse occurs also in Cratinus in the fragment already quoted and in 30:

τούτοισι δ' ὄπισθεν ἴτω δίφρον φέρων Λυκοῦργος
ἔχων καλάσιριν.

Cf. also the following:

ὑποζυγίοις ἀλοάσαντ' εὐθὺς ἐκποιῆσαι.
—Pherecrates 65.

ὦ δέσποτα, καὶ τάδε νῦν ἄκουσον ἃν λέγω σοι.
—Eupolis 236.

λάγυνον ἔχω κενόν, ὦ γραῦ, θύλακον δὲ μεστόν.
—Diphilus 12.

Cf. also Eupolis 139 and Eubulus 78.

As already stated, this precise line occurs both in comedy and in tragedy in lyrics that are agreed to be 'dactylo-epitritic.' Cf.

μισοῦσι γὰρ ἦν τὰ παλαιὰ πολλάκις θεῶνται (Ec. 580)
ὦ παγκρατές, ὦ Τροΐας τείχη παλαιὰ δείμας
τὰς πόντιος Αἰακίδᾳ Πηλεῖ δίδωσι δαίμων (Rhes. 231 f.=240 f.).

And expanded (cf. Vesp. 1520 f.=1525 f. above) to a pentameter:

σᾶς ἀπτόμενος φαρέτρας Πυθῶνι δίᾳ μὴ κακῶς πένεσθαι·
'ἴθ' ὡ ἄνα πρὸς γονάτων, ἔξελθε καὶ σύγγνωθι τῇ τραπέζῃ.'
—Eq. 1272 f.=1298 f.

× – ◡ ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – –

And probably in the following fragment of Sophocles (Nauck² 435), parodied in Aves 1338 f.:

ὡς ἀμποταθείην ὑπὲρ ἀτρυγέτου γλαυκᾶς ἐπ' οἶδμα λίμνας
– – ◡ – – – ◡ ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – –

Cf. Androm. 775 f.=787 f.:

ἀνδρῶν ἀφαιρεῖται χρόνος· ἃ δ' ἀρετὰ καὶ θανοῦσι λάμπει
μηδὲν δίκας ἔξω κράτος ἐν θαλάμοις καὶ πόλει δύνασθαι
– – ◡ – – – ◡ ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ⌒ ◡ ◡ – ◡ – –

On the catalexis that occurs in all these verses (◡ – – –), see p. 429.

The colon that Hephaestion denominates prosodiac occurs in five other lyrics of Aristophanes. It may be expanded to a colonic

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trimeter by the addition of a syzygy that always has the form and the ascending movement of an iambic metre. The common forms of this colonic trimeter in Pindar, tragedy, and comedy are:

– ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – and – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ –.

In irregular alternation with verses composed in part of these cola in enoplic lyrics other verses occur of which the fundamental basis is a colon that assumes the form: – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –. Since these are closely associated in the same lyric with prosodiac verses in six-eighth time, the colon which underlies them must, by analogy,[1] be sharply differentiated from the dactylic tripody of the fixed form – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –. This colon, the enoplius (– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –), is a dimeter that normally has eight syllables and twelve times and consists of choriamb and minor Ionic. It occurs oftener than the prosodiac and may likewise be expanded to a colonic trimeter, but it is to be noted that the added syzygy always has the form and descending movement of a trochaic metre. The common forms of this colonic trimeter are:

– ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – – and – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – .

The two sorts of verse just indicated, in ascending and descending rhythm respectively,[2] evidently sustain the same relation to one another that verses in iambic rhythm have to those in trochaic, and those in anapaestic to those in dactylic.

Associated with the forms already mentioned are other cola that in ascending rhythm have the form of an iambic and in descending rhythm of a trochaic dimeter or trimeter; in these cola, both ascending and descending, the component syzygy is commonly irrational and in the drama its theses are never resolved, although in Pindar this sometimes occurs.

I proceed to the metrical analysis of the five lyrics in Aristophanes, besides that which closes the Vespae, which are composed in enoplic rhythm.

[1] See the statement quoted from Hephaestion on p. 421: *οὐχ ὡς ἀναπαιστικὸν ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλὰ προσοδιακόν.* See also for the enoplius the references cited on p. 419, note 5, above.

[2] On the rhythm of enoplic verse, see pp. 436 f.

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Eq. 1264–1273 = 1290–1299

Ode

1264 τί κάλλιον ἀρχομένοι- 6/8 { ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⁻
σιν ἢ καταπανομένοισιν { ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑
ἢ θοᾶν ἵππων ἐλατῆρας ἀείδειν— 2 { – ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – –
μηδὲν ἐς Λυσίστρατον, { – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ –
μηδὲ Θούμαντιν τὸν ἀνέστιον αὖ λυ- 3 { – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏓ –
πεῖν ἐκούσῃ καρδίᾳ; { – ⏑ – – – ⏑ –
1270 καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ὦ φίλ' Ἄπολλον ἀεὶ πει- 4 { – ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⁻
νῇ, θαλεροῖς δακρύοις { – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
σᾶς ἀπτόμενος φαρέτρας 5 { ⏓ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
Πυθῶνι δίᾳ μὴ κακῶς πένεσθαι. { – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –

Antode

1290 ἦ πολλάκις ἐννυχίαισι φροντίσι συγγεγένημαι,
1292 καὶ διεζήτηχ' ὁπόθεν ποτὲ φαύλως ἐσθίει Κλεώνυμος.
1294 φασὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐρεπτόμενον τὰ τῶν ἐχόντων ἀνέρων
1296 οὐκ ἂν ἐξελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς σιπύης· τοὺς δ' ἀντιβολεῖν ἂν ὅμως.
1298 'ἴθ' ὦ ἄνα πρὸς γονάτων, ἔξελθε καὶ σύγγνωθι τῇ τραπέζῃ.'

1270 οὗτος Dindorf: οὑτοσὶ *del*: added by Dindorf.
1273 δίᾳ G. Hermann: ἐν δίᾳ RΓM ἐν διὰ VAΘ.
1294 μὲν: added by Bentley. 1296 ἂν ὅμως Bergk: ἂν ὁμοίως R ἀνομοίως VP ἀλλ' ὅμως AΓ²Θ.

The ode opens with parody of verses from one of Pindar's prosodia (frag. 89 Schröder) quoted by the scholiast:

τί κάλλιον ἀρχομένοισιν ἢ καταπανομένοισιν
ἢ βαθύζωνόν τε Λατὼ καὶ θοᾶν ἵππων ἐλάτειραν ἀεῖσαι;
⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑
– ⏑ – – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – –

Because of the homoeoteleuta and of some metrical difficulties, Schröder would here read *ἀρχομένοις*. This would give the first verse the unusual constitution: ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – –. Cf. Pindar Ol. XIII Ep. 1, and see Schröder in *Hermes* XXXVIII (1903), p. 234. This shift of rhythm ("Umspringen des Rhythmus") within the limits of a verse has no such manifestation as this in the drama, although the uncertainty experienced in determining the length of lyric lines in the dramatic poets (see p. 435) may make the fact doubtful. On choriambic hypercatalexis, see p. 432. It should be noted that Aristophanes has omitted Pindar's third colon as inappropriate, brought forward his fourth

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with felicitous changes, and added with comic effect the unexpected clausula *μηδὲν ἐς Λυσίστρατον*. If we may trust the scholiast, the antode begins with a parody of verses quoted from Euripides.

NUB. 457–475

457 Χο. λῆμα μὲν πάρεστι τῷδέ γ' 6/8 – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑
οὐκ ἄτολμον ἀλλ' ἕτοιμον. ἴσθι δ' ὡς 2 – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –
ταῦτα μαθὼν παρ' ἐμοῦ κλέος οὐρανό-
μηκες 3 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –A
460 ἐν βροτοῖσιν ἕξεις 4 ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –
Στ. τί πείσομαι; Χο. τὸν πάντα χρόνον
μετ' ἐμοῦ 5 ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –
ζηλωτότατον βίον ἀνθρώπων διάξεις. 6 – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – –
465 Στ. ἆρά γε τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἐγώ ποτ' 7 – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –A
ὄψομαι; Χο. ὥστέ γε σοῦ πολ- 8 – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
λοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖσι θύραις ἀεὶ καθῆσθαι, – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – –
470 βουλομένους ἀνακοινοῦ- 9 – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
σθαί τε καὶ ἐς λόγον ἐλθεῖν – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
πράγματα κἀντιγραφὰς πολλῶν τα-
λάντων, 10 – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – –
ἄξια σῇ φρενὶ συμβου- 11 – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
λευσομένους μετὰ σοῦ. – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –

The lyric dialogue begins (457–460) in trochaic rhythm with the third verse a catalectic logaoedic trimeter.

VESP. 273–280 = 281–289

Ode

273 τί ποτ' οὐ πρὸ θυρῶν φαίνετ' ἄρ' ἡμῖν 6/8 ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – –
ὁ γέρων οὐδ' ὑπακούει; ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – –A
μῶν ἀπολώλεκε τὰς 2 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
275 ἐμβάδας, ἢ προσέκοψ' ἐν 3 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
τῷ σκότῳ τὸν δάκτυλόν που, – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – –H
276 εἶτ' ἐφλέγμηνεν αὐτοῦ 4 ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – –
τὸ σφυρὸν γέροντος ὄντος, 5 – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
277 καὶ τάχ' ἂν βουβωνιᾷ. – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – –H
ἦ μὴν πολὺ δριμύτατός γ' ἦν τῶν παρ'
ἡμῖν 6 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑
καὶ μόνος οὐκ ἂν ἐπείθετ', 7 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –A
279 ἀλλ' ὁπότ' ἀντιβολοίη 8 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
τις, κάτω κύπτων ἂν οὕτω – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – –
280 'λίθον ἔψεις' ἔλεγεν. 9 ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –

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Antode

281 τάχα δ' ἂν διὰ τὸν χθιζινὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃς ἡμᾶς διεδύετ'
ἐξαπατῶν καὶ λέγων
ὡς φιλαθήναιος ἦν καὶ τἂν Σάμῳ πρῶτος κατείποι,
διὰ τοῦτ ὀδυνηθεὶς
εἶτ' ἴσως κεῖται πυρέττων. ἔστι γὰρ τοιοῦτος ἀνήρ.
286 ἀλλ' ὤγάθ' ἀνίστασο μηδ' οὕτω σεαυτὸν
ἔσθιε μηδ' ἀγανάκτει.
καὶ γὰρ ἀνὴρ παχὺς ἥκει τῶν προδόντων τἀπὶ Θρᾴκης·
289 ὃν ὅπως ἐγχυτριεῖς.

281 χθιζινὸν Hermann: χθεσινὸν

The lyric begins (1) and ends (9) with a minor Ionic movement. The lyric that follows (291–316) is in Ionic rhythm.

PAX 775–796 = 797–818

Ode

775 Μοῦσα σύ μὲν πολέμους ἀ- 6/8 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –
πωσαμένη μετ' ἐμοῦ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
τοῦ φιλου χόρευσον, 2 – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
778 κλείουσα θεῶν τε γάμους 3 – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
ἀνδρῶν τε δαῖτας καὶ θαλίας μακάρων· – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
781 σοὶ γὰρ τάδ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέλει. 4 × – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – H
ἦν δέ σε Καρκίνος ἐλθὼν 5 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
ἀντιβολῇ μετὰ τῶν παίδων χορεῦσαι, – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – –
785 μήθ' ὑπάκουε μήτ' ἔλ- 6 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –
θῃς συνέριθος αὐτοῖς, – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –
ἀλλὰ νόμιζε πάντας – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – A
788 ὄρτυγας οἰκογενεῖς γυλι- 2/4 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
αύχενας ὀρχηστὰς – ⏑ ⏑ – – –
790 ναννοφυεῖς σφυράδων ἀπο- 8 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
κνίσματα μηχανοδίφας. – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
καὶ γὰρ ἔφασχ' ὁ πατὴρ ὁ παρ' ἐλπίδας 9 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑
795 εἶχε τὸ δρᾶμα γαλῆν τῆς 6/8 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – –
ἐσπέρας ἀπάγξαι. – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –

Antode

797 τοιάδε χρὴ Χαρίτων δαμώματα καλλικόμων
τὸν σοφὸν ποιητὴν
800 ὑμνεῖν, ὅταν ἠρινὰ μὲν φωνῇ χελιδὼν ἐζομένη κελαδῇ,
χορὸν δὲ μὴ 'χῃ Μόρσιμος
808 μηδὲ Μελάνθιος, οὗ δὴ πικροτάτην ὅπα γηρύσαντος ἤκουσ',
ἡνίκα τῶν τραγῳδῶν τὸν χορὸν εἶχον ἀδελφός τε καὶ αὐτός, ἄμφω

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810 Γοργόνες ὀψοφάγοι βατιδοσκόποι Ἅρπυιαι,
γραοσόβαι μαροὶ τραγομάσχαλοι ἰχθυολῦμαι·
815 ὧν καταχρεμψαμένη μέγα καὶ πλατὺ
Μοῦσα θεὰ μετ' ἐμοῦ ξύμπαιζε τὴν ἑορτήν.

785 ὑπάκουε Bentley: ὑπακούσῃς

The ode and antode open with parody of verses from the Orestia of Stesichorus (frag. 12–14 Hiller) according to the statement of the scholiast, who quotes the lines parodied in the antode:

τοιάδε χρὴ Χαρίτων δαμώματα καλλικόμων
ὑμνεῖν Φρύγιον μέλος ἐξευρόντας ἄβρως ἦρος ἐπερχομένου (14)
ὅταν ἦρος ὥρᾳ κελαδῇ χελιδών (13)

Hiller restores the verses of Stesichorus parodied in the ode as follows:

Μοῦσα, σὺ μὲν πολέμους ἀπωσαμένα μετ' ἐμεῦ
κλείουσα θεῶν τε γάμους ἀνδρῶν τε δαῖτας καὶ θαλίας μακάρων (12)

The rhythm passes in 788 = 810 to dactylic movement in two-quarter time, but the enoplic cadence is resumed in the closing line. For 785–787 = 807–809 see p. 436.

Ec. 571–580

571 Χο. νῦν δὴ δεῖ σε πυκνὴν φρένα — 6/8 — – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑
καὶ φιλόδημον ἐγείρειν — 2 — – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
φροντίδ' ἐπισταμένην — – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
573 ταῖσι φίλαισιν ἀμύνειν. — 3 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
καινὴ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐτυχίαισιν — 4 – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑
574 ἔρχεται γλώττης ἐπίνοια πολίτην — 5 – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
575 δῆμον ἐπαγλαΐουσα — – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – A
μυρίαισιν ὠφελίαισι βίου· δη- — 6 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – –
576 λοῦν ὅ τί περ δύναται καιρός. — – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – –
δεῖται γάρ τι σοφοῦ τινος ἐξευ- — 7 ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – –
ρήματος ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν. — – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
ἀλλὰ πέραινε μόνον — 8 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
μήτε δεδραμένα μήτ' εἰ- — 9 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – –
ρημένα πω πρότερον· — – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
580 μισοῦσι γὰρ ἦν τὰ παλαι- — 10 – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – –
ὰ πολλάκις θεῶνται. — ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –

572 φιλόδημον Dindorf: φιλόσοφον 577 τι Brunck: τοι

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Cola in ascending rhythm occur in the drama less frequently and in less varied forms than those in descending rhythm. In both series catalexis offers interesting problems for consideration.

A certain inconsistency in classifying the verse ⏑ – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – ⏑ – ◡ ◡ – ◡ – – was noted at the beginning of this discussion. The ground of objection urged against regarding this combination as enoplic is its 'ithyphallic' close, but this objection rests on a misconception. The ithyphallic, although a genuine and not infrequent form in *descending* rhythm, does not in fact occur in the colon – – ◡ – ◡ – –. Both this and the corresponding acatalectic dimeter – – ◡ – – – ◡ – are common in iambic lyrics in Aristophanes. The real ground of objection lies in the fact that the fundamental form of the syzygy in ascending rhythm in enoplic verse is – – ◡ –, and although the drama, which is disposed to greater variety, allows ⏑ – ◡ – it is nevertheless true that the acatalectic dimeter ⏑ – ◡ – ⏑ – ◡ – never occurs in enoplic metre in the drama. We find only ⏑ – ◡ – – – ◡ –. But granted that the catalectic form of this dimeter was to be admitted, it necessarily became ⏑ – ◡ – ◡ – –. No other form is possible. This is precisely what happened,—the dramatic poets allowed themselves cola which were not used by Pindar, as appears from the following:

DRAMA	PINDAR
⏑ – ◡ – – – ◡ –	– – ◡ – – – ◡ –[1]
⏑ – ◡ – ◡ – –	
– – ◡ – – – ◡ – – – ◡ –	– – ◡ – – – ◡ – – – ◡ –[2]
– – ◡ – – – ◡ – ◡ – –	

In the Oedipus Tyrannus (O. T. 6*b*—see below p. 440), this catalectic dimeter appears as ▽ – ◡ – – – – (▽ – ◡ – ◡̂ – –). With this cf. *καλεῖ τις ἀνθρώπων* = *οὐ δ' αὖθις ἐξόρμα* (Aves 1314, 1326), in a dactylo-trochaic lyric in which the other iambic clauses all have the form ⏑ – ◡ – ◡ – – –. In the Andromache (Androm. 6*b*) the catalectic dimeter is ◡̂ – ◡ – ◡ – – –. The latter is not rare in lyrics in Aristophanes as the second half of a syncopated

[1] Cf. O. VIII Ep. 8, N. I 1, I. III IV Ep. 4, VI 5, and (as colon) O. VI 1, VII 4, P. XII 3, 5, 6, N. V 1, Ep. 3, I. I Ep. 5, II 1 (Schröder's text).

[2] Cf. N. V 4, I. III IV Ep. 6, 8, and (as colon) O. III 4.

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iambic tetrameter. Cf. Eq. 757, 758 = 837, 838, where the other verses in ode and antode (756, 759, 760 = 836, 839, 840) are lyric tetrameters with all arses expressed. *τονή* is established as a common manifestation in iambic rhythm.

Cratinus has a verse that, notwithstanding the statement of Hephaestion,[1] looks very much like a parody of the celebrated line of Archilochus:

Ἐρασμονίδη Βάθιππε τῶν ἀωρολείων (10).

If we analyze the parody on the model of the original[2] it becomes: ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏜⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – where the second element of the prosodiac is the trisyllabic *βακχεῖος*.[3] This may also be the point of view from which an explanation is to be sought of a much discussed verse of Sophocles:

ΣΤΡ. ἰήϊε Φοῖβε, σοὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀρέστ' εἴη
– – ⏑⏑ ⏜⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏜ –

ΑΝΤ. Νυμφᾶν Ἑλικωνιάδων, αἷς πλεῖστα συμπαίζει
– – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – – ⏑⏑ – ⏜ – (O. T. 6)

Cf. the following fragments of Cratinus:

Λάμπωνα, τὸν οὐ βροτῶν
ψῆφος δύναται φλεγυρὰ
δείπνου φίλων ἀπείργειν (57)

– – ⏑⏑ ⏜⏑ ⏑ –
– – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –
– – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ –

νῦν δ' αὖθις ἐρυγγάνει· βρύκει γὰρ ἅπαν τὸ παρόν, τρίγλῃ δὲ κἂν μάχοιτο (58)
– – ⏑⏑ ⏜⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –

This is such an enlargement of the tetrameter in frag. 10 to a hexameter as occurs in the Vespae. See pp. 422 f. The first colon in frag. 57, 58 might be thought to be the catalectic form of the prosodiac. Hephaestion states[4] that *ἡ ἰδία κατακλείς* of the choriambicum is – ⏑ ×, and – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – would undoubtedly be the normal catalexis of – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –. But the poets

[1] Heph. p. 50 (W.).

[2] It is not to be doubted that von Wilamowitz is right in closely associating these verses. They are both forms of his "enoplios." See his *Euripides Heracles*[2] II, pp. 27 f. As is well known, von Wilamowitz maintains that even Pindar's dactylo-epitrites are dactylo-trochaic.

[3] See Grenfell and Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* Part I, IX, p. 16, Col. iii.

[4] Heph. p. 30 (W.).

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avoided this in enoplic metre.[1] See the forms in ascending rhythm on p. 433.

The true ithyphallic, as we should expect, is not rare in enoplic verse in *descending* rhythm. Aristophanes has it twice in the Peace, once (Pax 2) unmistakably as a verse, since it is here placed between two other lines that are parodies. The only other instance in the drama of its use as an independent verse occurs in the Rhesus (Rhes. 2), where as in the Peace it follows a line with catalectic close and is itself followed by a pentameter in ascending rhythm. Elsewhere in the drama it occurs as the final colon of the lyric, as in the Peace (Pax 10*b*), where it constitutes the second half of a tetrameter. Thus also in the Medea (Med. I 5*b*), where the verse is identical with that just named, and in the first enoplic lyric in the Prometheus (Prom. I 6*b*). In the fourth enoplic lyric in the Medea (Med. IV 4*c*), it ends a hexameter, and in the second (Med. II 4*c*), a heptameter. These five verses show the following series of 'trochaic' elements:

– ⏑ – ⏑	⏑ –			Pax 10*b*, Med. I 5*b*.
– ⏑ – ⏑	– ⏑ – –	– ⏑ – ⏑	⏑ –	Prom. I 6.
– – –	– ⏑ – –	– ⏑ – ⏑	⏑ –	Med. II 4*bc*.
– ⏑ – –	– ⏑ ⏑	– ⏑ – ⏑	⏑ –	Med. IV 4*bc*.

In only two of the ten occurrences here cited is there diaeresis, and in these two cases (Pax 10, Prom. I 6) it fails in the antistrophe. A survey of these facts makes it difficult to accept Schröder's analysis of the last line in the first enoplic lyric of the Prometheus (Prom. I 6), although one dissents from any conclusion of his on enoplic metre with reluctance. Here he casts the ithyphallic colon in the form – ⏑ – ⏑ – – –,[2] in accord

[1] Hephaestion (p. 35) calls – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – an Ionic hepthemime, which is significant in so far at least as it indicates the six-eighth division of the colon. He doubtless had – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ in mind as the acatalectic form (*συντίθεται δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τροχαϊκὰς ἑπτάμικτον*), – ⏑ – being the normal catalectic close of a trochaic as well as of a choriambic colon. The same combination of metrical elements (– – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –) may have, in other relations, an entirely different significance, as at the close of the Aves (1731 ff.) where it is associated with Pherecrateans. Schröder in *Philologus* LXII (1903), p. 162, has said a timely word in regard to keeping an open mind in determining the particular significance of a colon that admits different classifications.

[2] See his *Aeschyli Cantica*, pp. 42 f., and *Hermes* XXXVIII (1903), p. 217. On the correspondence of strophe and antistrophe in the last verse of this lyric, see p. 435, where all cases that occur in the drama are considered together.

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with his theory that – ⏑ – – (which he regards as a 'retarded' minor Ionic) is in ascending rhythm.[1] The ithyphallic should not occasion surprise in any of these five cases, since it not infrequently occurs also in trochaic lyrics as the final colon. Cf. in Aristophanes *καὶ ποίησον τόνδ' ἐς εὐνὴν τὴν ἐμὴν ἱκέσθαι* (Ec. 959 = 967); *ἐπιθόμην, ἀλλ' ᾠόμην ἂν αὐτὸν αὐτὰ λῃρεῖν* (Ran. 1377 = 1490 = 1499, with resolution of the ithyphallic in 1490, 1499); and in the first line, *πάντα τοι πέπραγας οἷα χρὴ τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα* (Eq. 683 = 616, with resolution in the ode).

Hypercatalexis is found only in verses in ascending rhythm. According to the division of the lyrics into verses adopted in this article, both forms of hypercatalexis occur in the drama, the choriambic: ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – ✕ (Eq. 1*b*), – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ (Ec. 4), – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – – (Aj. 3, Med. III 4), and the iambic: – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – (Trach. 7), – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ✕ (Nub. 6, Vesp. 6). But here again one is uncertain how far synaphea extends in some of these metrical series. The assumption that the enoplic movement begins in the Ajax with the second line of the lyric and that verses two and three should be combined gives the pentameter:

– ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – –[2]

This may be rejected for good reasons, but nevertheless it is adopted by Rossbach.[3] He likewise combines verses four and five in the third enoplic lyric of the Medea (Med. III 4, 5), so that the hypercatalexis becomes iambic. In the fourth line of the enoplic ode in the Ecclesiazusae, the emendation *εὐτυχίαις* would not be unreasonable. The opening of the Equites has already been discussed. All cases of choriambic hypercatalexis may thus be made to disappear from the drama, as under Schröder's analysis it disappears from Pindar,[4] except in certain fragments. But it is accepted in Bacchylides.[5] Iambic hypercatalexis, however, can-

[1] See p. 437.

[2] Note Pindar's *ἢ βαθύζωνόν τε Λατὼ καὶ θοὰν ἵππων ἐλάτειραν δεῖσαι* (frag. 89) and cf. N. VIII 3, I. II 2.

[3] *Griechische Metrik*[3], p. 480.

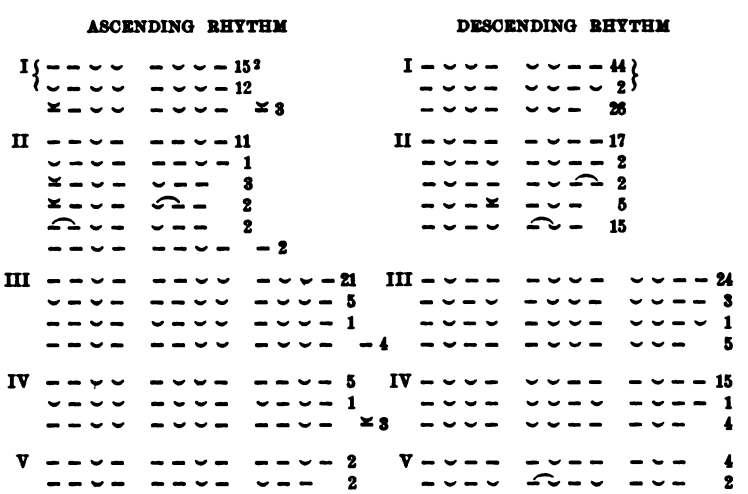
[4] See his analysis of O. VIII 1 in *Hermes* XXXVIII (1903), p. 237.

[5] Cf. IX Ep. 6, XI 5, XII 5, XIII Ep. 2 (Blass).

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not be disposed of in this summary manner in the drama. In the Nubes and Vespae, analyzed above, it occurs in the middle of the lyric, as sometimes in Bacchylides, but in the Trachiniae it ends the strophe. Here the melodic close is precisely that in Aves 858 = 902, *συνᾳδέτω δὲ Χαῖρις ᾠδάν*, ending a pure iambic ode. Schröder finds but few cases of iambic hypercatalexis in Pindar.[1] The heat with which the advocates of the 'dactylic' theory of enoplic verse object to hypercatalexis is not easy to understand. In all these cases choice must be made, on any theory, between hypercatalexis and 'anacrusis,' and the one occasions no greater disturbance of the rhythm than the other.

The normal forms of the cola in the drama are few, five in each rhythm, with variants:



In Euripides (Troad. 5*a*) a resolved form of the minor Ionic occurs (– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑) as the second metre in a tetrameter. This is without parallel, I believe.[3] In Euripides we encounter

[1] *Pindari Carmina*, p. 296, where the instances are enumerated in his commentary.

[2] The count includes the five lyrics of Aristophanes and the thirteen of tragedy of which the analysis is given in full in this article. Unusual forms are not counted, but these are discussed below. The figures, therefore, are an approximate indication of relative frequency of occurrence.

[3] Cf. the curious beginning of N. X.

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also (Med. IV 4*a*, Androm. 5*a*) the contracted form of the choriambus, so that the dimeter (– – – ⏑ ⏑ – –) has the form of the Pherecratean,[1] but probably is enoplic. Here again we deal with an innovating poet.[2] Both these singularities apparently are met in combination in a verse of Aristophanes (Ec. 1), but this is undoubtedly corrupt. Such a hybrid dimeter as the received text demands is out of all accord with the well-known severity of this poet in his use of metrical forms. We should doubtless read, by a simple transposition, *νῦν δή σε πυκνὴν φρένα δεῖ* in ascending rhythm.

There are two trimetrical cola in Aristophanes (Ec. 6*b* and 7*a*) of abnormal constitution, if the received text is accepted. Accordingly the text has been rearranged and emended by the editors. There is no parallel in the drama to the 'spondaic' close of verse 576 (– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – –) nor to the 'spondaic' opening of the following line. But Pindar, in a highly-wrought ode, has used the same numbers:

> *Χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἰοπλοκάμων*
> *σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον· τᾶς ἀκούει μὲν βάσις ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά,*
> *πείθονται δ' ἀοιδοὶ σάμασιν*—(Pyth. I)

Here the last colon of the second verse and the beginning of the third furnish a parallel.[3] If these forms seem to be inadmissible in Aristophanes, this part of the ode (as well as the beginning) may be healed by slight emendation:

καινὴ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐτυχίαισιν	– – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑
ἔρχεται γλώττης ἐπίνοια πολίτην	– ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
δῆμον ἐπαγλαϊοῦσα	– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – [A]
μυρίαισιν ὠφελίαισι βίου· δη-	– ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – –
λοῦ δ' ὅτι περ δύναται.	– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
καιρὸς δέ, δεῖται γάρ τι σοφοῦ τινος ἐξ-	– – ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
ευρήματος ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν[4]	– – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – –

In Euripides (El. 4) is found the only acephalous verse in the drama[5] and in Sophocles (Trach. 1) and Euripides (Rhes. 1) the only examples of shift of rhythm within the verse.[6]

[1] Cf. the beginning of N. VIII and Bacchyl. XII 3 (Blass).

[2] Cf. Philoxenus, *Conv.* 2, 19 and 35.

[3] Cf. Schröder's analysis in *Hermes* XXXVIII (1903), pp. 232 f.

[4] δηλοῦ δ' Meineke. *καιρὸς δέ* Hermann. [5] Cf. O. VI 6.

[6] Cf. O. XIII Ep. 1, P. I 4, IV Ep. 5, N. V 1, VI Ep. 3, I. III IV Ep. 7.

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Certain peculiar correspondences between ode and antode in some of these lyrics merit consideration, as in the Vespae (Vesp. 4) where *διὰ τοῦτ' ὀδυνηθείς*[1] corresponds to *εἶτ' ἐφλέγμηνεν αὐτοῦ*[2] (⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – to – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –). This may seem dubious, but cf. in Aeschylus (Prom. I 6*a*) the correspondence of ⏑ ⏑ – – with – ⏑ ⏑ –.[3] But another correspondence in the Vespae (Vesp. 2) seems untenable, even if the former is doubtfully allowed in Aristophanes. In verse 2 of the antode *καὶ λέγων* should probably be emended to the form of the ode, and lines 2 and 3 combined (– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – – – – ⏑ – –). Cf. lines 7 and 8, which in this case should probably also be combined. In Sophocles (O. T. 2*b*) two normal forms of the descending dimeter (– ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – and – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –) are brought into correspondence, *ἦ σέ γέ τις θυγάτηρ* answering to *οὐκ ἔσει τὰν αὔριον*. Cf. in Aeschylus (Prom. II 5) the correspondence of – ⏑ – – with – ⏑ ⏑ –.

The combination of cola into verses in the drama is simple, and there is here little of the complexity of form, whether in colon or verse, that is common in Pindar, but twice in Aeschylus (Prom. I 4, II 3) and once in Sophocles (O. T. 3) a tetrameter occurs of the form – ⏑ – × – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –.[4] Once in Sophocles (O. T. 1) we encounter the tetrameter – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –.

In enoplic as in other lyrics, the determination of the end of the verse is often uncertain in the drama because the antode recurs but once at most and indicia are lacking. As in many other matters Pindar must here serve as a guide, although at best the limit of synaphea in comedy and tragedy is often indeterminable. Pindar has one enoplic octameter and a few heptameters. The common forms he employs are trimeter (34), tetrameter (30), pentameter (16), dimeter (13), and hexameter (7).[5] These facts furnish a thumb-rule.

Some of these songs in the drama are written exclusively in enoplic rhythm, others introduce alloeometric verses. In comedy

[1] Cf. P. III Ep. 9 init. [2] Cf. O. VI Ep. 7 init.

[3] See Schröder *Pind. Carm.*, pp. 508 f.

[4] Cf. P. III 5 and Ep. 3, IX Ep. 3, N. XI 1 and Ep. 2, I. III IV 2.

[5] The figures indicate roughly the proportion of each form of verse in 100.

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the structure is sometimes composite, as notably in the Peace where the enoplic series is broken by a mixed choriambic hexameter (with τονή) followed by two dactylic hexameters and a dactylic tetrameter. The opening strain of the duo in the Nubes is trochaic. Cf. the dactylo-trochaic opening of the lyric in the Ajax. The beginning and the close of the ode in the Vespae is Ionic. Thrice in Sophocles (Aj. 9) and Euripides (Med. III 6, Troad. 8) the lyric ends with logaoedic strain, but without change of time.

What is the rhythm of the lyrics now under consideration? The elements of which enoplic verse is composed are unmistakable and remain undisturbed whatever theory we entertain as to its constitution. These are – ⏑ – – – and – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –,[1] or – ⏑ – – and – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –. It is highly important to determine, if possible, the true nature of the elements – ⏑ – – and – – ⏑ – that play so conspicious a part in it. There can be no doubt that their rôle is significant. Lines occur, to select examples from the drama, such as these:

– ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – Prom. II 6; Med. I 4.
– ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – – Prom. I 6.
– ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – Trach. 4.
– ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – Vesp. 3.
– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – Vesp. 5.
– ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏓ – ⏑ – – ⏓ – – – Eq. 2, 3; Cf. Med. IV 3.
– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – O. T. 2.
– ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏓ – ⏑ – – ⏑ – – O. T. 5.
– ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – Med. II 4.

Others again occur such as the following:

⏓ – ⏑ – – – – – Pax 4.
– – ⏑ – – – – ⏑ – – – Aj. 4.
– – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑ – – ⏑ – – Ec. 10; Rhes. 6.
⏓ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – Med. II 1.
– – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – Trach. 6.
⏓ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – – – Eq. 5
⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – – – Troad. 6.

[1] So also Rossbach, *Griechische Metrik*[3], p. 407.

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The rhythmic movement of the first series, which is so largely 'trochaic,' would seem to be be descending, of the second, which is so largely 'iambic,' ascending.[1] But the rhythm of the prosodiac and 'iambic' elements in such a tetrameter as – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – – – must be uniform. Is it ascending? It certainly seems highly improbable—to revert to the historical account quoted from Hephaestion at the beginning of this article—that Cratinus and the other poets who succeeded Archilochus could have identified the tripody in his anapaestic hephthemime of the form – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – with the prosodiac unless there had been practical rhythmical agreement between the cola. On this assumption, the prosodiac tetrameter just cited would be – ⏓ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ – ⏓ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏓ ⏑ ⏑ – – in ascending rhythm (two dimeters). The corresponding enoplic tetrameter would be ⏓ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ – – ⏓ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏓ ⏑ ⏑ – – – in descending rhythm. On the theory now in favor that enoplic metre is Ionic this tetrameter consists of 'middle' Ionic, minor Ionic, and two 'retarded' minor Ionics: – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ – in *ascending* movement.[2] The Ionic theory of enoplic metre has been presented by Schröder with great skill and has many ardent supporters. But there are difficulties in the way of adopting it, notably one that curiously is not encountered in the drama but occurs not infrequently in Pindar. Namely, the 'retarded' major Ionic and the 'retarded' minor Ionic appear respectively in the resolved forms – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ and ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – –.[3] This means resolution of an irrational syllable, an unheard of phenomenon.[4] But such a verse as

καὶ παρὰ Κασταλίᾳ, πατέρα τε Δαμάγητον ἁδόντα Δίκᾳ (Olym. VII 17),

occasions no difficulty if sung in descending rhythm.

The assumption that there is no contradiction in rhythm between the anapaestic tripody and the prosodiac serves to explain

[1] The testimony of the scholiasts may be deemed of little importance, but it may still be noted that the scholiast on Aristophanes never calls – ⏑ – – and – – ⏑ – either epitrite or Ionic, but always trochaic and iambic respectively.

[2] "Ein gleitend-leicht-*leicht-*leichtes Tetrametron," to adopt Schröder's terminology.

[3] See the instances cited by Schröder, *Pind. Carm.*, pp. 503 f. (§ 6).

[4] See Leo, *Neue Jahrb. f. d. klass. Altertum* V (1902), p. 160, Brandt *Metrische Zeit- und Streitfragen* (1902), p. 30, and Schröder in *Hermes* XXXVIII (1903), pp. 224 f. Schröder argues for the equivalence of ⏑ ⏑ – – and ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – –.

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a confusion that prevails in the scholiasts. The Heliodorean scholiast on the enoplic lyric in the Equites, for example, calls πεινῇ θαλεροῖς δακρύοις (Eq. 4) 'προσοδιακὸν δωδεκάσημον,' and in the next breath designates the words that immediately follow, σᾶς ἀπτόμενος φαρέτρας (Eq. 5) as 'ἀναπαιστικόν.' Here indeed is a jumble of theories! But Hephaestion suffers none of this confusion of mind. He, at least, although in his analyses of the first seven poetical forms in the fifteenth chapter of his Manual he consistently maintains the Archilochian point of view, perfectly understands the differentiation effected by Cratinus between verses of his own such as:

χαῖρ', ὦ μέγ' ἀχρειόγελως ὅμιλε ταῖς ἐπίβδαις,
τῆς ἡμετέρας σοφίας κριτὴς ἄριστε πάντων·
εὐδαίμον' ἔτικτέ σε μήτηρ ἱκρίων ψόφησις,

and verses of Archilochus such as:

Ἐρασμονίδη Χαρίλαε, χρῆμά τοι γελοῖον—
ἀστῶν δ' οἱ μὲν κατόπισθεν ἦσαν· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ—
ἐρέω, πολὺ φίλταθ' ἑταίρων, τέρψεαι δ' ἀκούων.

Here we reach the heart of the question at issue between those who adopt the dactylic theory of 'dactylo-epitritic' verse and the enoplists. The prosodiac is, *in form*, an anapaestic tripody, the enoplius is, *in form*, a dactylic tripody, but not all anapaestic tripodies are prosodiacs nor all dactylic tripodies enoplii. The Archilochian verses just cited consist of anapaestic hephthemime and ithyphallic. Five fragments of Archilochus are extant written in this verse.[1] The anapaestic hephthemime (or paroemiac[2]) in these shows the forms:

⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑
– – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑

These by no means exhaust the possible permutations of the anapaestic hephthemime, as a glance at lyric anapaests in the drama will show, but they are sufficient for the purpose in hand. The first yields the *form* of the prosodiac, but certainly not the second

[1] Bergk *Poet. Lyr.*[4] II, p. 406. [2] Heph. p. 27, 21 ff.

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with its spondee in the second place,[1] nor, except by legerdemain,[2] the third and fourth with their initial ⏑⏑–⏑⏑– and ⏑⏑–––– which are unobjectionable as anapaests, but not as the beginning of the prosodiac. Similarly, the dactylic tripody of the form –⏑⏑ –⏑⏑ –⏑⏑ cannot be identified with the enoplius.[3] The logical conclusion from these facts would seem to be that lyrics in the drama which are composed exclusively of the prosodiac (––––⏑ ––––) and enoplius (–⏑––– ⏑––––) and related iambic and trochaic elements in six-eighth time (––––– and –⏑–––), and which show none of the variations of form possible in anapaestic and dactylic tripodies in two-quarter time, are 'enoplic,' to adopt the name first used by Blass, not 'dactylo-epitritic.'

APPENDIX: ENOPLIC LYRICS IN TRAGEDY

AESCH. PROM. I: 526–535=536–544

526 μηδάμ' ὁ πάντα νέμων 6/8 – ⏑⏑– ⏑⏑–
θεῖτ' ἐμᾷ γνώμᾳ κράτος
ἀντίπαλον Ζεύς, 2 – ⏑⏑– –⏑⏑– ⏑⏑––
μηδ' ἐλινύσαιμι θεοὺς ὁσίαις θοί- 3 – ⏑⏑– –⏑⏑– ⏑⏑––
530 ναις ποτινισσομένα – ⏑⏑– ⏑⏑–
βουφόνοις παρ' Ὠκεάνου
πατρὸς ἄσβεστον πόρον, 4 – ⏑⏑– – –⏑⏑– ⏑⏑––– –⏑⏑–
μηδ' ἀλίτοιμι λόγοις· 5 – ⏑⏑– ⏑⏑–
535 ἀλλά μοι τόδ' ἐμμένοι καὶ 6 ⏑⏑– – –⏑⏑––
μήποτ' ἐκτακείη – ⏑⏑– ⏑–

AESCH. PROM. II: 887–893=894–900

887 ἦ σοφός, ἦ σοφὸς ἦν ὃς 6/8 – ⏑⏑– ⏑⏑––
πρῶτος ἐν γνώμᾳ τόδ'
ἐβάστασε καὶ γλώσ- 2 – ⏑⏑– –⏑⏑– ⏑⏑––
σᾳ διεμυθολόγησεν, – ⏑⏑– ⏑⏑––
890 ὡς τὸ κηδεῦσαι καθ' ἑαυτὸν
ἀριστεύει μακρῷ, 3 – ⏑⏑– –⏑⏑– ⏑⏑––– –⏑⏑–
καὶ μήτε τῶν πλούτῳ
διαθρυπτομένων 4 ––⏑⏑– ––⏑⏑ –⏑⏑–
μήτε τῶν γέννᾳ μεγαλυνομένων 5 –⏑⏑– –⏑– ⏑⏑–
ὄντα χερνήταν ἐραστεῦσαι γάμων. 6 –⏑⏑– –⏑⏑– –⏑⏑–

[1] καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοὺς σπονδείους παρητήσαντο τοὺς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ οἱ μετὰ τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον, οὐχ ὡς ἀναπαιστικὸν ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλὰ προσοδιακόν. Heph. p. 48, 8 ff. And again: παραιτοῦνται τοίνυν τοὺς ἐν μέσῳ σπονδείους, ἵνα μὴ ἀλλότριον γένηται τὸ ἀναπαιστικὸν τοῦ προσοδιακοῦ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐξ ἰωνικοῦ καὶ χοριαμβικοῦ· δύναται δέ τις βιαζόμενος κτέ. *Id.* p. 49, 10 ff.

[2] Heph. p. 49, 22 ff., p. 28, 22 ff.

[3] See the forlorn example in Euripides, discussed on p. 433.

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SOPH. AJAX. 172–182 = 183–192

172 ἦ ῥά σε Ταυροπόλα Διὸς
Ἄρτεμις, 2/4 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑
ὦ μεγάλα φάτις, ὦ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
μᾶτερ αἰσχύνας ἐμᾶς, 6/8 – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –
175 ὥρμασε πανδάμους ἐπὶ βοῦς
ἀγελαίας, 6/8 – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – –
ἦ ποὑτινος νίκας ἀκάρπωτον χάριν 4 – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – A
ἦ ῥα κλυτῶν ἐνάρων ψευσθεῖσ',
ἀδώροις 5 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –
εἴτ' ἐλαφαβολίαις; 6 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
ἢ χαλκοθώραξ μή τιν' Ἐνυάλιος 7 – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
180 μομφὰν ἔχων ξυνοῦ δορὸς
ἐννυχίοις 8 – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
μαχαναῖς ἐτείσατο λώβαν; 9 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – –

SOPH. TRACH. 94–102 = 103–111

94 ὃν αἰόλα νὺξ ἐναριζομένα 6/8 ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ↓ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
τίκτει κατευνάζει τε φλογι-
ζόμενον, 2 – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – AH
Ἅλιον, Ἅλιον αἰτῶ 3 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
τοῦτο καρῦξαι, τὸν Ἀλκμή- 4 – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – –
νας πόθι μοι πόθι ταῖς 4 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
ναίει ποτ', ὦ λαμπρᾷ στεροπᾷ
φλεγέθων, 5 – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – H
100 ἢ τοντίας αὐλῶνας, ἢ 6 – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –
δισσαῖσιν ἀπείροις κλιθείς· 6 – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –
εἶπ', ὦ κρατιστεύων κατ' ὄμμα. 7 – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏓

SOPH. OED. TYR. 1086–1096 = 1097–1109

1086 εἴπερ ἐγὼ μάντις εἰμὶ 6/8 – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑
καὶ κατὰ γνώμαν ἴδρις, – ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – A
οὐ τὸν Ὄλυμπον ἀπείρων, ὦ
Κιθαιρών, 2 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – –
οὐκ ἔσει τὰν αὔριον – ⏑ ⏓ – ⏓ ⏑ –
1091 πανσέληνον μὴ οὐ σέ γε καὶ
πατρώταν Οἰδίπουν 3 – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – H
καὶ τροφὸν καὶ ματέρ' αὔξειν, 4 – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – –
καὶ χορεύεσθαι πρὸς ἡμῶν, 5 – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – –
ὡς ἐπὶ ἦρα φέροντα – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏓ –
τοῖς ἐμοῖς τυράννοις. – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⌢ –
1096 ἰήϊε Φοῖβε, σοὶ 6 – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –
δὲ ταῦτ' ἀρέστ' εἴη. ⏓ – ⏑ – ⌢ –

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EUR. MED. I: 410–420=421–430

410 ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν 6/8 ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
χωροῦσι παγαί, καὶ δίκα – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –
καὶ πάντα πάλιν στρέφεται. – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – H
ἀνδράσι μὲν δόλιαι βουλαί, θεῶν δ' 2 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –
413 οὐκέτι πίστις ἄραρε. τὰν δ' ἐμὰν εὖ- 3 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
κλειαν ἔχειν βιοτὰν στρέψουσι
φᾶμαι. – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – AH
ἔρχεται τιμὰ γυναικείῳ γένει· 4 – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – H
420 οὐκέτι δυσκέλαδος φά- 5 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – –
μα γυναῖκας ἕξει. – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –

EUR. MED. II: 627–634=635–642

627 ἔρωτες ὑπὲρ μὲν ἄγαν 6/8 ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
ἐλθόντες οὐκ εὐδοξίαν – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –
οὐδ' ἀρετὰν παρέδωκαν 2 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –
ἀνδράσιν· εἰ δ' ἄλις ἔλθοι – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
631 Κύπρις, οὐκ ἄλλα θεὸς εὔχαρις
οὕτως. 3 – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
μήποτ', ὦ δέσποιν', ἐπ' ἐμοὶ
χρυσέων τό- 4 – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – –
ξων ἐφείης ἰμέρῳ χρί- – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – –
σασ' ἄφυκτον οἰστόν. – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –

EUR. MED. III: 824–834=835–845

824 Ἐρεχθεΐδαι τὸ παλαιὸν ὄλβιοι 6/8 ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –
καὶ θεῶν παῖδες μακάρων, ἱερᾶς χώ- 2 – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – –
ρας ἀπορθήτου τ' ἀποφερ-
βόμενοι – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
κλεινοτάταν σοφίαν ἀ- 3 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – –
εἰ διὰ λαμπροτάτου – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
830 βαίνοντες ἁβρῶς αἰθέρος, ἔνθα
ποθ' ἁγνὰς 4 – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
ἐννέα Πιερίδας Μούσας λέγουσι 5 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – –
ξανθὰν Ἁρμονίαν φυτεῦσαι 6 – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –

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EUR. MED. IV: 976–982 = 983–989

976 νῦν ἐλπίδες οὐκέτι μοι παίδων
ζόας, 6/8 – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – – – ◡ –
οὐκέτι· στείχουσι γὰρ ἐς
φόνον ἤδη. 2 – ◡ – – – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – –
δέξεται νύμφα χρυσέων ἀναδεσμᾶν 3 – ◡ – – – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – –
δέξεται δύστανος ἅταν· – ◡ – – – – ◡ – –
980 ξανθᾷ δ' ἀμφὶ κόμᾳ θή- 4 – – – ◡ ◡ – – –
σει τὸν Ἅιδα κοσμὸν αὐ- – ◡ – – – ◡ ⌒ –
τὰ χεροῖν λαβοῦσα. – ◡ – ◡ ⌒ –

EUR. ANDROM. 766–777 = 778–789

766 ἢ μὴ γενοίμαν, ἢ πατέρων
ἀγαθῶν 6/8 – – ◡ – – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ –
εἶην πολυκτήτων τε δόμων
μέτοχος· 2 – – ◡ – – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – A
770 εἴ τι γὰρ πάσχοι τις ἀμάχανον,
ἀλκᾶς 3 – ◡ – × – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – – A
οὐ σπάνις εὐγενέταις· κη- 4 – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – – –
ρυσσομένοισι δ' ἀπ' ἐσθλῶν
δωμάτων – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – – – ◡ –
τιμὰ καὶ κλέος· οὗτοι 5 – – – ◡ ◡ – –
λείψανα τῶν ἀγαθῶν – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ –
775 ἀνδρῶν ἀφαιρεῖται χρόνος· ἃ δ'
ἀρετὰ 6 – – ◡ – – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ –
καὶ θανοῦσι λάμπει. ⌒ ◡ – ◡ – –

EUR. ELECT. 859–865 = 873–879

859 θὲς ἐς χορόν, ὦ φίλα, ἴ- 6/8 ◡ – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – –
χνος, ὡς νεβρὸς οὐράνιον ◡ – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – –
πήδημα κουφίζουσα σὺν ἀγλαΐᾳ 2 – – ◡ – – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ –
νικᾷ στεφαναφορίαν 3 – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – –
οἵαν παρ' Ἀλφειοῦ ῥεέθροις
τελέσας – – ◡ – – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ –
κασίγνητος σέθεν· ἀλλ' ἐπάειδε 4 ◡ – – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ – – A
865 καλλίνικον ᾠδὰν ἐμῷ χορῷ. 5 – ◡ – ◡ ⌒ – ◡ – – –

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EUR. TROAD. 794–806 = 807–819

807 ὀθ' Ἑλλάδος ἄγαγε πρῶ- 6/8 ⏑ – – ⏑ | – ⏑ – – ⏑
τον ἄνθος ἀτυζόμενος | ⏑ – – ⏑ | – ⏑ – –
πώλων, Σιμόεντι δ' ἐπ' εὐρείτᾳ
πλάταν 2 – – ⏑ – | – ⏑ – – | – – ⏑ –
ἔσχασε ποντοπόρον καὶ 3 – ⏑ – – | – ⏑ – – ⏑
ναύδετ' ἀνήψατο πρυμνᾶν, | – ⏑ – – | ⏑ – – –
811 καὶ χερὸς εὐστοχίαν ἐξεῖλε ναῶν, 4 – ⏑ – – | ⏑ – – – | – ⏑ – –
Λαομέδοντι φόνον· κανό- 5 – ⏑ – – | ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑
νων δὲ τυκίσματα Φοίβου | – ⏑ – – | ⏑ – – –
815 πυρὸς πυρὸς φοίνικι· πνοᾷ
καθελὼν 6 ⏑ – – ⏑ | – – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ – –
Τροίας ἐπόρθησεν χθόνα, | – – ⏑ – | – – ⏑ –
δὶς δὲ δυοῖν πιτύλοιν τεί- 7 – ⏑ – – | ⏑ – – –
χη περὶ Δαρδανίας | – ⏑ – – | ⏑ – –
φοινία κατέλυσεν αἰχμά. 8 – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ – –

EUR. RHES. 224–232 = 233–241

224 Θυμβραῖε καὶ Δάλιε καὶ Λυκίας 6/8 ⏑ – – ↓ – ⏑ – – ⏑ – –
ναὸν ἐμβατεύων, 2 – – ⏑ – | ⏑ – –
Ἄπολλον, ὦ δία κεφαλά, μόλε τό- 3 ⏑ – – ⏑ | – – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ – –
ξήρης, ἱκοῦ ἐννύχιος | – – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ – –
καὶ γενοῦ σωτήριος ἀνέρι πομπᾶς 4 – ⏑ – – | – ⏑ – – | ⏑ – – –
230 ἀγεμὼν καὶ ξύλλαβε Δαρδανίδαις, 5 – ⏑ – – | – ⏑ – – | ⏑ – –
ὦ παγκρατὲς, ὦ Τροΐας 6 – – ⏑ – | – ⏑ – –
τείχη παλαιὰ δείμας. | – – ⏑ – | ⏑ – –

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THE ACCENT IN VULGAR AND FORMAL LATIN

By Frank Frost Abbott

The publication of Weil and Benloew's *Théorie générale de l'accentuation latine* in 1855 marks the beginning of a scientific study of the nature of the Latin accent and of the laws which govern its incidence, and at the same time it seems irrevocably to have divided Latin scholars into two camps. So far as the nature of the accent was concerned, they laid down the dictum that "l'intensité caractérise l'accent moderne, l'acuité l'accent antique" (cf. *op. cit.* p. 5), and this proposition Corssen accepted in the main in his *Aussprache* three years later, as did Langen in the *Jahrb. f. class. Phil.* LXXIX (1859), pp. 44 ff., but Langen questioned the trustworthiness of the statements which the Latin grammarians make concerning the circumflex, a point which he had already raised in his monograph, *De grammaticorum Latinorum praeceptis quae ad accentum spectant* (Bonn, 1857). This skeptical attitude toward the utterances of the grammarians led him in 1872 (cf. *Phil.* XXXI, pp. 98 ff.) to doubt their accuracy in describing the Latin accent as solely musical, and to maintain that, while it was primarily a pitch-accent, the stress-element existed in it (cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 103). To this conclusion he was also led by his theory that Latin verse furnished evidence of a desire on the part of the poets to harmonize the word-accent and the verse-ictus. Not long afterward Schöll in the *Act. Soc. Phil. Lips.* VI, and Seelmann in his *Aussprache des Latein*, came out boldly in support of the view that the Latin accent was primarily one of stress, a theory which has been adopted by German and English-speaking scholars, almost without exception, up to the present time. Now and then an American scholar has forsworn his allegiance to the current theory, as C. W. L. Johnson has done in the *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXV (1904), pp. 65–76, or Schlicher in *A.J.P.* XXIII (1902), p. 55 n., but scientific treatises and textbooks in Germany, England, and America have

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never wavered in their acceptance of the doctrine of the Ritschl school upon this point.[1] Equally astonishing has been the unanimity with which French Latinists have followed Weil and Benloew. Even those who, like Vendryes in his *Recherches sur l'histoire et les effets de l'intensité initiale en Latin*, think that the prehistoric initial accent involved a stress, hold that the accent of the classical period was one of pitch only. It is easy to see the reason for this strange state of affairs. There is no lack of evidence, as there is, for instance, in the case of the Saturnian verse, but one class of evidence is fatal, as it seems to me, to the stress-theory, and another group of facts is equally disastrous to the pitch-theory, as the two views mentioned are commonly held. There seems to be no way out of the dilemma, and, consequently, scholars accept the evidence which appeals to them the more strongly, and they explain the facts of the language or the statements made by the Latin grammarians which are at variance with their conclusions as best they can. If the question were not in the field of pure science one might almost say that scholars accepted the national tradition, or inherited their theory of the Latin accent.

One can scarcely hope to make any material additions to the evidence which has accumulated during the last fifty years, and it is my purpose not to rediscuss it in detail, but to suggest a view of the case which, it seems to me, is in harmony with the important facts, and does not involve, I hope, such inherent improbability as to warrant its summary rejection.

The evidence which bears upon the nature of the Latin accent comes from two sources. It is either drawn from the Latin grammarians, or it is obtained from a study of the phenomena of Latin and of the cognate and derived languages. The adherents of the pitch-theory are influenced largely by the statements made by the Latin writers concerning the accent, while those who believe in the stress-theory find support for it mainly in evidence of the second sort. It will therefore be convenient at this point to state very briefly the main considerations which may be urged in sup-

[1] In his *Latin Language*, which represents a revision of the *Appendix* to his *Latin Grammar*, and which has just appeared as this article goes to press, Bennett seems inclined to regard the arguments of Vendryes as convincing.

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port of these two views. This presentation of the facts will show, I hope, that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to accept either theory in its present form, and that some *via media* is the only way out of the difficulty.

The passages in Latin writers which deal with the matter in dispute run from the first century B. C. to the fifth or sixth century A. D. Schöll has collected one or two hundred of these, of which a large number either describe the Latin accent or permit us to draw inferences concerning it. These writers speak, for instance, of the acute, grave, and circumflex, give us rules governing their incidence in the case of many words, and all of them, with four exceptions to be discussed later, use words and phrases which are applicable to a musical accent only. But the grammarians are freely charged by the German-English school with blindly applying to the Latin accent terminology which their Greek predecessors had used of the Greek language. Even if we bring ourselves to accept this theory of slavish imitation for a long line of Latin grammarians, how can we account for their precepts when those precepts are at variance with the Greek laws of accent? A striking case of the sort is to be found in Donatus (K. IV, p. 371. 8 = Sch. LXIX *c*), who says: ergo monosyllaba, quae correptam vocalem habebunt, acuto accentu pronuntiabimus, ut *fŭx*, *pix*, *nŭx;* quae productam vocalem habebunt, circumflexo accentu pronuntiabimus, ut *rês*, *dŏs*, *spês*. This same rule for the accentuation of monosyllables with a long vowel is given by Diomedes (K. I, p. 431.15 = Sch. LXIX *a*) and others. In Greek, of course, some long monosyllables take the circumflex, others the acute, and the principle stated by Donatus and Diomedes must either correspond to the rules of Latin accentuation or be a pure invention of the Latin grammarians. In neither case can it be borrowed from Greek writers on accent. Obviously also the comments upon the accentuation of such word-groups as *interea loci* (cf. Sch. LXXIV *b*) and *magister equitum* (Sch LXXVIII *c*) can scarcely be borrowed or adapted from Greek writers.

But let us leave the professional grammarians out of account, and confine our attention to the statements which Varro, Cicero, and Quintilian make with reference to the nature of the accent.

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It is wise to limit ourselves to these three men because they belong to the period in which we are mainly interested, and because an examination of their remarks will bring out the strong and the weak points in the theory of those who hold that Latin writers in describing their accent have followed the Greeks. No Latin writer dealing with the subject in question shows Greek influences in a more marked way than Varro does, and the strength of the argument which the German-English school makes in this connection cannot be better illustrated than by giving here his comments.

He is quoted by Sergius (K. IV, p. 525.18 = Sch. III, II*a*) as saying:

> in accentu materia, locus et natura prosodiae brevissime comprehensa sunt. nam materia esse ostenditur vox, et ea quidem qua verba possunt sonare, id est scriptilis; locus autem syllaba, quoniam haec propria verbi pars est, quae recipit accentum. *natura vero prosodiae in eo est quod aut sursum est aut deorsum; nam in vocis altitudine omnino spectatur adeo ut, si omnes syllabae pari fastigio vocis enuntientur, prosodia sit nulla.* scire autem oportet vocem, sicut omne corpus, tres habere distantias: longitudinem, altitudinem, crassitudinem. longitudinem tempore ac syllabis metimur; nam et quantum temporis enuntiandis verbis teratur, et quanto tempore modoque syllabarum unum quodque sit verbum, plurimum refert. *altitudinem discernit accentus cum pars verbi aut in grave deprimitur aut sublimatur in acutum.* crassitudo autem in spiritu est, unde etiam Graeci adspirationem appellant [δασεῖαν et ψιλήν]; nam omnes voces aut aspirando facimus pinguiores aut sine aspiratu pronuntiando tenuiores.

Varro's words here and elsewhere (K. IV, p. 531.10 = Sch. XXXVI; p. 532.16 = Sch. XLVII) are clearly applicable to a musical accent only, and it seems hardly probable that a man of his acumen would have brought over from Greek a characterization of the Latin accent which had no applicability to it, nor does it seem likely that he, of all the Romans, would have failed to appreciate its stress-character, but his remarks about "crassitudo" point to a Greek source, and therefore what he says concerning accent is not entirely free from suspicion. No such suspicion can attach to Cicero's statement in the *Orator* 57. It is so simple and incidental in its character that it cannot be thought of as reflecting the system of any Greek grammarian. It runs as follows:

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est autem etiam in dicendo quidam cantus obscurior . . . . sed ille, quem significat Demosthenes et Aeschines, cum alter alteri obicit vocis flexiones, in quo illud etiam notandum mihi videtur ad studium persequendae suavitatis in vocibus; ipsa enim natura, quasi modularetur hominum orationem, in omni verbo posuit acutam vocem nec una plus nec a postrema syllaba citra tertiam; quo magis naturam ducem ad aurium voluptatem sequatur industria.

In the early part of this passage Cicero, as Lejay correctly observes (*Rev. crit.* XLIII, p. 293), is talking of the sentence-accent in oratory, but at *in quo* he digresses for a moment to speak of the word-accent, whose musical character is clearly indicated by the words *quasi modularetur*. As Lejay remarks, "On ne peut imaginer une description plus claire et en même temps une allusion plus naturelle et plus dégagée de tout esprit de système comme de toute réminiscence d'une doctrine étrangère." In a well-known passage (*Inst. or.* xii. 10. 33) Quintilian is discussing the Latin accent and remarks:

sed accentus quoque cum rigore quodam, tum similitudine ipsa minus suaves habemus, quia ultima syllaba nec acuta unquam excitatur, nec flexa circumducitur, sed in gravem vel duas graves ⟨vox⟩ cadit semper itaque tanto est sermo Graecus Latino iucundior, ut nostri poetae, quotiens dulce carmen esse voluerunt, illorum id nominibus exornent.

If in using the word *rigor* Quintilian had had in mind the harsh effect of a stress, as compared with a pitch-accent, an interpretation of the word which some people give, he would have employed, as Lejay observes, some such term as *asperitas* or *impetus*. He has been talking of the incidence of the accent in Latin, and *rigor* aptly indicates the inflexibility of the laws which govern it—an inflexibility which results in monotony, *similitudo*.[1] If this interpretation is correct, another significant thing about the passage is the fact that Quintilian, while telling us how the Greek and Latin accents differed, so far as the laws governing their fall is concerned, says nothing of any difference in their quality, a difference far more distinctive, had it existed, than the one which he notes.

We have looked at the testimony of the grammarians. Let us now examine briefly such phenomena of Latin and the cognate

[1] Radford (*A. J. P.* XXV, p. 265 n.) understands rigore in the sense of "(comparative) inflexibility (of pitch)."

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languages as throw light upon the nature of the Latin accent. Among these facts three important points go to support the pitch-theory. These are: (1) the fact that the Indo-European accent was presumably musical, at least in the last period of the parent-speech, as in the earliest Greek and Sanskrit; (2) the treatment of quantity and word-accent in classical poetry; and (3) the presence of the ictus-stress in verse. The first point lends little support to this theory, unless with Pedersen (*Kuhn's Zeit.* XXXVIII, pp. 338 f.; XXXIX, pp. 232 f.) we deny the existence of a prehistoric stress-accent. The uniform preservation of long vowels in classical poetry, however, must be taken into consideration. While we are not justified in asserting that the coexistence of a stress-accent and long unaccented vowels is impossible or without parallel, it is nevertheless true that in modern languages, like English, German, French, and Modern Greek, the stress-accent has led to the disappearance of quantitative differences in the unaccented vowels. Even on the assumption that the stress-element in the Latin accent was a slight one and that professional literary men made a conscious effort to preserve the purity of the language, the fixed character of the vowel quantities and their strict observance in the poets is difficult to explain. In classical poetry the existence of the word- (or sentence-) accent and the verse-ictus side by side raises another perplexing question, if the accent was mainly a stress. Some of those who hold the stress-theory believe that the word-accent was not heard in verse, or, what amounts to the same thing, that it was not heard when it failed to coincide with the verse-ictus; others, that it was heard, but that a certain degree of harmony between them was aimed at, while still others maintain that words had their usual prose-accent in poetry, but that no attempt was made by the poets to bring about a coincidence of the accent and the ictus on the same syllable. This difficulty disappears if the word-accent was primarily a pitch.

If we turn now to the stress-theory we find only four Latin grammarians, all of them belonging to the fifth or sixth century A. D., referring to the stress element in the accent, but the facts of the language lend a strong support to this view of the case, and it is clear that if the changes which the Latin language underwent

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presuppose a stress-accent, no statements made by Latin writers can stand against this evidence. Almost all scholars, even those who maintain the pitch theory,[1] believe that the Latin language in the prehistoric period had an initial stress-accent. The Romance languages have a stress-accent. Consequently, to hold that the accent of the classical period was primarily musical makes it necessary for us to assume a change from stress to pitch and back to stress again. Furthermore, the change in the incidence of the accent from the earlier to the later period can be easily understood under the stress-theory, because it would mean nothing more than "a usurpation by the secondary accent of the prominence of the main accent" (cf. Lindsay *Lat. Lang.*, p. 159), as can readily be seen in the case of such words as *sápiéntia*, *sàpiéntia* or *témpestátibus*, *tèmpestátibus*.[2]

But the evidence which the Latin language furnishes that the accent was primarily one of stress is found in the historic, as well as in the prehistoric, period. It consists mainly in vowel-shortening, especially in the iambic combination, in the reduction of vowels, e. g., *sinatus* for *senatus* (*App. Probi* IV. 198 K.) and in such cases of syncope as *vernaclus* (*loc. cit.*, p. 197). The facts have been brought together in a convenient form by Lindsay, Sommer, and Stolz, and need not be repeated here. Pedersen, it is true, maintains (*Kuhn's Zeit.* XXXIX, pp. 232 ff.), in speaking of vowel-reduction, that "es ist sofort klar, dass fast alles, was man als zeugnis für einen intensitäts-akzent des Lateinischen angeführt hat, im gegentheil für die musikalische art der betonung spricht," but as Ahlberg acutely observes (*Studia de accentu Latino*, p. 13) the musically accented Greek language does not show the vowel changes which we observe in Latin. Whatever may be thought of Vendryes' brilliant explanation of syncope and vowel-reduction, vowel-shortening in Plautus presents a problem which he has not been able to solve.

[1] Cf. Vendryes, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les effets de l'intensité initiale*, pp. 41, 42.

[2] Vendryes believes (*op. cit.*, p. 100) that in the prehistoric period a word had both the initial stress-accent and the pitch, inherited from Indo-European, that stress and quantity being brought into conflict, the stress-accent disappeared, but as Solmsen remarks (*Ar. f. lat. Lex.* XIII, p. 137), "es hält schwer, sich vorzustellen, dass eine sehr intensive Betonung der ersten Silbe völlig aufgegeben worden sei zu Gunsten einer Betonung anderer Silben, der keine Spur von Intensität innegewohnt habe."

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This brief résumé of the evidence has, I hope, brought out the fact that each of our current views concerning the Latin accent is highly unsatisfactory, if not quite untenable, and that some *via media* must be sought. The solution may be found, I think, in the theory that in the *sermo plebeius* the accent was primarily a stress from the earliest period to the latest, but that in the literary language during the classical period the stress-element became secondary to the pitch. To this conclusion both the statements of the grammarians and the facts of the language point.

Let us examine the theory just mentioned in the light of these two classes of evidence, taking up first the direct evidence coming from the grammarians. It is a noticeable thing that Latin writers are mainly interested in formal literature,[1] and that when the grammarians discuss the Latin language they have in mind not the speech of everyday life,[2] but the form which it takes in literature; and when they speak of an inflectional form, an idiom, a syntactical construction, or a matter of pronunciation, instead of coining a phrase, or borrowing one from ordinary speech for the purpose in hand, they quote from a writer of prose or of verse.[3] This is equally true of their remarks concerning the accent, as could be shown by many illustrations. One or two will suffice. Thus Quintilian says (*Inst. or.* i. 5. 27):

nam cum dico *circum litora*, tamquam unum enuntio dissimulata distinctione, itaque tamquam in una voce una est acuta, quod idem accidit in illo "Troiae qui primus ab oris."

[1] This contempt for the more popular forms of light literature is well illustrated by the failure of Tacitus to mention the *Satirae* of Petronius when he summarizes the life of Petronius (*Ann.* xvi. 18). In fact there is no reference to Petronius' novel before the fourth century A. D.

[2] Those grammarians who, like Probus in his *Appendix* or Consentius, mention vulgar words or phrases do so only to warn their readers against using them. None of them shows either a scientific or a curious interest in any usage but that of formal literature. Cf. also on the practices of the grammarians in such matters Consentius V. 391. 16 f. K.

[3] When Zielinski ("Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden," *Phil.*, Suppl. Bd. IX), in attempting to prove that the fall of the accent in ordinary speech differed from that in literature, is forced to assume (pp. 829 f.) that the grammarians in this matter are giving rules for the sermo cotidianus and not for the sermo urbanus, he makes an assumption which those who are familiar with the practices of the grammarians can scarcely accept.

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Priscian similarly illustrates a statement about the accent of certain interrogative and relative words by citations from the poets (XV. 30, p. 83, 11 H = Sch. CXXXVII*h*):

ubi quod interrogativum paenultimam acuit, ut si dicam *úbi est Pamphilus?* relativum gravatur, ut Vergilius in I Aeneidos: *saevus ubì Aeacidae telo iacit Hector, ubì ingens Sarpedon, ubì tot Simois correpta sub undis*, quomodo et *unde*, ut Horatius in II sermonum *únde et quo Catius?* interrogativum acutum paenultimum habet, relativum gravatur; Vergilius in I *genus unde Latinum.*

We have seen that in their comments the grammarians always have literary Latin in mind. Consequently, their description of the Latin accent as one of pitch is a description of the accent in the literary form of speech, and if the literary and vulgar accent differed from each other, these writers do not help us to understand the nature of the vulgar accent, because they do not concern themselves with the *sermo plebeius.* The facts of the Latin language, with two exceptions already noted (p. 449), indicate the prominence of the stress-element in the accent. These exceptions are the strict observance of quantity and the existence of the word-accent and the ictus side by side in verse. In the case of both these exceptions it is significant that we are dealing with formal literature again, and with the assumption of a pitch-accent in literary Latin both difficulties disappear.

The other cases in which the language was modified by the word-accent, as we have already noticed, are those of iambic shortening, of vowel-reduction, and of syncope. All of these changes point to a stress-accent, and it is noteworthy that all of them are characteristic of, if not peculiar to, popular Latin. The reduction of an iambus to a pyrrhic under the operation of the law of *brevis brevians*, so far as professional poetry is concerned, is practically restricted to the early dramatic poetry which reflects the pronunciation of ordinary speech. In the hexameter, and in all the other verses used by professional poets outside the drama from the time of Ennius on, the shortening occurs in two well-defined situations only, viz.: (1) in the case of words like *bene*, *male*, *modo*, and *puta*, which formed the small change of conversation, where the short quantity of the final vowel had become

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permanently fixed; or, (2) where poets, as Lindsay puts it (*Captivi*, p. 32), "give us a glimpse of the real everyday pronunciation by their occasional departures from the rules of classical poetry." Instances in point are *abĕst*, Lucil. 9. 29 M.; *vetŏ*, Hor. *S.* i. 1. 104, and *rogās*, Pers. 5. 134. Amateurs strove to follow the rules of conventional verse in their productions, but, in spite of their efforts, the influence of the stress-accent of everyday speech made itself felt even in their hexameters.[1] Vowel-reduction (or reduction in the quantity of a syllable) and syncope are just as clearly confined to the *sermo plebeius*. In his *Latin Language*, pp. 157 ff., Lindsay has given a list of the words which have undergone one or the other of these two changes under the influence of the accent. An examination of these words shows that they fall in one of three categories. Either the change took place during the period when the law of initial stress prevailed, or in the preliterary period under the three-syllable law (this conclusion follows from the fact that the strong form does not appear in literature), or else, if the weakened form occurs in literature, it is confined to vulgar Latin. In the first group belong, for instance, *efficio* and *biennis;* in the second, *curulis* (from **currūlis*), and perhaps *lavare* (cf. **lovāre*), and in the third, such forms as *noem*(*bres*), *CIL.* I. 831, *pinaria*, *Caper* VII. 93. 100 K., and *solia App. Probi* IV. 198 K. So far as I am aware, there is not a single case where both a strong and a weak form of a word have been attested for formal literature of the classical period. This seems a remarkable state of affairs if the accent in literary Latin was primarily a stress. In contrast to literary Latin the weakening of the posttonic, and even of the pretonic, vowel in vulgar Latin during the period of the three-syllable law was very common, as one sees from such forms in the Pompeian graffiti as *adias*, *habias*, *periat*, and from *baltius*, *brattia*, *calcius*, *cavia*, *lancia*, *lintium*, *tinia*, *vinia*, *citera*, and *sinatus*, against which Probus warns his readers (*App. Probi* IV. 198 K).[2] In the very thorough discussion of syncope which he has given in

[1] Cf. Bücheler *Carm. Ep.*, no. 331, and Seitz *Ueber die Prosodik d. Carm. Ep.*

[2] Other cases occurring during the early centuries of our era may be seen in the notes to the *App. Probi*, by Heraeus (*Ar. f. lat. Lex.* XI, pp. 302 ff.), by Förster (*Wiener Stud.* XIV, pp. 294 ff.), and by Ullmann *Roman. Forsch.* VII, pp. 188, 189. Cf. also Schuchardt *Vokalismus* I, pp. 424, 442, Seelmann, pp. 236, 237, and Carnoy *Le Latin d'Espagne d'après les inscriptions*, p. 39.

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Bezz. Beitr. XXVI, pp. 188 ff. ("Zur Geschichte der lat. Vocalsynkope"), Ciardi-Dupré has shown (p. 199) that "wenn synkopierte u. nichtsynkopierte formen nebeneinander stehen, letztere überhaupt der hochsprache, erstere der umgangs-bezw. der volkssprache angehören." This conclusion, which he reaches from an examination of the use of syncopated and unsyncopated forms of the same word, he finds confirmed by the sentiment which Quintilian attributes (*Inst. or.* i. 6. 19) to Augustus: sed Augustus quoque in epistolis ad C. Caesarem scriptis emendat, quod is *calidum* dicere quam *caldum*[1] malit, non quia id non sit Latinum, sed quia odiosum sit et, ut ipse Graeco verbo significavit, *περίεργον*. Evidently in the time of Augustus *calidus* was an archaic form to be avoided in ordinary speech. The frequency with which syncopated forms were used in popular speech is illustrated by the practice of the illiterate freedmen in Petronius (cf., e. g., *bublum* 44, *peduclum* 57, *ridiclei* 57, *offla* 56, 58, *caldicerebrius* 45, *cardeles* 46), by the occurrence in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* of such forms as *caldare* (p. 116. 6, ed. Oder), *coplare* (75. 25), *criblare* (49. 6), *excaliglare* (228. 27), *oclamen* (200. 26), and *soldare* (209. 21), and by the long list of objectionable words of this class which Probus quotes (IV. 197 f. K.): *anglus*, *articlus*, *baclus*, *baplo*, *capiclum*, *facla*, *iuglus*, *iuvenclus*, *masclus*, *oclus*, *oricla*, *nepticla*, *speclum*, *stablum*, *tabla*, *tribla*, *veclus*, *vernaclus*, *viclus*, *frigda*, *virdis*, *calda*.[2] Perhaps an indication of the strong stress-character of the vulgar accent may be seen in the assimilation of the unaccented to the accented vowels in such forms as *percolopo* (Petr. 44), *pataris* (*CIL.* VI. 2060. 12), and *toloneum*, *passar*, and *ansar* (*App. Probi;* cf. Ullmann *Rom. Forsch.* 8. 191).[3]

[1] Upon words of this type in colloquial passages in Horace, cf. Fritzsche to *Sat.* i. 2. 113.

[2] Many other syncopated forms may be found in popular literature and in the vulgar inscriptions of all periods of the language; cf. Lindsay *Lat. Lang.*, pp. 170 ff., Stolz *Hist. Gram.*, pp. 202 ff.; Schuchardt *Vokal.* II, pp. 394 ff.; Pirson *La langue des inscriptions latines de la Gaule*, pp. 48 ff. So far as our point is concerned it makes little difference whether we explain syncope on the Rédetempo theory of Osthoff (cf. *Ar. f. lat. Lex.* IV, p. 464), or find its chief cause in the nature of the surrounding consonants with Ciardi-Dupré, or adopt the view of Exon (*Hermathena*, No. 32, pp. 117–43). Whichever theory is held, the phenomenon is characteristic of colloquial Latin (cf. Skutsch *Forsch. z. lat. Gramm. u. Metrik.* I, p. 47).

[3] Some years ago (in *A.J.P.* XIX, p. 89) in commenting upon Cicero's remark that, in versu quidem theatra tota exclamant, si fuit una syllaba aut brevior aut longior (*Or.*

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To the theory which has been suggested in the foregoing pages that in the late republic and the early empire the literary accent was mainly one of pitch and the vulgar accent essentially a matter of stress two objections will occur to the reader at once. How can the development of the two forms of speech along different lines in this respect be explained, and is it probable that the two accents could exist side by side? A reasonable answer to the first question can be found in the circumstances in which Roman literature developed. In the third century B. C., when Livius Andronicus began his translation of the *Odyssey*, the Latin language had never been used in formal literature, and the difficulties which he found in making it a literary vehicle are clearly enough indicated in his verses. But he and almost all his immediate successors were of Greek extraction or came from a Greek-speaking section of Italy. They possessed the great advantage, therefore, of having a highly perfected model after which to fashion this unliterary tongue, and in making the great changes in Latin which Livius and his successors, notably Ennius, found it necessary to make and did make, they were aiming constantly to imitate literary Greek. This fact comes out not only in their poetical productions, but in the well-known grammatical activity of such men as Ennius, Accius, and Lucilius[1]. Lucilius shows the prevailing tendency by even intro-

173), I called attention to the fact that Cicero's seat in the theater was among the knights and senators whose trained ears would note a false quantity at once. Their cries of disapproval would of course be taken up by the masses behind them, who would be anxious to show their familiarity with correct usage. On a priori grounds Cicero's statement seemed to me at that time highly improbable, viz., that the common people with a strong stress-accent in their pronunciation, who used such forms as masclus and virdis, should always preserve the long quantity of their unaccented vowels, or should detect at once a false quantity. My former interpretation of his remark seems now to be confirmed directly by the instances of false quantity to be found in popular poetry (cf. Seitz *op. cit.*, p. 18). All of the cases of false quantity cited by Seitz are not in point here, of course, because some of the versifiers who knew their quantities probably found difficulty in managing them in verse, and iambic shortening will account for some instances, but a fair residuum of cases not explicable in these ways still remains. So far as quantity in popular speech is concerned, Lindsay even suggests (*Lat. Lang.*, p. 128), that there was "a period of vulgar Latin when all vowels were equally short or half long, and when the only predominance of one vowel over another would be that conferred by the stress of accentuation;" cf. Böhmer "Klang nicht Dauer," *Rom. Stud.* III, pp. 351 ff., 609 ff.; IV, pp. 336 ff.), and Kretschmer on the vulgar pronunciation of Greek (*Kuhn's Zeit.* XXX, pp. 591 ff.).

[1] Draheim, "Ueber den Einfluss d. griech. Metrik auf. d. lat. Sprache," *Woch. f. class. Phil.* XIX, col. 1210 ff., thinks that even the substitution of the antepenultimate

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ducing Greek words freely into his verses. The fact should also be borne in mind that much of the literature of the early period was translated or adapted from Greek. The writers of a later date maintained the attitude which their predecessors had taken toward Greek literature and the Greek language. At the beginning then and during the early centuries of its use as a literary tongue Latin was modeled as closely as possible after Greek. It became a hybrid product, so far as its use in literature was concerned. The direct influence of Greek was not limited to professional literary men. Those who belonged to the upper classes were taught by Greek teachers and learned to speak Greek. With these facts in mind, and, knowing as we do, the great changes which formal Latin underwent in the two centuries and a half preceding the birth of Christ, we may readily believe that cultivated men in their use of Latin consciously or unconsciously imitated Greek usage in the matter of accent, as they did in other respects, and that, consequently, the pitch-element in their accent gained at the expense of the stress. Even without such an active external influence as that which was at work upon formal Latin the stress-element in languages has been known to diminish. French, for instance, is much more lightly stressed today than it was at one time (cf. Lindsay *Lat. Lang.*, p. 157), while on the other hand the difference between the pitch of syllables in it is noticeable. Even individuals who speak a stressed language find no special difficulty in acquiring the pitch-accent of another language, or in materially modifying the nature of the accent which they use in their own tongue, if they take up their residence among a people who have a somewhat different accent from that to which they have been accustomed.[1] The history of the Latin accent

for the initial law of accent was due to Greek influence. The rules of incidence which prevailed after the introduction of the three-syllable law, as compared with the old ones, show two characteristic features: (1) the accent may not go farther back than the antepenult, which is the principle in Greek also, and (2) quantity is a determining element, as it is in fixing the position of the Greek accent. In the case of Greek the quantity of the ultima is taken into consideration, for which syllable the penult had to be substituted in Latin on account of the variable quantity of many final syllables in the latter language.

[1] The pitch-accent in Swedish is acquired by an English-speaking person without difficulty, and Americans who live in England come to speak with the more marked pitch-accent of the word and sentence which characterizes British, as compared with American, English.

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before our era is now clear. In most languages the accent combines the two elements of pitch and stress. This was undoubtedly true of Latin in the preliterary period, although the stress, lighter than that in English, was the more noticeable element. After the appearance of literature stress continued to be the predominant characteristic of the accent of the common people, but in formal Latin, largely in consequence of Greek influence, the pitch-element gained in importance and became the main feature of the accent.

This brings us to the second difficulty: Can we think of a literary accent in which the pitch had developed at the expense of the stress existing by the side of a vulgar accent which was primarily a stress? When we bear in mind the great differences in pronunciation, vocabulary, and phraseology which are to be found between the Latin of the freedmen in Petronius and the Latin of Cicero or Quintilian, and when we recall the statements which the Romans themselves made concerning the vulgar tongue,[1] we can readily believe that vulgar Latin and formal Latin were distinguished from each other in the character of their accents, and can answer the question suggested in the affirmative.[2] Kretschmer's study of the papyri and inscriptions of the second century B. C. (*Kuhn's Zeit.* XXX, pp. 591 ff.) has brought out as marked

[1] Quintilian, for instance, says (*Inst. or.* i. 6. 45): in loquendo, non si quid vitiose multis insederit, pro regula sermonis accipiendum erit. nam ut transeam, quemadmodum vulgo imperiti loquantur; tota saepe theatra et omnem circi turbam exclamasse barbare scimus. Cf. also *ibid.* i. 3. 10; x. 1. 9; xii. 10. 43; Cic. *Brut.* 242; Petron. 118; Sen. *Controv.* vii praef.; Gellius, i. 22. 2; *App. Probi;* Caper and Consentius *passim.*

[2] Radford in an interesting remark in the *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXV (1904), pp. 59, 60 seems to have such a difference in mind when he says, "It is probable, then, that the limits of variable pronunciation have been sufficiently great in Latin to admit the existence of two distinct forms of pronunciation: (1) a formal and dignified pronunciation which is strictly quantitative, and which in its extreme form—the *μέση κίνησις*—usually possesses no appreciable stress-accent; (2) an easy and colloquial pronunciation, in which a weak stress-accent is developed at the expense of quantity." Something akin to this seems to be suggested by Solmsen, although I am not sure that I have caught his meaning, when in reviewing Vendryes' book he remarks (*Ar. f. lat. Lex.* XIII, p. 138): "Beim quantitierenden Versbau aber fragt sich eben doch, ob nicht mit ihm dem Latein ein seinem eigenen Betonungscharakter nicht wirklich adäquates Prinzip ganz äusserlich nach griechischen Muster aufgezwungen worden ist." Similarly Bennett, who holds to the stress theory of the accent, finds a diminution in its intensity in the historical period (*Lat. Gram. App.*, p. 71), and attributes it to the encroachments of the quantitative principle. Exon (*Hermathena*, No. 28 [1903], p. 504) in looking at the structure of classical Latin poetry from another point of view goes so far as to say: "Perhaps, then, to an ancient poet it may have been a boon to be able to strip a word at once of its work-a-day air by chanting it to another and a stronger cadence."

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a difference of another sort between the pronunciation of formal Greek and vulgar Greek for the period mentioned as we have assumed for Latin during the classical period. He finds such forms in the people's tongue as ὄντος, ὅπως, βοός, ὄνομα, ἀνδρεί, πρόσοπον, ἔδοκα, μεθοπορινός, φιλοφρόνος.

It is true that the masses in listening to one of Cicero's orations from the rostra would notice differences between his manner of speech and theirs, but they would have no difficulty in understanding him, and his use of the pitch-accent, instead of prejudicing them against him, would win respect for him as a representative of the chosen class.[1]

It may not be out of place to restate briefly here the theory which has been suggested in the foregoing pages and the evidence which has been offered in support of it. The main accent in the prehistoric period was one of stress and fell upon the initial syllable, with a secondary stress-accent upon one of the following syllables. Before literature begins the main initial stress became secondary in most words, and the primary stress fell on the penult or antepenult, as the case might be. In popular Latin the accent always continued to be one primarily of stress. Such facts of the language as iambic shortening, vowel-weakening, the reduction in the quantity of syllables, and syncope, as well as the nature of the accent in the Romance languages all point to this conclusion. In formal Latin, however, the phenomena just mentioned do not occur. On the contrary the careful observance of quantity in verse, and the presence of the ictus-stress harmonize far better with the assumption that the accent was a pitch than with the theory that it was a stress. Furthermore, Latin writers without exception in numerous passages from the first century B. C. to the fifth or sixth century A. D. in describing their accent speak of it as one of pitch. This evidence cannot be explained away on the assumption that these writers were blindly imposing upon the Latin language a Greek doctrine which did not conform to the facts, because among them are such men as Cicero and Quintilian, because some of their statements are made in quite an incidental

[1] It would be quite possible for Cicero to modify his accent slightly in addressing the people, just as he makes his vocabulary and his phrases suit the topics which he discusses and the people whom he addresses in his letters.

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way, and because they give rules for the incidence of the circumflex and acute accents which find no counterpart in Greek. Now when the grammarians discuss Latin they invariably have literary usage in mind, so that when they describe the Latin accent as one of pitch they are speaking of literary Latin. The development of the pitch-element in the literary accent is a natural result of the imitation of Greek, under whose predominating influence Latin literature and literary Latin developed. The difference which resulted in this way between popular Latin and formal Latin is no greater than the differences in vocabulary, syntax, and phraseology which we know existed between these two forms of speech, and is paralleled not only in modern times, but by the conditions in Greek just before the beginning of our era.

It remains for us to fix the date, if possible, when the accent in literary Latin became primarily one of stress again. We may say at once that this point was reached when popular Latin supplanted formal Latin in literature. Grōber has shown (*Ar. f. lat. Lex.* I, pp. 35 ff.) that literary Latin may be said to come to an end in the sixth century,[1] although the date varies somewhat for different parts of the Roman world. As early, however, as the close of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century we find clear evidence in the verses of Prudentius of the prominence of the stress element. It comes out in the quantitative treatment of such Greek words as *ĕrĕmus* = *ἔρημος* (*Cathem.* 5. 89; *Psych.* 371), *ĭdŏlum* = *εἴδωλον* (*Adv. Symm.* 2. 48; cf. Sedul. 5. 146; Iuvenc. *in Exod.* 813), *phrĕnĕsis* = *φρένησις* (Prud. *Hamart.* 125). In these cases, and in others which might be cited, the retention of the accent in the transcribed Latin form on the syllable on which it fell in Greek led to the shortening of the post-tonic vowel, a change which points to the stress-nature of the Latin accent.[2] The deviation from classical standards is noticeable in Christian prose of this period also (cf. Hieronymus *Ad Psalm.* 138. 20), and in the language of the cultivated, as one may infer from the remark of St. Augustine (*De doctr. Chr.* iii. 3):

[1] For Gaul compare the confession which Gregory of Tours makes (*De glor. confess.*, praef., p. 747. 24) of his lack of acquaintance with formal usage.

[2] Unless one believes that the stress-element in the Greek accent had by this time developed to such an extent as to shorten the vowels in these Greek words as commonly spoken.

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tanta est vis consuetudinis etiam ad discendum ut qui Scripturis sanctis quodammodo nutriti educatique sunt, magis alias locutiones mirentur easque minus Latinas putent, quam illas quas in Scripturis didicerunt, neque in Latinae linguae auctoribus reperiuntur.

In the light of these facts we can understand the statements made concerning the accent by Diomedes and Servius at the close of the fourth century and by Cledonius and Pompeius in the latter half of the fifth century. Other Latin writers, without exception, as we have already observed (pp. 446 f.), speak of the Latin accent as a pitch. These four grammarians of a late date indicate the presence of a stress-element in it. Diomedes remarks (K. I. 430. 29 = Sch. X): accentus est acutus vel gravis vel inflexa elatio orationis vocisve intentio vel inclinatio acuto aut inflexo sono regens verba. To him the accent is not only *elatio* with its three types, *acutus*, *gravis*, and *inflexa*, but it is also *intentio*. In other words he notices the stress as well as the pitch. Pompeius[1] at the close of the next century indicates the presence of the stress-element a little more clearly, for he says (K. V. 128. 31 = Sch. XI, LV *b*), ergo illa syllaba, quae accentum habet, plus sonat, quasi ipsa habet maiorem potestatem; but he too is not very positive, for, to help those who have difficulty in locating the accent, he goes on to remark: ut puta fiuge tibi aliquem illo loco contra stare et clama ad ipsum; cum coeperis clamare, naturalis ratio exigit, ut unam syllabam plus dicas a reliquis illius verbi, et quam videris plus sonare a ceteris, ipsa habet accentum. ut puta si dicas *orator*, quae plus sonat? *ra;* ipsa habet accentum.[2] These passages show a change in the nature of the literary accent, and the date which they suggest for that change harmonizes with the approximate date which Gröber has fixed on other grounds for the disappearance of formal Latin.

[1] For the statements of Servius and Cledonius, cf. K. IV. 426. 16 = Sch. LV *a*, and K. V. 31. 30 = Sch. XXVI *c*.

[2] I am at a loss to understand how those who think that Cicero, Quintilian, and the earlier grammarians have slavishly followed writers on Greek accent, account for the descriptions given by these four grammarians. Is it probable that Diomedes and Pompeius were more observant and freer from the shackles of tradition than any of their predecessors? Why have they failed to repeat the statements of their predecessors? Some one has said, in a passage which I cannot now locate, that these four men were of the people and, consequently (I suppose the inference would be), unfamiliar with the teachings of the grammarians, but anyone who reads their works or compares them with other grammarians will be little inclined to accept this explanation.

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

LUCRETIANA

I venture to advance a grammatical interpretation of two passages of Lucretius, with the preliminary acknowledgment that my control of the Lucretius literature is very inadequate, including only the commentaries of Lachmann, Munro (translation also), and Giussani.

i. 885 ff.: consimili ratione herbas quoque saepe decebat
et latices dulcis guttas similique sapore
mittere, lanigerae quali sunt ubere lactis,—

Leaving aside the question whether *latices* be corrected to *laticis* or *salices*, or else retained, I would retain *quali—ubere* as the *lectio difficilior*. Munro's interpretation of these words as equal to *quali sapore uberis* seems to me unexceptionable. For the pleonastic ("rich") comparative type, I cite, in addition to Munro's pretty example, viz.: Prop. i. 2. 21 *facies* aderat. . . . qualis . . . . est *color*, Plautus, *Mil.* 664: *leniorem* dices quam *mutumst* mare, contrasted with an example like *Most.* 751, tam *liquidust* quam *liquida* essetempestas solet; cf. further Lucr. i. 972 where, in the disjunctive question utrum *mauis* . . . . an *censes*, censes is pleonastic.

For the subject of sunt I supply, with Brieger (cited by Giussani), guttae and, differing from any other explanation known to me, I would make *lanigerae* a dative of possession. I cannot think Brieger's construction of *ubere* = *in ubere* is correct.

I interpret the passage from guttas on as follows: "to emit sweet drops, and savored as are milk-teat ⟨savored⟩ the drops ⟨of milk⟩ the ewe gives."

i. 960 ff. extremum porro nullius posse uidetur
esse, nisi ultra sit quod finiat: ut uideatur
quo non longius haec sensus natura sequatur.
. . . . . .
(998) 984 postremo ante oculos res rem finire uidetur:
aer dissaepit collis atque aera montes,
terra mare et contra mare terras terminet omnis;
omne quidem uero nil est quod finiat extra.

Of my authorities only Munro makes a note on *ut uideatur* (961), which he takes as consecutive, but I am unable to extract a satisfactory meaning from the sentence as he renders it. I propose to take *ut* as concessive, an interpretation to which I am prompted by 984 ff. The

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chiastic arrangement of the two passages is very clear. In the first *extremum . . . . finiat* (A) balances the last line of the second (A′); while *ut uideatur . . . . sequatur* (B) corresponds with lines 984–87 (B′).

Accordingly, taking *haec sensus natura* as "our natural vision," the passage results as follows:

> Further, an end of nothing seems able
> To be, unless beyond there be something to bound it; though there seem
> A point beyond which our natural vision does not reach.
> . . . . . .
> In fine, before our eyes (= natural vision) object seems to bound object;
> Air disparts the hills, and mountains the air;
> Earth the sea, and again the sea bounds all the lands;
> Yet truly is there nothing to bound the universe beyond.

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ΣΤΑΜΝΙΟΥ IN ARISTOPHANES *FROGS* 22

εἶτ' οὐχ ὕβρις ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ πολλὴ τρυφή,
ὅτ' ἐγὼ μὲν ὢν Διόνυσος, υἱὸς Σταμνίου,
αὐτὸς βαδίζω καὶ πονῶ, τοῦτον δ' ὀχῶ,
ἵνα μὴ ταλαιπωροῖτο μηδ' ἄχθος φέροι;

Σταμνίου is the genitive case of the *character* name Σταμνίας, 'Old Wine-bag,' 'Beer-barrel,' 'Altes Weinfass.' Compare Καπνίας in a similar context in *Wasps* 151:

ἀτὰρ ἆθλιός γ' εἰμ' ὡς ἕτερος οὐδεὶς ἀνήρ,
ὅστις πατρὸς νῦν Καπνίου κεκλήσομαι.

It is not the common noun σταμνίον, 'wine-jar,' used as a proper name, as Kock ("Fasses Sohn"), Van Leeuwen ("urcei proles"), and Liddell and Scott indicate, though the editors hint at the truth when they compare Λαγυνίων in Ath. 584 *f*. Add Κοτύλων. The great fondness of the Greeks for nicknames is well-known. When some mental, moral, or physical peculiarity of a man was prominent, they were always ready to make up a nickname for him by adding to the word which denoted this peculiarity one of the name-forming suffixes -ων, -ίων, -ίας, κ.τ.λ. that were used in the shortened forms of proper names, in order to give it the appearance of a real name. Compare γάστρων in *Frogs* 200. Such names are not the same as diminutives: a diminutive differs little from its primitive in meaning, but a character name is applied to a *person* who is characterized by the thing which the primitive expresses.

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MONS AND COLLIS

The distinction between *mons* and *collis*, as applied to the hills of Rome, is well known. The *montes*—Aventinus, Palatinus, Capitolinus, Caelius, Esquilinus, including Oppius and Cispius—were sharply distinguished from the hill on the northeast side of the city. This seems to have been called simply *collis* at first, and the adjectives Viminalis, Quirinalis, Salutaris, Mucialis, Latiaris, were afterward employed to denote its different parts. Books of reference state that this distinction was regularly observed, or at least no exceptions are noted. Compare Orelli *Onomasticon* II, p. 506: proprie dicimus collem Quirinalem, collem Viminalem; contra montem Esquilinum, Palatinum, Aventinum, Caelium, Oppium; Gilbert *Topographie* I, p. 271; Jordan *Topographie* I. i, p. 179. Professor Tracy Peck has called my attention to three passages that seem at first sight to be exceptions to this rule, and there are a few others which may possibly be cited as evidence that *collis* and *mons* were sometimes interchangeable. These passages are the following:

(1) Cicero *De rep.* ii. 11: ex omni parte arduis praeruptisque montibus (urbis) ut unus aditus qui esset inter Esquilinum Quirinalemque montem.

(2) Florus i. 7 (13). 16: Fabium . . . . ab area dimisit qui sollemne sacrum in Quirinali monte conficeret.

(3) Eutropius i. 7 (6): hic (Servius Tullius) quoque Sabinos subegit, montes tres Quirinalem Viminalem Esquilinum urbi adiecit.

(4) Claud. *De bell. Gild.* 117, 118:

> tuque (Cybebe) o si sponte peraltum
> vecta Palatinis mutasti collibus Idam.

(5) *Id. De sext. cons. Hon.* 39–41:

> non alium certe decuit rectoribus orbis
> esse larem, nulloque magis se colle potestas
> aestimat et summi sentit fastigia iuris.

(6) *Id. ibid.* 535, 536:

> erexit subitas turres cunctosque coegit
> septem continuo colles iuvenescere muro.

(7) *Id. ibid.* 543, 544:

> omne Palatino quod pons a colle recedit
> Mulvius.

These passages fall naturally into three groups, the first including (1) and (3). In (1) *montem* is seen at once to be justified by the presence of *montibus* just before, used in a general sense for the hills of Rome, and especially by the coupling of Esquilinum with Quirinalem. *Inter Esquilinum montem collemque Quirinalem* would be both cumbrous and pedantic, while inter *Esquilinum Quirinalemque collem* would be open to the same objection on the score of irregularity as what Cicero actually wrote. One might, to be sure, maintain that *Esquilinum* is here a noun, and that *montem* is not to be understood as belonging to it at all, but it is very doubtful whether *Esquilinus* was ever used without a distinct

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adjectival sense being attached to it, even if *mons* were not expressed. This, however, happened rarely, for *Esquiliae* was the proper substantive form. So in the passage from Eutropius it was the most natural thing in the world to employ the common term *montes* when speaking of three hills, the most important of which in the early period was the Esquiline. Here, too, an amplification like *colles Quirinalem Viminalemque et montem Esquilinum* would be wholly foreign to the style of the *Breviarium*. Neither of these passages contains any definite evidence in support of the theory that in the days of either Cicero or Eutropius *mons* and *collis* had become interchangeable.

The second group comprises (4), (5) and (6), where *collis* is used comprehensively of the hills of the city, but the fact that Claudian chose to write *collis* instead of *mons*, where it was necessary to use one or the other, is no evidence that earlier distinctions were breaking down. *Palatinis collibus* is indeed a striking invention of the poet, in the substitution of *Palatinis* for *urbis* as well as in the use of *collibus*, and for that very reason has no bearing on the question at issue.

There remain the two passages, (2) and (7), of the third group. Florus apparently did write *Quirinali monte*. This is his only mention of the Quirinal, and neither *Viminalis* nor *collis* occurs at all, so that we have no means of knowing whether he substituted *mons* for *collis* regularly or not. Claudian, on the other hand, uses *Palatinus mons* twice, *Palatinus* alone once, and finally *Palatino colle* in the passage cited. This usage, however, may easily be explained as in a sense a development of *Palatinis collibus*. Having once invented this combination, Claudian might easily have felt himself justified in going one step farther and writing *Palatino colle*, which would have appealed to him just because it was a combination so wholly unusual and therefore striking. This particular occurrence of *collis* applied to a *mons*, by a poet at the beginning of the fifth century, can have only infinitesimal value in this discussion.

The Florus passage remains as the only one that can be cited in support of the belief that the Quirinal, and presumably the Viminal, were sometimes called *montes*. It is true that a very little positive outweighs any amount of negative evidence, and it may perhaps be admitted that even Florus would not have written *mons Quirinalis* if he had never heard the expression, but in the face of so many instances of the regular usage and in view of the possibilities of error in transmission, it seems very hazardous to regard an isolated occurrence in a writer of the character and date of Florus as evidence that any exception to the ordinary rule was permitted in good usage. This position is strengthened by the absence, so far as I know, of such exceptions in the inscriptions, where they might naturally be looked for.

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CAESAR *BELLUM GALLICUM* vi. 30. 4

In Vol. I, pp. 290 f. of this journal, Professor Dennison proposed *mortem* for *multum* in Caesar *B. G.* vi. 30. 4. Mr. Dennison thinks that the phrase *et ad subeundum periculum et ad vitandum* lacks balance; he would endow it with balance by substituting *mortem* for *multum*. He advances no paleographic considerations to explain the corruption of *mortem* to *multem;* yet neither in capitals nor in minuscules would *mortem* and *multum* look alike. Further, a phrase so simple as *ad vitandum mortem* no scribe would ever have changed save under the strongest provocation. Mr. Dennison thinks he finds such provocation in the fact that in § 2 we have *multum . . . . potest fortuna.* This argument may easily be made to recoil on his own head. Had *mortem* stood here, would not the scribe have thought of *mortem* six or seven lines above? would he not then have been specially slow to alter *mortem*? But waiving this, I hold that the repetition of *multum* is explainable on another hypothesis, to wit, that it is the work of a master mind, elaborating a chapter in highly artistic, flawless fashion (see below). Mr Dennison's argument, that if we join *multum, plus, minus,* and like adverbial modifiers to *valeo* we weaken the force of the verb itself, need not appeal to us, since such considerations made no appeal to Caesar or other Romans; the Roman writers freely couple such modifiers with both *possum* and *valeo. valeo* does not mean to be powerful, in the sense Mr. Dennison attaches to those words; it means to have strength, the measure of strength requiring definition in each case by *multum, tantum, plus, minus,* etc., as accusatives of extent; or by an infinitive which likewise is in rôle an accusative of extent. Mr. Dennison thinks it highly objectionable to speak of fortune as "quite powerful," or "more powerful," on the ground that such language implies that the full power of fortune is not exerted. Caesar does not seem to have worried over this point, for in this very chapter we have *magno casu* and *magnae fortunae;* we must remember that the Romans did not distinguish *fortuna* and *Fortuna* as sharply as our dictionary-making and commentary-writing habits force us to do. Let us examine now the whole chapter for ourselves. In § 1 we read that Basilus by making forced marches caught the enemy at unawares; they tell him of the whereabouts of Ambiorix, and he hastens toward the place where, say his informants, Ambiorix is.

Caesar now stops to remark, in general terms, *multum cum in omnibus rebus tam in re militari potest fortuna.* This general statement he illustrates by a specific instance, *nam magno accidit casu . . . . texerunt.* This use of a *nam*-clause to illustrate a general assertion is too common to need proof; cf., however, Horace *C.* i. 22. 9; i. 34. 5. This clause falls into two parts (*a*) *magno accidit casu . . . . mortem,* which describes Ambiorix's danger, (*b*) *sed hoc . . . . texerunt,* which describes his escape.

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Mr. Dennison wrongly analyses this *nam*-clause; the words *magno accidit casu . . . . mortem* do indeed contain a reference to the escape of Ambiorix, but after all the dominant thought is that of his peril: note that *mortem*, the last word of this part, repeats the thought of *magno . . . . adferretur*. In this way Caesar makes one thought, that of peril, run from first to last through this part of his illustrative example. Quite naturally the account of Ambiorix's escape from peril takes a little more space than is allotted to the account of his peril. Now, if we were asked to sum up this whole *nam*-clause in terms of a noun, we should use the noun *periculum*. Part (*a*) has to do with peril faced, part (*b*) with peril avoided.

Finally, in *sic . . . . et ad subeundum periculum et ad vitandum multum fortuna valuit* we have a summing-up: "in this marvelous way, alike in the matter of incurring and in the matter of escaping peril, great was fortune's power." What has been said makes it clear why we have but a single noun in the gerundival group; where should that single noun, *periculum*, be placed save between the balanced gerundival phrases? The balance that Mr. Dennison so sorely desiderates is here. Horace's words to Bullatius, *quod petis hic est*, apply. The balanced gerundival phrases correspond exactly, in *anaphoric* arrangement, to the two parts of the *nam . . . . texerunt* description. Further, *multum* here is not feeble. It repeats, as Caesar meant it to repeat, *multum* at the beginning of § 2; so far there is anaphora again. *fortuna valuit* was meant to recall *potest fortuna*, in *chiastic* fashion; there is also artistic variation of the verb.

In conclusion let us take once more a survey of the whole chapter. For four lines we deal with Basilus; we see him on his way to kill or capture Ambiorix. Then Ambiorix becomes the theme. A general account of the tremendous influence that fortune always wields in human affairs and a specific account of the great rôle she played in one case incircle a description of a man's terrible peril and his incredible escape from that peril.

The chapter, then, is not weak at any point; no one but a consummate master of style could have written it. It may serve to remind us that in spite of its apparent simplicity the *Bellum Gallicum* is often highly elaborate and artistic in form.

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SIMIUS ISTE = FANNIUS?

Porphyrio *ad* Hor. *Sat.* i. 10. 18 notes that *simius* is used for *simia*, that the reference is to Demetrius, linked with Hermogenes in 90, and that the poet has chosen this word for Demetrius *propter maciem ac*

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parvitatem corporis. As the word is probably used like *simius* in Seneca *Controvers.* viiii. 3. 12, *Cesti simius est. solebat et Graece dicere*, ὁ πιθηκός μου, and like *simia* in Plin. *Ep.* i. 5, where Arulenus Rusticus is dubbed by Regulus *Stoicorum simia*, with no reference to his appearance (*Vitelliana cicatrice stigmosum*), Porphyrio's explanation *propter maciem*, etc., may probably be regarded as based on his own inferences from the Latin text, or at least representing a tradition of like origin; and it is not impossible that, believing the reference to be to Demetrius, he has confused him with a later and more celebrated namesake, the actor Demetrius, mentioned in Juvenal iii. 99, whose stage mannerisms are described by Quintilian xi. 3. 178–80.

The obvious reason for the reference in *simius* would seem to be the habit of some one who has been thought to sing slavishly after the manner of another, perhaps to ape Hermogenes himself. Now in 79, 80 of this satire, where Horace is replying to the strictures made on his Fourth *Satire* by various *obtrectatores*, Fannius is named in closer relation to Hermogenes than is Demetrius in 90:

> vellicet nosentem Demetrius aut quod *ineptus*
> *Fannius Hermogenis* laedat *conviva Tigelli*?

ineptus conviva implies almost as complete a characterization of tasteless servility as *simius iste doctus cantare* in 18, 19. In fact *conviva*, in order to have point, should connote a continued relation perhaps as constant guest and host, or parasite and patron.

simius is also a metrical equivalent of Fannius and so to those familiar with the intimacy existing between Hermogenes and his *ineptus conviva* would come παρὰ προσδοκίαν. Again, the juxtaposition of the words *Hermogenes* and *simius* may have received point from the association together of the names of two of Socrates' disciples, Hermogenes, speaker in the *Cratylus*, and Simias of Thebes, speaker in the *Phaedo*. They are mentioned together in *Phaed.* 59 *b* and *c* and especially in Xenophon *Mem.* i. 2. 48 (ed. Marchant) in a series of names, καὶ Ἑρμογένης καὶ Σιμίας. Horace like his cultivated contemporaries was familiar with the *libri Socratici* (*Od.* i. 29. 14; iii. 21. 9; *A. P.* 310; *Sat.* ii. 3. 11, 4. 3) and we may have here allusion to some jest of the Roman schoolboy. Lastly, Hermogenes and Fannius are the only persons in *Satire* x who are also named in iv (21 ff. and 71 ff.). Without discussing the details of these allusions in the Fourth *Satire*, let us note the double contrast (1) *vulgo* (*cuiquam*, *ubivis*, *quibuslibet*) over against *amicis* and (2) Hermogenes over against Horace himself. *vulgi Hermogenisque* is perhaps like τῶν περὶ Ἑρμογένην, Hermogenes and his coterie, which would include Fannius, who finger the latest popular literature instead of the Old Comedy.

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NOTE ON ὡς ἁπλῷ λόγῳ AESCHYLUS *PROMETHEUS* 46

In verse 610 there can be no question about the signification of ἁπλῷ λόγῳ. The words λέξω τορῶς in the preceding verse indicate clearly what the poet means. In the words of Isocrates (12. 246) the utterance of Prometheus is to be a λόγος ἁπλοῦς καὶ ῥᾴδιος μαθεῖν, or, as the orator says elsewhere (3. 52), the Titan proposes to tell the afflicted maid all that she desires to learn, ἁπλῶς καὶ φανερῶς (= σαφῶς = τορῶς). There are to be no αἰολοστόμους χρησμοὺς ἀσήμους δυσκρίτως τ' εἰρημένους (661 f.), no dark sayings and interweavings of riddles (610). What he is about to narrate is to be an ἐναργὴς βάξις (663). In other words, he proposes to unfold his tale in simple speech (ἁπλοῦς = *simplex*); cf. Isocrates 4. 173 ἔστι δ' ἁπλοῦς καὶ ῥᾴδιος ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τούτων, 15. 9 οὐδὲ ῥᾴδιος ἦν οὐδ' ἁπλοῦς ἀλλὰ πολλὴν ἔχων πραγματείαν . . . . καὶ πάσας (*sc.* ἰδέας) ποιῆσαι σφίσιν αὐταῖς ὁμολογουμένας οὐ πάνυ μικρὸν ἦν ἔργον.

But in verse 46 we have a different story to tell. Neither substantive nor modifier has the same meaning as in 610—λόγος is not *oratio*, ἁπλοῦς is not *simplex*, in spite of Paley and Allen-Wecklein (who translate *plainly*), Blomfield (*ut vera dicam*), and Bevan (*to plain thinking*). ὡς ἁπλῷ λόγῳ means simply *speaking generally*, in contradistinction to καθ' ἕκαστον (going into details). Indeed, we could find no better commentary on this misinterpreted passage of the *Prometheus* than Isocrates *Panegyricus* 154: ὡς δ' ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν καὶ μὴ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ. So Aristotle *Rhet.* i. 5. 2 τί ἐστιν ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἡ εὐδαιμονία; cf. Dinarchus 2. 19 ἁπλῶς δ' εἰπεῖν ἐναντία τοῖς νόμοις ἅπασι πράττων διατετέλεκε, Isocrates 15. 117 δεῖ γὰρ οὐχ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἀλλὰ σαφῶς φράσαι ('point out all the particulars'). In the last example φράσαι indicates that the subject requires explanations in detail in order to be expounded σαφῶς, which in this case is not equivalent to ἁπλῶς, although we saw that the same orator used the word synonymously with φανερῶς in 3. 52. Cf. Plato *Hipp. Maj.* 296*d* ἐκεῖνο μὲν τοίνυν οἶχεται, τὸ δυνατόν τε καὶ χρήσιμον ἁπλῶς εἶναι καλόν. In other words, Isocrates uses the adverb and verb here to express what Aeschylus expresses with the adjective and substantive in *Prometheus* 46—ἁπλῷ λόγῳ means *uno verbo*. The common prose phrase for this idea, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ('as nearly as you can express it in a word') occurs once in Aeschylus (*Pers.* 714) and once in Euripides (*Hipp.* 1162). But ἁπλῶς is used in almost all classical writers to indicate that the statement is to be taken in the widest application. So in Plato, when Meno asks Socrates what he means by saying ἀρετή, ὦ Μένων, ἢ ἀρετή τις; the latter responds: οἷον, εἰ βούλει, στρογγυλότητος πέρι εἴποιμ' ἂν ἔγωγε ὅτι σχῆμά τί ἐστιν, οὐχ οὕτως ἁπλῶς ὅτι σχῆμα (73*e*). It is the general idea of ἀρετή Socrates wants, not some special manifestation of the quality.

I think it is quite clear that all Kratos means in the passage under discussion is: if one does not take the statement too accurately one may

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say that Vulcan's "cursed craft" is not to blame at all for *πόνων τῶν νῦν παρόντων*. Socrates says to the slave in *Meno* 83*e*: *πειρῶ ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν ἀκριβῶς*. Now *ἀκριβῶς* is just the opposite of *ἁπλῶς*, and when one wishes a response neither excruciatingly exact nor obscurely general, one will say, with Isocrates (5. 46): *διεξέλθοιμεν μήτε παντάπασιν ἁπλῶς μήτε λίαν ἀκριβῶς*. Additions and explanations are needed, if one speaks too tersely, if one makes too sweeping an assertion, such as, for example, *οὐδὲν αἰτία τέχνη*. For this very reason Kratos qualifies his remark by *ὡς ἁπλῷ λόγῳ*. So Diotima questions Socrates (*Symposium* 206*a*) whether his statement has not been too general: *ἆρ' οὖν, ἦ δ' ἥ, οὕτως ἁπλοῦν ἐστὶ λέγειν . . . . οὐ προσθετέον, ἔφη . . . . καὶ τοῦτο προσθετέον*. And there is a difference between the declaration of Kratos taken with absolute literalness and taken as a merely general statement. Cf. Plato *Protag.* 331*c* *οὐ πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ . . . . οὕτως ἁπλοῦν εἶναι, ὥστε συγχωρῆσαι τήν τε δικαιοσύνην ὅσιον εἶναι καὶ τὴν ὁσιότητα δίκαιον*.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Der saturnische Vers: Aus den *Abh. d. königl. Gesellschaft d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.*, N. F., VIII, No. 5. Von FRIEDRICH LEO. Berlin: Weidmann, 1905. Pp. 79.

Italische sakrale Poesie und Prosa. Von CARL THULIN. Berlin: Weidmann, 1906. Pp. 77. M. 2.

The Stress Accent in Latin Poetry. By ELIZABETH HICKMAN DUBOIS, *Columbia University Studies in Classical Philology.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1906. Pp. 96.

The appearance within a period of twelve months of three books devoted mainly to a study of the Saturnian verse indicates clearly enough the unfailing interest which this verse arouses and the dissatisfaction felt by scholars in the explanations of it which have been given up to the present time. Of course, the difficulty in constructing an acceptable theory for it lies in the fact that the number of extant verses is small, and that they deviate widely from any assumed normal type, whether the norm adopted is accentual or quantitative.

The field of battle seems to be held alternately by the two opposing camps. The advocates of the quantitative theory, represented by Havet and L. Müller, were yielding all along the line before the onslaughts of O. Keller, Thurneysen, Lindsay, and Skutsch, when suddenly the banner of the quantitative cause is carried vigorously to the fore again. The argument for the old theory of the verse has never, in fact, been stated in so convincing a way as Leo presents it in his monograph. The essential features of his book lie in his method of approaching the subject, in the argument drawn from the history of Latin verse, in his discussion of the source from which Caesius Bassus drew, in his study of the diaeresis, in his adoption of several types of Saturnian verse, in his assumption of the use of rising and falling rhythm, and in the use which he makes of similar Greek verses. So far as his method of attack is concerned, much may be said for and against the preference which he gives the evidence drawn from verses composed by professional writers over that furnished by the amateur verses preserved in the inscriptions. To pass to another principle of method, no exception can be taken to the statement that "wir dürfen mit keiner aus der scenischen Technik vorgefassten Ansicht von Versbau an diese Verse herantreten" (p. 13), but Leo comes perilously near violating his own canon on pp. 20, 21 in defending the cretic

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treatment of dactylic words in certain positions in the verse from the analogy of Plautine usage. The preliminary principle which Leo lays down on pp. 14, 15 for the division into verses of quotations from Livius and Naevius is perhaps the most important contribution made in this part of the paper. The argument drawn from the later development of Latin verse is urged in the following effective way:

Die von Livius gestaltete Verskunst ist nicht nur widerspruchlos angenommen worden, hat nicht nur zwei Jahrhunderte lang unbestritten gedauert, sie hat auch sofort eine gewaltige Entwickelung erfahren, die uns bei Plautus entgegentritt; eine Fülle der Formen, eine Sicherheit der gesetzmässigen Behandlung, eine Freiheit der Bewegung, die gar nicht zweifeln lassen, dass wir es mit einer in ihrem natürlichen Erdreich wurzelnden Kunst zu tun haben.

One can scarcely think of a more complete opposition than that which exists between this view of the case and the view which Skutsch enunciated some fifteen years ago in the halcyon days of the accentual theory (cf. Vollmöller's *Jahresb.* I, p. 35), that

die einfache Erwägung, dass .... keine indogermanische Sprache, mit expiratorischem Accent von Haus aus eine andere als accentuierende oder silbenzählende Poesie kennt und, aus naheliegenden Gründen kennen kann, sowie dass die quantitierende Poesie ausschliesslich Eigentümlichkeit der Sprachen mit musikalischem Accent ist, wirft jede quantitierende Saturniertheorie über den Haufen.

The attitude of the accentualists toward the historical argument seems to the reviewer to illustrate well the danger of drawing conclusions from general considerations without carefully studying the facts in a specific case. The accentual verse, its advocates maintained, is the natural verse for a people to develop whose accent is primarily a stress accent. The presumption thus created in favor of the accentual theory of the native Saturnian verse, they said, is strengthened by the fact that accentual verse continued in use among the people, as one can see from Suetonius and the *Historia Augusta*, and finally recovered its place in literature in the later period. The careful examination, however, which Mr. Schlicher made of the soldiers' songs, of the *carmina epigraphica*, and of the hymns in his dissertation on the *Origin of Rhythmical Verse in Late Latin*, showed clearly that the verses in Suetonius and in the *Historia Augusta* are quantitative, and that the later rhythmical verse grew out of the quantitative by a process of natural development. The argument from history, therefore, strengthened as it now is by Leo, points strongly to the conclusion that the extant verses are quantitative, rather than accentual. A still stronger support of this view Leo derives from a study of the sources upon which Caesius Bassus relied for his description of the Saturnian, and this is perhaps the most important point in his paper. He makes it reasonably sure that Bassus in his

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account of the Saturnian verse is following Varro; consequently Varro must have regarded the verse as quantitative. Now Accius, who composed Saturnian verses (cf. Cic. *pro Arch.* 27 with the *Schol. Bob.*), was a contemporary of Varro, and the advocate of the accentual theory must believe either that the accentual Saturnian of Livius had become quantitative by the time of Accius, or that Varro misunderstood the nature of the verse written by his contemporary. The case is materially strengthened by the similar Greek verses which Leo draws from the *CIG.*, and elsewhere, whose development was like that of the Saturnian (cf. pp. 71–79). All these points go to show the quantitative nature of the extant Saturnian verses, and will probably be convincing to most readers of Leo's work.

It is another matter to determine the characteristic features of the verses which have come down to us, and many will lay down this book feeling that great progress has been made toward that end, but that the last word on the matter has not yet been said. The most important contribution which Leo has made to our knowledge of this side of the subject lies in the success with which he has analyzed the two cola of the verse in the matter of the diaeresis. From the words which Caesius Bassus uses of the structure of the Saturnian verses Leo infers that we should expect to find, not one type, but many types, of the Saturnian, and he accordingly analyzes the extant verses with this statement in mind. From such an analysis he derives ten or twelve different types for the first colon which are as far removed from one another as ⏑ – – | ⏑ – – and ⏑ – ⏑ – | ⏑ – ⏑ – and – ⏑ ⏑ – | – –. If this view is correct, one can no longer speak of a line of Livius or Naevius as being a Saturnian verse, but as a specimen of the (*a*) type or the (*b*) type, as the case may be, of the Saturnian verse.

Thulin analyzes the early verses and the religious formulae of the Italic peoples, and comes to the conclusion that they took the form either of "gegliederte Prosa" or of the Saturnian verse, and that these two literary forms were structurally related to each other. In addition to the Saturnian verses which Leo discusses, he takes into consideration the Etruscan inscription from Agram, the Paelignian inscription from Corfinium, certain parts of the Iguvinian Tables, the carmina preserved by Varro, Livy, and Macrobius, and the responses of the haruspices. Leo in his monograph calls attention to the occurrence of the diaeresis after the second verse-beat as a characteristic feature of the first colon of the Saturnian verse, e. g., *virum mihi* | *Camena.* Thulin notices the same phenomenon, but interprets it in a different way. It is his opinion that the unit in the verse is the word, and that the coincidence between the foot and the word, which is foreign to the Greek quantitative metre, can be explained only on the hypothesis that "dieses Saturnierkolon muss aus einem Kolon hervorgegangen sein, in dem nicht die Quantität, sondern die äussere Gestalt der Worte bestimmend war" (p. 36). In the

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carmina (cf., e. g., p. 55) he finds the archetype of such cola, for in these religious formulae also the word is the unit which is contained a fixed number of times in each colon. Thulin further maintains (p. 37) that this primitive rhythmical scheme gave way to the quantitative principle when the law of initial accentuation was displaced by the three-syllable law.

Miss DuBois' monograph contains chapters on "Word Accent," on the "Numeri Italici et Saturnii," and the "Quantitative Metres." The second chapter occupies half of the book, and on pp. 54 ff. the writer gives her theory of the Saturnian with its application to the extant verses. The most characteristic feature of it is the dictum that "the third and sixth beats, which are the strongest, must coincide with the primary accent of the word; the first, second, fourth, and fifth beats may fall on a less strongly accented syllable" (p. 54). What Miss DuBois means by "the less strongly accented syllable" is not clear to the reviewer. The phrase would naturully mean the syllable which receives the secondary accent. This interpretation would be applicable to the final syllable in Graeciam in the line: *pártim érrant nequínont Graéciàm redíre*, but suchan incidence of the accent as is presupposed in *dìsértim*, *àd-náves*, *quò pácto*, *ùt réddant*, *ìn flústris*, *pèr géntis*, seems very improbable. In the opinion of the reviewer, any adequate treatise upon the subject with which this book deals must take into consideration the Saturnian verse, the other verses up to the time of Catullus, the quantitative verse of subsequent date, and the rhythmical verse of late Latin. Not a word is said of the development during the second period or of the many questions which have been raised with reference to the word-accent or the sentence-accent in Plautus and Terence. The discussion of the verse of the third, or classical, period is very unsatisfactory. For instance, on p. 78 the writer quotes Quintilian's well-known statement (l. 5. 25):

> nam cum dico *circum litora*, tanquam unum enuntio dissimulata distinctione; itaque tanquam in una voce una est acuta, quod item accidit in illo:
>
> Troiae qui primus ab oris,

understanding that Quintilian postulates the accentuation *Troíde qui*, and, largely upon this interpretation, bases her subsequent argument. Probably, however, the accentual unit which he has in mind is not *Troíde qui* but *ab óris*, a prepositional phrase parallel to *circum litora* which he has just cited. In the fourth period the interesting accentual questions which are raised by the later rhythmical verse are scarcely touched upon. The author does not seem to be familiar with the writings of W. Meyer or Schlicher in this field. We have noticed the following misprints: Desau, p. 48; *au* (for *an*), p. 58, n. 2; the omission of an accent in vs. 62; and *assurance* (for *assonance*), p. 93. The book brings together in a convenient way many of the passages from the grammarians bearing on the questions at issue, and in this its main value lies.

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Petronius: Cena Trimalchionis. Translated and edited by MICHAEL J. RYAN. London and New York: Scott Publishing Co., 1905. Pp. xlii+284. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Petronii Cena Trimalchionis. Edited and translated by W. D. LOWE. Cambridge: Deighton Bell & Co., 1905. Pp. xii+182. 7*s.*

Petronii Cena Trimalchionis. Mit deutscher Übersetzung und erklärenden Anmerkungen von LUDWIG FRIEDLÄNDER. 2te Aufl. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1906. M. 7.

Of the first two books Mr. Lowe's is far the better. His introduction (pp. vii–xii) is, indeed, a negligible quantity (the note on the text comprises eight lines! nothing is said of Petronius' language), but his notes are the more elaborate and the more scholarly. Mr. Ryan's introduction, pp. xi–xl, discusses the identity of Petronius, the history of the text, the *Satiricon* itself, its relation to Greek romances, its sources, language, etc.; there is much here that is good. Mr. Ryan has evidently read widely on Petronius; he does not seem, however, to have known Professor Waters' edition, or Hayley's paper in *Harvard Studies*, or the book by Professor Beck of Harvard.

Both English editors have translated throughout. One soon sees that Mr. Ryan, spite of his diligence, is not equal to the task of editing and translating Petronius in accurate, scholarly fashion. His rendering is often vigorous and happy, but it is disfigured by numerous errors. He adopted Bücheler's *third* edition (1882). The lacunas marked in his text he often disregards in his translation, writing on without break. Many words, small but not unimportant, he passes over. Many difficulties are dodged. Often he fails to get the meaning. Two examples, picked at random, must suffice. *vestimenta . . . . quae vix fuissent decem sestertiorum* § 30, is rendered by "and they were scarce worth ten sesterces" (Mr. Lowe says these clothes "were hardly worth two shillings"!). In 31 *Tyria . . . . sed iam semel lota* is rendered by "they were real Tyrian too and only once washed." The notes (pp. 165–228) contain much that is good, especially on matters of language; Mr. Ryan has a fair, but by no means complete, knowledge of the literature of this subject. Yet many difficulties are passed over; practically nothing is added to the existing stock of comments on Petronius. Mr. Ryan at times refers to Horace, Juvenal, Ausonius, etc., without giving the specific reference. Queer punctuation abounds, especially in citations of ancient works. He quotes Greek freely, but often with wrong accents, or with no accents at all. In a word, Mr. Ryan's book is the work of a man interested in Petronius, not that of a scholar.

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Mr. Lowe's translation is better, but at times lacks the life which Mr. Ryan, with all his failings, has injected into his rendering. Errors, too, appear. One has been cited above. In § 45 *non debemus delicati esse, ubique medius caelus est* does not mean, "We oughtn't to be over particular, we are no nearer heaven than anyone else;" the sense is rather, "We shouldn't ask for too much; we are as close to heaven as anybody else (i. e., we are as much favored as others)." In § 45 again, *manus manum lavat* does not mean "one good turn deserves another;" the whole passage rather = "You and I are quits even as the hands are quits."

The commentary is elaborate and in general respectable. There is a wealth of citations from Latin authors, though not all are really in point. No material contribution, however, is made to the solution of the various *cruces*. Some strange errors occur. In the note on *sestertium suum vidit decies*, § 38, *suum* is called a contracted genitive plural to agree with *sestertium*. The note on *in balneo sequi*, § 26, is unsatisfactory; it ignores the main element of the problem here, the fact that this phrase occurs in the narrative part of the *Cena*. In § 44 Mr. Lowe thinks that *Asiadis*, as denoting a flowery, rhetorical style, does not harmonize with the preceding statement, *nec schemas loquebatur sed directum*. The point may well lie in the very fact that *Asiadis* is inappropriate; the ignorant *libertus* uses fine terms, with no conception of their meaning.

Mr. Lowe gives no list of authorities or editions used; he refers to the views of Mommsen, Friedländer, Hayley, Boissier, Bücheler, Henderson, but does not give the name of the book or the article in which those scholars set forth their views. One cannot tell, therefore, exactly how far he has mastered the literature of his subject, a point here of prime importance. The chief weakness of his book lies, however, in its failure to group kindred phenomena. Mr. Lowe can hardly have known of Mr. Ryan's book; he was thus in effect producing an editio princeps in English, at least for his own countrymen. He should have put together, therefore, an introduction which would have set forth in adequate fashion the history of Petronius' work, its relation to other works Greek and Latin, its language, etc. To sum up, for many details the book is helpful, but in his failure to group materials, and in the absence of effort to give the reader a general survey of the *Cena* and the problems it suggests the editor has come far short of utilizing to the full the opportunity which was his.

Friedländer's edition is too well known to require extended notice here. The present edition is really, as the title-page asserts, a revised and enlarged version of the first edition (1891). Everywhere Friedländer has taken account of the contributions which have been made in the last fifteen years to our understanding of Petronius. The introduction contains much new matter, but some pages of the first edition are omitted

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in this version, so that the introduction hardly exceeds in length that of the first edition. The most important change occurs on pp. 8–11: Friedländer now believes that the *Cena* was held at Puteoli; this has led to the addition of a note, pp. 73–76, on Puteoli. The commentary is about one-fifth larger than it was; it now covers 148 pages as against 123 in the first edition. There are many new notes; many of the notes of the first edition have been more or less completely rewritten or enlarged. Lack of space makes it impossible to enter into details; every student of Petronius will study the book for himself. If, however, he expects to find much new light on old *cruces* (light, I mean, that really makes the dark places clear), he is, I fear, doomed to disappointment.

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Demosthenes against Meidias. With Critical and Explanatory Notes and an Appendix. By W. W. Goodwin. Cambridge: University Press; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906. Pp. viii+188. $2.

Professor Goodwin devotes to scholarship his well-earned leisure from the routine of the classroom, and his continued productivity may well put younger workers to the blush. σχέτλιός ἐσσι γεραιέ· σὺ μὲν πόνου οὔποτε λήγεις. An edition of the *Meidias* follows closely upon the monumental edition of the *Crown*, and may be regarded as in a sense supplementary to it. In the Appendix to the *Crown* Professor Goodwin surveys the whole of Demosthenes' political career. In the *Meidias* he adds a study of his private life down to the delivery of the *Philippics* and *Olynthiacs*. Other appendices deal with the Dionysiac festival, the Liturgies, certain peculiar forms of suits including the προβολή, and the alleged rule, which Professor Goodwin rejects, that the subject of the infinitive is in the nominative case when it is identical with the subject of the leading verb.

Our space does not permit us to study the commentary in detail. It is adequate and eminently sane, and questions of Athenian history, syntax, and legal antiquities are treated with the surety of touch to be expected from the author's long familiarity with these fields. There is no attempt at fulness or originality of citations in illustration of either the expression or the thought. In § 35 he reads with Schäfer ἢ <κἂν> μείζω δοίη and abandons the explanation of δοίη without ἄν given in *M. T.* 292. It is perhaps permissible to doubt whether in § 2 ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων is preferably neuter, and in § 14 whether the implied ellipsis with ὡς ἄν is ποιήσαιτε and not rather some form of the unreal condition.

PAUL SHOREY

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Aristophane et les partis à Athènes. Par MAURICE CROISET. Paris: Fontemoing, 1906. Pp. xi + 311. F. 3.50.

Auguste Couat in his brilliant study, *Aristophane et l'ancienne comédie attique* (3. éd. 1902), maintains that not only Aristophanes, but the whole body of poets of the Old Comedy, were clients of an oligarchical faction at Athens, and that their plays, instead of being an independent criticism of contemporary life and politics, were merely a vehicle for exploiting partisan views and a means of effecting partisan ends. It is singular that Couat's keen appreciation of the elusive quality of Aristophanes' genius (cf. pp. 386 ff.) did not lead him to distrust so extreme a conclusion. M. Croiset, who had already expressed his dissent from Couat's views in the *Histoire de la littérature grecque* (Vol. III, p. 460), here brings together the results of his own investigation of this important question. The passage of time has only strengthened his earlier impression, and he finds little to retract. One feels, perhaps, that he is disposed to take the poet a little more seriously than he did in the earlier work—but his seriousness is never the seriousness of Kock.

The introduction contains a brief survey of the origins of comedy, the facts of Aristophanes' early life, and a summary of the political situation at the time of his début as a comic poet. The rest of the volume is devoted to an analysis of the extant plays and fragments. M. Croiset examines the circumstances under which each play was produced; the poet's purpose in writing it, so far as it can be determined, and his general attitude toward men and things, as shown in remarks by the way. He compares the poet's attitude as it appears from this analysis with the traditional attitude of the oligarchical party, of whose views he believes *Respublica Atheniensium* [Xen.] to be a typical expression; and he shows beyond question that, whatever temporary alliances Aristophanes may have made, he was *nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri*, and that, however clearly he may have recognized the besetting sins of the Athenian democracy, he is nowhere at enmity with the democratic principle.

The author's treatment of disputed questions is in such admirable temper that one hesitates to take issue with him in matters of detail. Yet I can hardly agree with him in regarding comedy as the mouthpiece merely of the rural population (p. 11) any more than with Couat, that it was the "porte-parole" of the oligarchs. The humor of Aristophanes refuses to don a party emblem. Indeed, M. Croiset himself notes that in the *Acharnians* the rustics are exploited for the amusement of the city-folk (p. 88). If it is true that the countryman at the festival loved to see his city-brethren caricatured, it is none the less true that one's enjoyment of a caricature is in exact proportion to his acquaintance with the subject of it; and nobody enjoyed more than the city-folk seeing their neighbors in the pillory, even if few had the urbanity of Socrates, who could see the

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fun in jokes at his own expense. The Old Comedy, like its modern descendant, political caricature, busied itself with men and issues in the public eye. And these were naturally city-men and city-customs.

Still less convincing is M. Croiset's suggestion that Aristophanes was a country boy (pp. 14 ff.). The poet's minute knowledge of country ways and country things, his vivid and sympathetic presentation of country life, are by no means necessarily the outgrowth of personal experience. It is that very apprehension and realization of feelings and situations beyond the range of personal experience that distinguishes the supreme artist, and is so large an element in the quality we call inspiration.

On the vexed question of Aristophanes' citizenship M. Croiset does not speak with assurance (pp. 14 ff.). He rightly concludes that the poet actually enjoyed the privileges of citizenship (pp. 14, 148), both at his début and thereafter, but the specter of Cleon's supposed γραφὴ ξενίας seems to trouble him; and the compromise between Cleon and the poet (by which the γραφή was never brought to trial) which he is led to assume on the evidence of *Vespae* 1284–91 (pp. 145 ff.) seems to him to argue a weakness in Aristophanes' claims. The argument is ingenious—and yet the whole story of the γραφὴ ξενίας rests on too slender evidence to be taken quite so seriously. The passage in the *Vespae*, as Starkie remarks, implies rather a brawl—what Professor Gildersleeve calls a "back-yard quarrel"—than a formal lawsuit; and if we are placing dependence on the scholia, we are confronted not only by the confusion which M. Croiset notes of the γραφὴ ξενίας with the indictment before the Council, but by *three* alleged suits, all brought to trial, and all, as we are told, resulting in the poet's vindication (*Vita* Dübner xi; cf. xii). Those charges of base origin which the comic poets flung back and forth have never been better appraised than Browning, who knew his scholia, appraises them in his *Aristophanes' Apology*. M. Croiset deserves our gratitude for laying to rest the theory that the most Attic of poets passed his life at Athens as an alien, especially since Van Leeuwen, of whom one expects better things, has seen fit to resurrect the charge in his recent edition of the *Vespae*. But we can hardly hope to write the history of the poet's quarrel with Cleon on the basis of the extant scholia.

The analyses of the individual plays every student of Aristophanes will wish to work through for himself. M. Croiset never forgets that he is writing of a poet and a comic poet, and in his hands nothing is hackneyed. For this reason it is the more to be regretted that the book lacks an index.

Couat in the preface to his *Aristophane et l'ancienne comédie* remarks that it is always in order for one to voice his opinions about great writers, "pourvu qu'il le fasse avec sincérité et avec quelque compétence." There will always be room for so discriminating and suggestive a volume as M. Croiset's.

ARTHUR ALEXIS BRYANT

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Symbolarum ad comicorum Graecorum historiam criticam capita quattuor. Scripsit REINH. JOH. THEODORUS WAGNER. Leipzig: privately printed, 1905. Pp. 71.

Diphilus was a contemporary of Menander (Anon. π. κωμ. ii Kaib.); his first city victory followed close upon that of Menander (cf. the order of names *ibid.:* Menander, Diphilus, Philippides); his first Lenaean victory is to be dated about seven years after that of Menander (*IG.* II 977 *g:* Menander, Philemon, Apollodorus, Diphilus). He was still active, as Kaibel has shown, in 288, the year of Philemon's *Phasma* (Plaut. *Mostel.* 1149). With these facts to begin with Wagner attempts in his first chapter to define more closely the chronology of the life of Diphilus, especially the date of his birth. The poet's liaison with Gnathaena gives the principal clue, which Wagner follows up with subtle and, for the most part, convincing reasoning. Plays in which this woman is mentioned along with Pythonice, who followed Harpalus to Babylon in 330, must be anterior to that date, and among these plays the *Orestautocleides* of Timocles must be placed as near as possible to 345, when the hero was already notorious (Aesch. *Tim.* i. 52) for the vice for which the harlot-furies of Timocles are about to wreak vengeance upon him. Wagner thinks that this play must be dated as late as 335–330, however, in order that Diphilus may not be too much younger than his mistress, and the mistress not too old, at the time of their amour. Properly assuming that Gnathaena was not less than sixteen in the year of the *Orestautocleides*, he assumes further that Diphilus was only 55–60 in the year of the *Phasma* and was therefore born a few years before 340. But there is no indication of age whatever in the context of *Mostel.* 1149, and the date of the *Orestautocleides* should manifestly be kept as near as possible to the oration against Timarchus. Further, it is inherently probable that Diphilus did not begin his dramatic career at so early an age as Menander, who, as Clark has recently shown (*Class. Phil.* I, pp. 313 ff.), brought out his first play under Anticles in 325/4, at the age of eighteen. These considerations make it more reasonable to conclude that Diphilus was 60–65 in 288, was born *ca.* 348–353, and that the *Orestautocleides* was produced *ca.* 340. Gnathaena would thus have been at least 36 and Diphilus 28–33 in 320, at about which time the intimacy may have been established. And even this calculation is conservative, for it must be admitted, with Körte (*Berl. phil. Woch.* 1906, 900 ff.), that Diphilus may have been born a few years earlier still. His first play was very likely brought out before Menander's first.[1]

Körte, in the valuable review just cited, has shown how the error in

[1] That the *Orge* was not Menander's first play, but the play with which he was first victorious at the Dionysia, as Wagner also thinks, seems to me more probable than ever. The allusion in it to Ctesippus would be more appropriate to 315 than to 324.

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Wagner's reasoning runs through his second chapter, in which he attempts to date other plays by reference to other hetaerae. Attention may be called here to one item of especial interest. Wagner dates *ca.* 342 Philemon's *Lithoglyphus*, a new fragment of which has come to light in the commentary of Didymus to Demosthenes. This is by far the earliest date ever assigned to a play by Philemon, but that it is essentially correct (though 340 would be safer) can hardly be doubted. Confirmation for almost as early a date may be derived from Philemon's gibe at Astydamas the younger, *σαυτὴν ἐπαινεῖς, ὥσπερ Ἀστυδάμας, γύναι.* The allusion to the boastful epigram composed by the poet himself for the statue to be erected to him for his victory with the *Parthenopaeus*, brought out in 340 (*IG.* II 973), must have been made soon after 340 (*Am. Jour. Phil.* XXI, p. 44).

Wagner's most valuable contribution is contained in his third chapter, "De poetarum comicorum apud Suidam biographicis." In approaching the complex and difficult problem as to the nature, authorship, and authority of these biographical notices, he first divides the 108 notices into four classes: In Class I, lives that are of Hesychian origin (64, of which 8 contain additions derived from Athenaeus), and Class II, fragments of genuine Hesychian lives (6), sometimes reduced by the epitomizer to bare lemmata like *Ἀμειψίας Ἀθηναῖος κωμικός*, the Hesychian origin is indicated by the presence of one or more of the seven elements peculiar to the Hesychian life; Class III, lives which contain lists of plays derived from Athenaeus (34), and Class IV, other glosses (4), present the greatest difficulties, and here the author's accurate observation and close reasoning lead him to new and important results. It has long been known that the lists of titles that are in alphabetical order go back to Hesychius, while most of the other lists are derived from Athenaeus, the order being that in which the plays chance to be cited by that author. Wagner proves that the majority (26) of the lemmata of these notices are drawn from the epitome of Hesychius and not from Athenaeus, e.g., *Δαμόξενος Ἀθηναῖος κωμικός*, because of the ethnicon, *Διόδωρος καὶ αὐτὸς κωμικός*, because the phrase *καὶ αὐτός* betrays the original chronological order of Hesychius, which was changed by the epitomizer to the alphabetical. Eight lemmata, however (pp. 44 ff.), are shown to be due to an interpolator of Suidas, who made use of Athenaeus and is detected by his blunders. This interpolator was active not long after Suidas, and used the archetype of codex Marcianus of Athenaeus, as Wagner cleverly shows by his citation of the books of the unabridged thirty-book Athenaeus, the numbers of which were preserved in the margins of the abridged fifteen-book edition. Thus *s.v.* *Ἔριφος* reference is made to Book xiv. In our text Eriphus is not mentioned there, but he is in vii. In the margin of Marc. at vii. 297 *c* is written *τῶν εἰς λ΄ τέλος τοῦ γί, ἀρχὴ τοῦ δί.*

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A new criterion for distinguishing betwen Hesychian and Athenaean lists of titles is found in the formulae by which they are introduced: δράματα αὐτοῦ is always the mark of the epitome of Hesychius, τῶν δραμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐστιν of the interpolator of Suidas who drew upon Athenaeus. It is made reasonably clear also that neither Hesychius nor Suidas themselves made use of Athenaeus in writing the lives of the comic poets.

The last chapter proves that the tragic poet Timocles is not to be identified with the comic poet of the same name and period. The two lemmata in Suidas are both of Hesychian origin, though the second, Τιμοκλῆς ἕτερος, καὶ αὐτὸς κωμικός, has been corrupted, first by the substitution of κωμικός for τραγικός, and then by the addition of καὶ αὐτός. Lives which contain ἕτερος are generally right in distinguishing homonymns. The lemmata originally were T. Ἀθ. κωμ. and T. ἕτερος τραγικός. Finally Wagner shows clearly that the *Ikarioi* of Timocles was not a satyr-drama, as Wilamowitz maintained, but a comedy, Σάτυροι being a part of the title.

Few errors of statement have been noted. The source of confusion in Suidas on the Astydamantes (p. 58) was pointed out by the reviewer *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXI (1900), p. 44; the *Hiereia* was assigned to Apollodorus Gelous *ibid.*, p. 50, and Apollodorus proved to be distinct from A. Gelous *ibid.*, pp. 45 ff. It may be added that Krause, to whom credit is given for these observations, produced very little that was original in his dissertation (cf. Jacoby *Woch. klass. Phil.* 1903, 1089). The author's belief in the wide first-hand acquaintance of Athenaeus with Greek comedies would be shaken by reading Hendrickson *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXVII (1906), p. 197: the assertion of Athenaeus himself 336 *d* is in conformity with the technique of citation in the learned dialogue.

EDWARD CAPPS

Sur les attributs des Saliens. Par M. W. HELBIG. Extrait des Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres XXXVII, pp. 205–76 (1–72). Paris: Klienksieck, 1905. Fr. 3.20.

More than thirty years ago Helbig pointed out the resemblance between certain small breastplates of sheet bronze found in Italian graves of the pre-Hellenic period and the breastplates worn by the Salii. In the present article he takes up the whole question of the equipment of these ancient colleges, and endeavors to prove that it was identical with that of the Roman patrician warrior down to the seventh century B. C., and further that it was essentially similar to that of the Mycenaean age. The evidence clearly shows that the two colleges of the Salii ante-

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date the *συνοικισμός* of the Palatine and Quirinal settlements, and makes it very probable that in historic times, with the conservatism inherent in religious customs, they still used the dress and arms of the prehistoric period.

We know from good sources that the Salian dress was distinctly that of a warrior. The innermost garment was a *tunica picta* bound by a metal girdle (*μίτρα*); over this was worn a *trabea*, bordered and striped with purple; the defensive armor was a metal pectoral, *apex*, and *ancile;* the offensive arms, a sword and sacred spear. With regard to the *ancilia*, Helbig points out that literary and monumental evidence shows that they preserved the shape of the long "Mediterranean" shield with the sides cut away, such as was frequently carried by the Mycenaean warriors as well as by Periphetes and Hector in the *Iliad*. It seems equally clear that this was also the Italian shield well into the last millennium B. C. The *apex* likewise exhibits striking analogies to defensive head-coverings shown on Mycenaean remains. The breastplate, an oblong sheet of metal, attached to a leather or cloth doublet, was intended to protect the central portion of the breast only; this continued apparently to be worn by the legionaries even in the second century B. C., according to Polybius. Tombs dating from the seventh and sixth centuries B. C. have yielded four such pectorals, which Helbig is undoubtedly right in identifying with Livy's *aeneum pectoris tegumen*. The warrior's *μίτρα* Helbig illustrates by numerous metal girdles found in early Italian tombs; but, unfortunately for the argument, many of these tombs seem to have been the burial-places of women, although this cannot be established for all; none can be proved to be a warrior's grave. Helbig, however, strengthens his case by citing two early bronze statuettes, one of which is certainly that of a warrior, on which *μίτραι* are clearly shown. This Italian cincture closely corresponds to the Homeric *μίτρη*, *ζωστήρ*.

Space does not allow us to touch on Helbig's arguments by which he seeks to show that the other articles of the Salian equipment reflect Mycenaean culture. One interesting suggestion, however, must be mentioned. On the basis of arguments which are certainly persuasive, if not in every detail convincing, Helbig maintains that in the early period the Italian kings and nobles employed war chariots similar to those shown on the familiar Mycenaean stelae and described in the Homeric poems; in three terra-cotta chariots (reproduced pp. 69, 70) found in graves he sees small models of such cars. As he suggests pp. 60 f., it is highly desirable that the remains of weapons from early graves should be systematically studied for the light they may throw on this and many other questions of early Italian warfare.

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Die Rhythmen der asianischen und römischen Kunstprosa. Von FRIEDRICH BLASS. Leipzig: Deichert, 1905. Pp. iv+221. M. 6.

As its title suggests, this is a companion volume to the author's *Rhythmen der attischen Kunstprosa*, 1901. For obvious reasons the field is far wider, and instead of the trio, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Plato, of the earlier study, we find in the present work a list of writers whom it is safe to say that no previous scholar has ever thought of treating under a single title, viz.: St. Paul, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and Pausanias, as representatives of the Asian school of rhetoric; and for the Roman, Cicero, Seneca, Curtius, and Apuleius. In his treatment of rhythm as employed by the Attic prose-writers it was a striking feature of Blass's theory that a single syllable, or even a series of syllables occurring at the end of a rhythm, could also be counted as the initial syllable or syllables of the following rhythm.[1] This improbable overlapping was made the object of attack by the reviewers, and is now completely abandoned (p. 2), with the explanation that it had never been a real part of his system. Again he had maintained that for the Attic writers rhythm was absolutely independent of sense-pauses. This contention is also recalled, or revised in the spirit of the concession (p. 3; cf. 189 *fin.*) that rhythms which *never* coincide, at the beginning or the end, with natural divisions of the thought, must be accounted wretched rhythms.

So much conceded to his critics, the author proceeds to trace the origin of the Asian rhythmic in the Hellenistic age, as a development out of the Attic rhythm, but always in contrast with it. This Asian rhythm was in large part, but not exclusively, a quantitative rhyme of the *clausulae*, and hence is chiefly limited to the last words of κῶλα and of the period itself. Thus a tangible basis for an easily apprehended theory of the subject was at last obtained—a result impossible in the Attic period, when rhythmical correspondences were frequently—not *always*, be it now observed—quite independent of pauses in the sense. However, Blass differs from most of the other students of prose rhythm in representing the Asian species as still far removed from strict limitation to cadences in the narrower sense. In his view even Hegesias of Magnesia, the founder of the school in the first half of the third century, shows initial correspondences, as well as *clausulae*. The new feature of the Asian rhythmic was the invariable connection with pauses; and yet there was no uniformity of practice: witness the discord of opinion to which Cicero *Orator* 204 refers: *in totone circuitu illo orationis . . . . an in principiis solum, an in extremis, an in utraque parte numerus tenendus sit* (cf. 199). As an evidence that not all representatives of the Asian school of oratory were manneristic or monotonous by reason of limiting themselves to a few hackneyed forms, Blass cites the writer περὶ ὕψους.

[1] Cf. *Rhythmen der att. Kunstprosa*, pp. 94, 184 f., 190, and in the analyses *passim*.

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But for the theory of the school, in the absence of extant rhetoricians of that persuasion, we are forced to fall back upon Cicero and his Roman successors as our only sources — unsatisfactory as they are — for the rules of rhythmical composition. Cicero's own method is summarized by Blass in the statement that he combined Asian practice with Attic theory.

The search for available texts from which to demonstrate the nature of Asian rhythm leads Blass to take up the Epistle to the Hebrews and the epistles of Paul. To his surprise — and that of his readers — he finds conclusive evidence that Paul knew and used the Asian rhythms — was in this, as in other respects, well acquainted with the rhetorical teaching of his time. Proofs are furnished in detailed analyses of extended passages in Galatians, the latter part of First Corinthians, and other epistles. Blass finds that neither Paul nor the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews shows any preference whatever for particular rhythmical cadences, and sees in this an evidence of a reaction against the mannerisms of earlier Asian orators. Responsion plays an important part in the rhythmic of the apostle, a favorite form being that in which the end of one κῶλον rhymes, quantitatively speaking, with the beginning of the next. Such abundant evidence of Paul's rhetorical training and painstaking care must enter as a new element into future literary judgments of the apostle. With such criticism a fresh beginning must now be made, a new foundation being laid in the division into κῶλα, and in due attention to rhythm. As for Hebrews, Blass finds a strongly rhythmical composition in many places, and interprets in this light the Oxyrhynchus fragment with its new principle of rhetorical punctuation.

In treating Cicero, Blass enters emphatic protest against the subtleties of Zielinski and Bornecque, and arrays himself against E. Müller and Norden and Wolff in their attempt to reduce all the cadences to a minimum of types with a maximum of sub-varieties. E. Müller, alone, among the recent writers on the subject, appears to Blass to have found the true essence of rhythm in responsion. To be sure, Cicero's language in regard to the whole subject is so far from clear that one may even suspect him of having deliberately avoided such explicit terms as would have introduced the uninitiated into the secrets of his personal method (p. 114 *fin.*). One *modus operandi*, and only one, is left for us, viz., our own observation of his actual practice. In his analysis of Ciceronian passages Blass's attention is concentrated first of all upon correspondences. This may lead him at times to include a syllable or syllables, which in Norden's method would be ignored, as preceding the cadence proper. The division into feet becomes less stereotyped, since it is unessential to Blass's theory that one or another of a few definite species of *clausula* should be recognized. For example, in *Pro Milone* 24, *anno superiore* would be counted by Norden as the equivalent of *esse videatur* (– ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑), and the first syllable of *anno* ignored. Blass, on the other hand, includes this

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syllable in the cadence and divides – – | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – | ⏑. It must be said, however, that Blass is not seeking for categories and elaborate classifications—possibly a hopeful sign for the next phase of these new rhythmical studies. Unlike Bornecque and Zielinski he has no pigeonholes in which to file away countless phonographic records of once sonorous cadences. Unlike the followers of Norden he is not interested in deriving a numerous metrical progeny from the patriarchal loins of a single cretic. His aim is to discover the all-essential element of responsion—a principle which knows no limitation to set forms of cadence, no necessity of a fixed division into conventional feet. Not that he discards feet entirely, though the identification of precise feet seems to be of secondary importance. Another new feature is the treatment of a rhythm and its catalectic form as practically identical. Thus – ⏑ – | – ⏑ ⧻ and its catalectic form – ⏑ – | – ⧻ may make a rhyme, and it is needless to say that this device is of great service in noting correspondences.

In general this is a more flexible theory of rhythm than most of the recent speculations have given us. It refuses to submit itself to the formidable "laws" of Bornecque or Zielinski. Compared with the saner methods of Norden, Blass will surely find favor with all who feel that, however wooden and mechanical rhythm may have become in later and feebler hands, it could not have been restricted by Cicero to a number of forms so suspiciously limited.

The remaining writers more briefly considered are the philosopher Seneca, Curtius, and Apuleius. Of these the author finds that Seneca's rhythm is like Cicero's in its essentials, but more conspicuous through repetition of two or three favorite forms; that Curtius carries such monotony of cadence still further; that Apuleius for the first time combines the Roman *clausulae*, in less-restricted types, with Greek practice, as shown by initial correspondences, or in balanced rhythm of whole κῶλα. Thus to our great Atticist Apuleius appears to have the freest and most pleasing music of all Latin writers, for the very reason that he approaches most closely to the Greeks, with whom, even in the Asian school, rhythm was a thing of life, whereas with the Roman restriction to *clausulae*, and that in a diminishing range of types, rhythmic lost its very soul.

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Griechische Denominativa in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und Verbreitung. Von ERNST FRAENKEL. Göttingen: Vanderbroeck & Ruprecht, 1906. Pp. vi + 296. M. 8.

This is a welcome chapter in the history of Greek word-formation. It contains separate indices arranged in alphabetical order and with full citation of occurrences of the Greek denominatives in *-αίνειν, -ίνειν, -οῦν,*

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and -εύειν. Derivative nouns, etc., are given in the indices in smaller type. In addition to the indices the author presents for each group a discussion of the facts and an indication of the dialectic distribution. In this discussion he separates those words which have been regularly formed from those that are due to analogy, etc., and also subdivides the latter according to the stem from which derived. Under each group also he has a short treatment of the derivatives from the verbal denominatives. A short chapter is devoted to the derivatives in -μα and -σις, and there is an excursus on the origin of the ending -ύνειν and the presence in Greek of the reduced grade -*un*-.

Many verbs in -αίνειν come from neuters in -μα (p. 4). A few are from -*μεn*- or *μōn*-stems (p. 5, cf. p. 30). The frequent parallelism of verbs in -αίνειν and -άζειν is explained (p. 13) as due to the fact that many Greek *n*-stems were originally *nt*-stems. We should expect (p. 30) verbs in -ύνειν to come from stems with the reduced grade -*un*-, but no instance of this is known. In his excursus (pp. 285 ff.) the author admits as contributory factors in the origin of -ύνειν the parallelism of primary verbs like δύνειν: δύνειν, and the analogy of -ᾶν: -αίνειν, but suggests the possibility of the existence of the reduced grade -*un*- in such stems as -νγξ, -νγγος (cf. -ιγζ, -ιγγος). About half the verbs in -ύνειν are from *u*-stems. The frequency of verbs in -ύνειν from neuters in -ος is rightly based in part on the close connection between neuters in -ος and adjectives in -ύς. Cf. Fick *B. B.* I, pp. 245 ff., Aufrecht *K. Z.* XXXIX, p. 458. and *Etym. Mag.* 210, 213, 233, 396, 535. For μολύνειν (p. 38) cf. Herodian i. 236 and ii. 838. 17, where a form μόλυς with short final is cited. Verbs in -οῦν are mainly factitive or instrumentative (p. 71). An extension of the instrumentative use is that of the separative (pp. 79 ff.). The author rejects the current view that verbs in -οῦν owe their origin to adjectives in -ωτος (pp. 104 ff.), and seeks to show that they are due rather to the analogy of aorists in -ᾶσαι, etc. (p. 172). He does not attempt to set up a theory for verbs in -εύειν except to say that the present formation in -εύειν is secondary and due to the influence of other tenses. Clearly the last word about nouns in -ευς has not yet been spoken. He divides the verbs in -εύειν into those expressing "quality relationship" as ἀρχεύειν, and those expressing "action relationship" as τοξεύειν. Causatives in -εύειν are treated pp. 200 ff.

There is little adverse criticism to be offered. A few cross references would have been helpful at times, e. g., pp. 5 ond 30 on stems in -*μεn*- etc.; and there seems no sufficient reason why the index to verbs in -εύειν should not follow the treatment of that ending instead of being inserted after the chapter on -μα and -σις. But on the whole the book is well arranged and represents an enormous amount of work well done.

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Papers of the British School at Rome, Vol. III. London: Macmillan & Co., 1906. Pp. 314, plates xxxii. 30*s*.

The British School at Rome is to be congratulated upon its work. In the five years of its existence it has published three volumes of unusually valuable and important papers (*Class. Phil.* I, p. 300). The first paper in this third volume is the second instalment of Mr. Ashby's "Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna," and deals with the Via Salaria, Via Nomentana, and Via Tiburtina. The author's method is to trace each road across the Campagna, describing the archaeological remains that are to be found along its line or in the immediate neighborhood, as well as those of which there is any authentic record. The present chapter is marked by the same accuracy and painstaking minuteness of treatment as characterized the first section of the work. The most interesting part of the investigation is the determination of the lines of the roads—a thing not always easy, and sometimes quite impossible to do with certainty. Mr. Ashby believes that the Via Salaria followed the Tiber as far as Eretum, which he locates thirty-one kilometers from Rome, and that it did not pass through Mentana, the ancient Nomentum, at all. Of the old Latin towns in this part of the Campagna, the site of which is uncertain, Mr. Ashby is inclined to locate Fidenae on the Via Salaria where the present Villa Spada is situated, agreeing with Holste against Nibby and Nissen; Crustumerium just west of the Via Nomentana, between Tor S. Giovanni and the Tiber, fourteen kilometers from Rome; Ficulea near the Casale della Cesarina, on the west side of the same road, eleven kilometers from the city; and Corniculum between the Via Nomentana and the Strada Vecchia di Palombara, about fifteen kilometers from Rome. In the case of all these cities there is room for some doubt, but Mr. Ashby's opinion is entitled to more weight than that of earlier writers.

In the second paper Mr. H. Stuart Jones discusses first "The Basreliefs in the Villa Borghese," attributed to the arch of Claudius. After pointing out that this attribution rests on nothing more substantial than a conjecture of Nibby's, and showing that they cannot belong to so early a period, he develops his own theory, that these reliefs were in the church of S. Martina, the imperial Secretarium Senatus, and were sold to the sculptor Giambattista della Porta about 1590. An inventory of this man's collection was afterward made, and all the pieces that can be identified appear to have come into the possession of Prince Borghese, and to have formed part of the treasures of his villa. Inasmuch as the reliefs in question are so closely allied in style to the Trajanic reliefs on the arch of Constantine, and as S. Martina was so near the forum of Trajan, they undoubtedly formed part of its decoration.

Secondly, Mr. Jones writes on "The Relief Medallions of the Arch of

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Constantine." These have been generally regarded as Trajanic, although Arndt has recently assigned them to the last ten years of Hadrian's reign. Mr. Jones was able to make a closer examination of them than had been possible before, and has come to the conclusion that they belonged to some monument of the Flavian period, perhaps the Gens Flavia, a mausoleum of the Flavian family erected by Domitian on the Quirinal. His theory is that this monument was appropriated by the emperor Claudius Gothicus, the Flavius Claudius of the court historians, who replaced some of the existing heads with his own. When Constantine set eight of these medallions on his arch, he placed his own head on two of those on the north side of the arch, leaving that of Claudius on the other two of that side. The medallions of the south side seem to have retained their original form.

Thirdly, in the section on "The 'Aurelian' Panels of the Arch of Constantine," the author attempts to prove that these eight panels, together with the three reliefs in the Palazzo dei Conservatori and a twelfth that is lost, were taken from an arch erected in 176 A. D. by Marcus Aurelius to commemorate his victory over the Germans and Sarmatians. The existence of this arch he regards as proved by the inscription, *CIL.* VI 1014, and he identifies it with the *arcus panis aurei in Capitolio* of the *Mirabilia*, which may have stood on the *vicus Argentarius*, the Via di Marforio. These chapters are marked by decided originality and learning. The arguments of the first two may be regarded as practically conclusive, that of the last less so.

Mr. A. J. B. Wace writes on "Fragments of Roman Historical Reliefs in the Lateran and Vatican Museums." These fragments exhibit stylistic peculiarities which place them between the sculpture of the arch of Titus and that of the time of Trajan, and they must therefore be assigned to the time of Domitian, thus filling out a gap in our knowledge of the development of Roman historical reliefs.

Mr. G. F. Hill describes "Some Drawings from the Antique Attributed to Pisanello," and lastly Miss Katharine McDowall presents an interesting and suggestive paper on "A Portrait of Pythagoras." By comparing the figure of a philosopher on a Paris contorniate with the legend ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑC, with one of the unidentified philosopher heads in the Capitoline Museum, she concludes that they both represent the same original statue, a bronze of the early Pheidian period.

SAMUEL BALL PLATNER

Seneca. CARLO PASCAL. Catania: Battiato, 1906. Pp. vii+87.

This charming series of essays by a well-known Italian classical scholar is divided as follows: first a preface stating the author's point of view, then pp. 1–31 an article entitled "Seneca" which is a reprint of a

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public lecture delivered in several Italian cities, after which is a chapter headed "La Pretesa Viltà di Seneca," pp. 34–43. The author then gives us (pp. 47–57), a discussion of the relations of "Tacito e Seneca," succeeded by (pp. 61–63) "Un ritrato di Seneca." There are also two "Appendici" of which the former is devoted to "Seneca e il matrimonio" (pp. 67–74), while the conclusion is furnished by some considerations on "La religione di Seneca e il pensiero epicureo." Pascal's view is on the whole very favorable to Seneca. He attributes the stories and insinuations against the fair name of the philosopher and statesman to certain personal enemies, particularly C. Suilius and Pliny, whose accounts have reached us through Tacitus and Cassius Dio, whereas the works in which he was defended have failed to survive the wreck of the Middle Ages. He asks: "What would be the future reputation of men like Gladstone, Bismarck, and Garibaldi if posterity had as its only evidence the writings of their detractors?" He shows that Tacitus is quite in contradiction with himself in his varying references to Seneca and declares that the explanation is due to the different sources used by Tacitus and never harmonized. The Berlin hermes composed of Socrates and Seneca is held to be probably genuine, at least so far as the latter is concerned.

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Historical Greek Coins. Described by G. F. Hill. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1906. Pp. xx + 181, with thirteen plates. $2.50.

This volume by Mr. Hill of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum may be described as an introduction to Greek numismatics considered as a source of information for political history. One hundred coins of especial historical interest are selected, ranging in date from the seventh century B. C. nearly to the beginning of the Christian era, and each of these coins, besides being presented to the eye in a good illustration, is discussed in its historical aspects. In view of Mr. Hill's previous contributions to the study of Greek coinage and Greek history, it is hardly necessary to say that this task has been performed with thorough scholarship and with excellent judgment. To the student of Greek political history who is beginning to deal with the evidence of coins the present volume will be indispensable. And although the coins here treated have not been chosen with especial regard to their artistic importance, the student of the history of Greek art will find the book highly convenient for his purposes by reason of the large number of more or less accurately dated pieces which it presents.

F. B. TARBELL

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Qualitative Change in Pre-Socratic Philosophy. By W. A. HEIDEL. Reprint from *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* XIX, 1906. Pp. 47 [333–79].

Professor Heidel, who appears to be undertaking a somewhat radical revision of the prevailing interpretation of the physiologers, is concerned in the present article with their manner of conceiving the general nature of the process of Becoming. His chief contention is that the notion of ἀλλοίωσις in its stricter Aristotelian sense—of the alteration of the sensible qualities of a substrate which in its essence remains unchanged—is an idea too abstract and subtle, involving "too hard and fast a definition of identity and difference" for us to ascribe it to the pre-Socratics, especially the earlier ones. Their conception of the evolution of the cosmos must, then, have rested upon that notion which Heidel apparently regards as the only alternative to ἀλλοίωσις in the sense mentioned—the notion of μῖξις—the term "denoting all forms of composition, decomposition and recomposition." The φύσις even of the Ionians was essentially a μίγμα; even in Anaximander we have something approximating the molecular theory of matter. Only, in the pre-Eleatic physiologers, it was not definitely implied in the theory that the elements of the cosmic mixture were themselves ultimate or irreducible or incapable of qualitative change. Everything was to be explained as a product of composition; but the materials out of which any composite substance was made might themselves be products of a previous composition; and so on *ad indefinitum.*

The doxographic learning which the author employs in defense of this theory is imposing and admirable; but as much cannot, I think, be said of the logical force of his reasoning. It would require more space than is available to traverse the whole argument; one can only say, by way of dogmatic generalization, that Heidel neglects several essential distinctions and makes some gratuitous and questionable a priori assumptions as to the ideas of which the minds of the early Greek thinkers were capable. But the essential object to the theory is that, if the pre-Socratics explained all becoming and change through μῖξις, and refrained (as Heidel distinctly tells us) from even suggesting that behind all mixture there lay an elemental substance or substances, then they must be said to have offered no answer to the problem which we certainly know to have been their characteristic and central one—the problem περὶ φύσεως, concerning the qualitative nature of the primary matter. Heidel, in short, attributes to the Ionian philosophers an idea of the cosmic process which is incompatible with the supposition that they had any idea whatever of the cosmic substance. Of this paradoxical implication of his view the author hardly seems to be aware; duly considered, it must appear fatal to his theory. Upon subsidiary points of interpretation the paper contains a number of valuable observations.

ARTHUR D. LOVEJOY

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

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The Principal Figures of Language and Figures of Thought in Isaeus and the Guardianship-Speeches of Demosthenes. By WILLIAM WILSON BADEN. Johns Hopkins Dissertation. Baltimore: privately printed, 1906. Pp. 37.

The author's purpose in this dissertation is to determine the extent to which Demosthenes was influenced by Isaeus in the use of the principal figures of thought and of speech. He calls attention to the importance of Isaeus as the best representative of Greek inheritance-law and states his qualities of style as seen in his works and set forth in the comments of Dionysius. This is followed by a general discussion of the indebtedness of Demosthenes in the guardianship-speeches to Isocrates and Isaeus. These topics occupy pp. 1–7. Pp. 8–26 deal with figures of language. In some cases by way of definition a brief quotation is made from a Greek authority. More frequently and less wisely a mere list of references is given. Under each figure of language its use by Isaeus and Demosthenes is discussed and references made to the oration and section. This feature would be much more effective if a few of the most striking examples were quoted and the rest listed. Figures of thought (pp. 26–37) are treated in a similar way and the author includes here a brief reference to some not found in Isocrates. The result of his investigation indicates that Demosthenes was influenced by Isaeus in all of the figures of thought and in the more passionate figures of language. A very brief bibliography closes the treatise (p. 37). This dissertation is a noticeable example of a tendency (which ought to be and is discouraged in many universities) to allow a considerable period to elapse between the acceptance of a thesis and its publication. This thesis was accepted in 1892 and printed fourteen years later.

THEODORE C. BURGESS

BRADLEY POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE

The Artists of Pergamum. By HENRIETTA JOSEPHINE MEETEER. Pennsylvania dissertation. Privately printed, 1904. Pp. 45.

After a short introduction, which deals with the history of Pergamum and its kings, Dr. Meeteer discusses the works of art in Pergamum, dividing them into two classes: 1. Works of contemporaneous artists made for and in Pergamum; 2. Those procured by its kings, who were liberal patrons of art, either by purchase or from the spoils of conquest. The main object of her thesis, however, is to give the history of the artists whose sculptures, paintings and mosaics were collected by the Attalids, and the history of those who worked under the dynasty of the Attalids,

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grouping them in chronological order, as far as possible. Thus we have in convenient form the results of the labor of Fränkel, Löwy, and others. In her introduction (p. 3) the author makes a rather rash statement that "art in the period following Alexander the Great had its center, not in Alexandria, but in Rhodes and at the court of the Attalids." Because we today know but little of the art of Alexandria it does not follow that it was not an important center of art in the Hellenistic period. On p. 1 we read that Pergamum "does not appear in history until the time of Alexander's generals," whereas Xenophon speaks of Pergamum on two occasions (*Anab.* vii. 8. 8 ff., *Hell.* iii. 1. 6). On p. 3, n. 1 we miss the reference to the valuable article "Pergamon" by E. Fabricius and A. Trendelenburg in Baumeister's *Denkmäler* II, pp. 1206–87.

PAUL BAUR

YALE UNIVERSITY

The Infinitive Constructions in Livy. By HOWARD VERNON CANTER. Johns Hopkins dissertation. Privately printed, 1906. Pp. 94.

The dissertation of Dr. Canter presents a collection of all the infinitives found in Livy, arranged in the following chapters: I, the Historical Infinitive; II, the Simple Infinitive; III, the Accusative with the Infinitive; IV, the Nominative with the Infinitive. Where the construction is at all unusual, something of its history in other authors is briefly indicated. The chapter devoted to the historical infinitive has been worked out with the greatest detail. After the list of all the occurrences of the construction, a summary presents the statistics for each book separately, from which Canter draws the conclusion that "Livy employs the historical infinitive less frequently, though not quite uniformly less, passing from the earlier to the later books." This chronological explanation is hardly convincing in view of such striking variations as the three examples of book xxvi as compared with the thirty-four of book xxvii. Would it not be better to seek in the character of the narrative some hint for the reason of the more or less frequent use of the construction? On pp. 24–26 the constructions with *coepisse* are considered and under the subdivision (*c*) the active forms of *coepisse* with the passive meaning, five examples are given. The first of these, from book ii. 21. 6, is otherwise explained by Canter on the following page, while in the case of the last, xxxvii. 12. 12, there may be some question (notwithstanding Weissenborn's notes) whether the *iactari* is a genuine passive.

EDWARD A. BECHTEL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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Selections from the Septuagint, according to the text of Swete. By F. C. CONYBEARE and ST. GEORGE STOCK. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1905. Pp. 313. $1.75.

This book is a praiseworthy attempt to make the Septuagint available as a subject of independent study, a purpose happy in conception and executed with sound judgment and accurate scholarship. In not a few passages the Septuagint has preserved the correct reading where the Hebrew has gone astray, but its chief value is in the light which it throws upon the origin of New Testament syntax and diction. The New Testament writers were saturated with its phraseology, as many an English author has been with that of the King James version. "Without the Septuagint, there could have been, humanly speaking, no New Testament." Hence "so long as the New Testament is of interest to mankind, the Septuagint must share that interest with it." This volume of selections is admirably adapted to stimulate and perpetuate that interest. It contains the stories of Joseph, the Exodus, Balaam and Balak, Samson, David and Goliath, Elijah, and Hezekiah and Sennacherib, several of which for dramatic power are hardly excelled in the literature of the world. Besides the general introduction on the Septuagint as a whole, there is a Grammar of Septuagint Greek, and brief special introductions are prefixed to each selection, in which peculiar excellences are set forth with discrimination, and the critical problems involved clearly stated. In spite of evident misgiving attention is called to difficulties and discrepancies, and the way is thus prepared for insight into "the service rendered by modern criticism to the intelligent study of the Bible." The style is direct, often graphic, occasionally epigrammatic. Sometimes an apt comparison lends vividness, like this on the story of the Exodus: "Like Ulysses in beggar's rags, its majesty shines even through the garb of a literal translation into Alexandrian Greek." And the transference of the pun on the word "ass" in the story of Samson is successful beyond the ordinary: "With the jawbone of an ass have I ass-ass-inated them."

A few matters provoke dissent. Sect. 54 of the Grammar quotes Ps. 51.6 as a *certain* instance of accusative for vocative; but as no other example is given and the accusative may be taken as an appositive, the Septuagint's burden of bad grammar is unnecessarily increased. Κύριος as the translation of Yahwè should be uniformly capitalized. This is done where it stands without the article, but not in the comparatively few cases (e. g., Ex. 9. 27) where it has the article, despite the correct judgment of the editors, which may be inferred from the first paragraph on p. 65. The following typographical errors have been noted. In Ex. 11. 10 Μωσῆς for Μωυσῆς; ἀνήγγειλαν (p. 62, l. 2 from bottom) should be singular; γῆς (Ex. 2. 15) should be γῆν; *imperfect* should be *imperative* (p. 128, l. 2 of note on verse 16). The accent is wanting in ἐγρηγόρησεν (p. 42, l. 2 from

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bottom): εἰσέλθωσιν (p. 93 *c*, l. 5); ἀπαγγέλλων (p. 122, l. 2); παίδων (p. 290, l. 9); and from the ultima of δυνατώτεροί (p. 84, l. 4 from bottom).

The following are wrongly accented: ἀναβάτε (p. 46, l. 3 from bottom); θήρια (p. 86, l. 8 and c. 5); πόταμοι (p. 89, l. 5); χείρας (p. 91, l. 4 from bottom); Ἐζεκιού (p. 295, l. 1); and ἥ should be ἡ (p. 290, l. 12).

FRANK E. WOODRUFF

BOWDOIN COLLEGE

Inscriptiones Graecae ad inlustrandas dialectos selectae, scholarum in usum iterum edidit FELIX SOLMSEN. Leipzig: Teubner, 1905. Pp. viii+96. M. 1.60.

This work, the first edition of which appeared in 1903, twenty years after the last edition of Cauer's *Delectus*, upon which some of us were brought up, has been deservedly welcomed as meeting what had become a serious need. In small compass and at a low price, it offers an excellently chosen selection of Greek dialect inscriptions, furnishing sufficient material for use in an introductory course. That such a useful work has been furnished us by one of the most accurate and acute investigators in this field is a matter for congratulation.

In the second edition the selections remain the same, but the texts have been carefully revised. Misprints have been eliminated, and many important new readings and restorations adopted. There is one change in the system of transcription, namely, the use of ε̄ and ō for E and O not only where they equal later η and ω, but also where they equal later "spurious" ει and ου. This is a welcome improvement, for the use of ε(ι) and ο(υ), as in the first edition, is open to more than one objection. It is to be regretted that the author has retained the Doric accent even within the limitations explained in the Preface, p. iv. The necessity of making such limitations and the total uncertainty as to where to draw the line either locally or chronologically (e. g., in the Coan inscription No. 33 the Attic accent is used because of the evidences of κοινή influence, which, however, is of about the same degree in the Rhodian inscription No. 32, where the Doric accent is used), is an additional argument against trying to carry out a system of which our knowledge is fragmentary at best, and in favor of using the Attic accent, as has been the practice of the Collitz-Bechtel *Sammlung* since the first two parts of Vol. III. In general the author appears unreconciled to the view that the accentuation of dialect texts is, in large part, only a matter of convenience to the student, and seems to be unnecessarily cautious in omitting entirely the accent in some forms, e. g., in Arcadian acc. pl. τριακασιος. The practical advantage of the conventional accentuation τριακασίος, as showing the student how the form is to be taken, is sufficient justification for its use,

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even though it is uncertain whether the Arcadians actually accented it so or as τριακάσιος. And just as much uncertainty exists in the case of many other forms which the author does not leave unaccented, e. g., in words in -ηιος, where it is impossible to determine, for most dialects, when the older -ήϊος passed into -ῆιος, but which the author uniformly accents in accordance with the later, diphthongal pronunciation of ηι, even in the earliest inscriptions, as Ion. φοινικῆια, Τήιην, Τήιων (No. 42; in the first edition φοινικῆια, but inconsistently Τηίην, etc.), which other editors accent φοινικήϊα, Τηΐην, etc. (cf. Τήιοι, θωιήν in contemporaneous inscriptions).

There are several matters of accentuation and reading which I should like to discuss, but the space at my disposal forbids.

CARL DARLING BUCK

Johannes Scotus. VON E. K. RAND. München: Beck, 1906. Pp. xiv+106. M. 6.

In this second instalment of Traube's *Quellen und Untersuchungen* Rand admirably fulfils the ideals which he himself set forth, with a gracious tribute to the editor-in-chief, in Vol. I, p. 429, of this journal, in welcoming the series. He has prepared a critical edition of a ninth-century commentary on Boethius' *Opuscula sacra*, and by careful and cogent reasoning ascribes it with every probability to Johannes Scotus himself. Traube's preface points out the varied aspect of text transmission in the Middle Ages; the new light thrown on Boethius' and Scotus' relations to mediaeval thought; and the probable connection of Scotus with Otto III and Henry II, through Gerbert, Hincmar, and the learned circle at Reims—an illustration of the value of paleographical detail for literary history, since it is the insular handwriting in the margin of a Reims MS of Boethius which determines the reasoning. In closing, Traube urges the need of a new edition of Scotus' works.

The commentary itself had been known in part through the extracts published in Peiper's Boethius (1871); and Usener ascribed it in 1877 to a period antedating Scotus. Schepss, however, noted in 1885 that the work refers to a letter from Pope Nicholas I (867) calling Formosus (who became pope in 871) bishop; thus it is contemporary with the Irish philosopher. Rand defends its importance against the slurs of earlier critics, who knew it only in part. Its author's Greek glosses are uniformly correct. He shows much grammatical acumen, noting, e. g., that Boethius' use of *est* after *non quo* is a Graecism (he himself uses the subjunctive in this construction). He quotes several times from the Fathers, especially Augustine; but classical reminiscences are rare, though he does locate in the *Tusculan Disputations* an *optime dictum* cited by Boethius without

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designation of author. Theologically, he impresses one as an independent disciple of Augustine.

Scotus' fame rests, of course, on his activity as philosopher and translator. We had, to be sure, his commentary on the Pseudo-Dionysius, bits of that on the Gospel of John; Hauréau has published glosses to book iv of Martianus Capella in which the internal evidence of Scotus' authorship is corroborated by Remigius of Auxerre, who expressly ascribes them to him. Rand devotes an interesting appendix to this proof, and then, in the second part of his dissertation, shows that Remigius made use of Johannes' commentary on Boethius as the basis of one of his own, which has come down to us both independently and fused with its original.

Since it is clear that Scotus was both a philosopher and a commentator, it is a priori probable that he should have commented on Boethius, whose works constituted a "required course" in the mediaeval curriculum. We find him using Boethius' arithmetic; he calls him "magnificus Boethius." A Laurentian MS containing several lives of the latter introduces one with the words "verba Iohannis Scoti incipiunt." Rand parallels passages from this commentary with similar ones from undoubted works of Scotus; and in two longer extracts, the phraseology and imagery are so similar as to compel the assumption of a common origin. Resemblances to Heiricus of Auxerre seem to Rand of no significance; it is indeed unlikely that the latter's humanistic tendencies could fail to appear in any commentary he might write; while Scotus is throughout chary of classical reminiscence. Differences of theological position Rand would explain by Johannes' desire to avoid the suspicion of heresy, which overtook him after all; and he would therefore assign the tractate to the later years of the great Irish thinker.

For his edition Rand takes a Corbie ninth-century MS, now in Paris, as the basis; he uses also eight others, reaching to the twelfth century, when fuller commentaries came in. The text occupies about 50 pages of the treatise; Rand adds extracts from a later commentary on *Tractatus* iv, not in Johannes' MS of Boethius; this commentary he assigns to Heiricus' pupil, Remigius of Auxerre.

Altogether apart, therefore, from its technical value to the student of philosophy and theology and to the Latinist, Rand has here disclosed a chapter in literary history which amplifies in a welcome manner our knowledge of the Caroline renascence and the relations and interests of its scholars. It is a pleasure to praise the typography of the book, and to note that the German is called "vortrefflich" by Manitius.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK

YALE UNIVERSITY

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History of the Planetary Systems from Thales to Kepler. By J. L. E. DREYER. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Putnam's, 1906. Pp. xi+432. $3.00.

The history of Greek astronomy has a twofold interest. It is an indispensable aid to the philologist in the study of the calendars and chronological systems of the ancients, and also because of its close association with Greek philosophy and the many references to it in the poets. And for the scientific man it is the best typical example of the development of a science out of mere speculation by the interaction of hypothesis and observation. Hitherto there has been no one satisfactory book to which students could be referred. Sir George Cornewall Lewis' *Historical Survey*, despite its author's reputation for prodigious learning, is after all the work of an amateur in both philology and science, and is, moreover, now hopelessly antiquated. Many of the facts could be found dispersed through Zeller's volumes, but they are not systematically presented there, and the scientific interest is subordinated to the philosophical. The studies of Böckh, Martin, aad Tannery deal with particular problems and are written rather for philological specialists. Even Schiaparelli's interesting works on the Homocentric Spheres and the Precursors of Copernicus do not constitute a continuous and complete history. Dr. Dreyer's book, then, meets a genuine need.

The modern world has vastly more knowledge of astronomy than the ancients possessed. But the average modern is less observant of the visible movements of the heavenly bodies, and less curious of their explanations, than the ancient was to whom such knowledge, apart from its practical utility, was an essential part of education indispensable to the full understanding of philosophic and poetical literature. We do not need to tell the hour by night or to steer our course by the stars. For we have watches and compasses. Dante, as Lowell somewhere observes, was the last poet who habitually told time by the great clock of the heavens. The poet of today makes the new moon *rise* in the East, and sows his constellations at random in the celestial fields.

> quam tibi jam nemo, fessus satiate videndi,
> suspicere in caeli dignatur lucida templa.

From this incuriosity we may be awakened perhaps as effectively by a little study of ancient astronomy, as by the profounder science of our own time which we can hardly hope to master.

The ideal history of ancient astronomy could be written only by one who was both astronomer and philologist. A few naïvetés and the character of the misprints that have escaped his eye ("parces," p. 75, "erus" for "Er," p. 56) indicate that Dr. Dreyer is an amateur in philology. But he is able to use Greek, he choses his authorities with tact, and his professional knowledge of astronomy guides him to sound conclusions and

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enables him to see things in their right proportions where a mere philologist would have gone astray. He gives a sufficient statement of what is actually known about the pre-Socratics without wasting much time over such hopeless problems as the reconstruction of the rings of Anaximander. The chapter on Plato is judicious and sympathetic. Grote's notion that the *Timaeus* teaches the rotation of the earth is rejected, and the preposterous theories of Gruppe are refuted after Böckh. What is signified by the breadth of the rims of the whorls in the tenth book of the *Republic* is left an open question.

The real scientific interest begins with the first definite hypothesis that can be tested by its success in "saving the phenomena"—the homocentric spheres of Eudoxus. Of this theory, of the modifications of it by Calippus and Aristotle, of the theory of eccentrics and of epicycles, of the heliocentric doctrine of Heracleides and Aristarchus, and of the Ptolemaic system as a whole, Dr. Dreyer gives a lucid, precise, and substantially correct account. It is impossible in this brief notice to enter into the substance of these chapters. The book will be most helpful not only to classical scholars, but to students of mediaeval and modern literature down to and including Milton.

PAUL SHOREY

Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian. Von OTTO HIRSCHFELD. 2te neugearb. Aufl. Berlin: Weidmann, 1905. Pp. x + 514. M. 12.

This is the second edition of the author's well-known *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, which has been so useful to students of Roman imperial history since its publication a generation ago. The author tells us in his preface that the chapters on taxation and provincial administration which, according to his original design, he had planned to put in a second part, he has now included in the one volume, and therefore the title of the work as originally planned has been dropped, and his former subtitle is used as indicative of the entire scope of the book now presented. The older edition has been recast and in part rewritten; and the new shows a gain in quantity of nearly two hundred pages. The new matter is found mainly in the chapters "Die Census" und "Die Tributa," "Die Vectigalia," "Die centesima rerum venalium," etc. (pp. 53–96), "Der kaiserliche Grundbesitz," "Die kaiserlichen Villen und Garten," "Die ager publicus und die Lagerterritorium" (pp. 121–144), "Der haupstädtische Hafen" (pp. 246–251), and a long chapter (pp. 343–409) on "Aegypten und die Provinzen." The very useful catalogue of imperial *praefecti praetorio* of the old edition has been left out of the new, because a full list of

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the imperial magistrates of the first three centuries is to be published soon in *Prosopographia imperii Romani*.

The revision throughout shows the ripe scholarship of the author's mature years. It is, of course, based on the original sources throughout, but the writer has not hesitated to use the special articles of Mommsen, Seeck, Dessau, Rostowzew, Paul Meyer, and others of his illustrious fellow-workers, sometimes to controvert their conclusions, but oftener in substantiation of his own. One feels that he has perhaps carried the controversial feature to excess in his discussion of the imperial *patrimonium* and the *res privata*. That from the time of Severus the *patrimonium* is the crown land and the *res privata* the private fortune of the emperor, seems reasonable and, from the evidence adduced, well supported by the sources. The long digression to disprove Karlowa's opposite theory might well have been relegated to a periodical. In his discussion (p. 80 and note) of the excessive impost on goods coming in from Arabia (cf. *Perip. maris Erythr.*, p. 19), Hirschfeld still holds to his conjectural emendation of τετταρακοστῆς for τετάρτης, though both Wilcken and Rostowzew think the text should be unaltered, the former holding that the excessive duty is charged as a transfer tax across Nabataei; the latter that it is simply a protective tariff for Egyptian goods. It may be suggested that it was possibly designed as a piece of sumptuary legislation, to tax the luxuries coming in from the East.

The most interesting by far of the new chapters is the one on Egypt and the provinces. Starting with a modest disclaimer of his own capacity to present at this time a complete portrayal of the Roman-Egyptian administration, he gives a systematic presentation of it in considerable detail, and shows that it was the model of the whole provincial system of the empire, as being the first of the provinces organized under the principate along the lines of regal or imperial administration. For example, he shows that the title of the officer sent to the smaller imperial provinces was probably, in the earlier time, *praefectus*, in imitation of the title of the *praefectus Aegypti*. He even thinks it is likely that the procurator, Pontius Pilate, might have been a prefect, because we have no inscriptional evidence for the existence of the procuratorial title earlier than the time of Claudius.

The impression given by a reading over of Hirschfeld's work is that the dim picture of Roman imperial history in the third century, due to the imperfect character of our sources, is gradually becoming more and more distinct, and that the general conclusions in regard to the striking influence, first of Hadrian and later of Severus, are becoming more clearly defined with our increasing knowledge. It is such a book as this that may well give the classical student renewed courage. Small though the individual accomplishment of the day's work of such a scholar may be, when it comes to the summing-up of the life-accomplish-

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ment of one of the good workers, even in so comparatively limited a field of the larger subject of classical philology as is the theme of early imperial administration, the result is certainly inspiring. The painstaking study of the inscriptional material seems likely to fill with fair adequacy the gap in our literary sources between the time of Herodian and Marius Maximus and the beginning of the Codex Theodosianus.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN J. H. DRAKE

De vocis σκηνή quantum ad theatrum Graecum pertinet significatione et usu. Scripsit OTTO SCHERLING. Marburg dissertation. Marburg: privately printed, 1906. Pp. 48.

Although much has been written on the terminology of the Greek theater, no one term has received thoroughgoing attention. The author of the present dissertation attempts to supply this deficiency in the case of σκηνή. However, he has neither brought new material into the discussion nor included in his paper all the passages previously discussed. Furthermore he pays no attention to the Latin term (*scaena*), though it seems to me that the two words must be jointly considered to secure a final treatment for either. His method, too, is peculiar. We know more of the theater structure in Roman times, he says, than in the fifth century. Therefore, he examines the usage in that period first. This is like scanning a verse backward, and in both cases the process can be justified only by successful results. In the Roman period σκηνή has the meaning "scene" ("Spielplatz"), and all are agreed that the place of the actors was then a raised stage. Therefore, σκηνή means "stage" in the Roman period. But in Hellenistic times and the fourth century, although the meaning "scene" was already in use, the place of the actors is not definitely known, so that the author does not venture to carry his conclusions further; and for the fifth century certainty is still less attainable. Consequently, his procedure has yielded him not a single result that could not have been obtained by a scientific (chronological) treatment.

Yet in spite of these defects there is much that is praiseworthy in this dissertation. Dr. Scherling gives new interpretations of several passages. In particular he accepts without hesitation the meaning "play" or "spectacle" which I have emphasized in my own articles and happily applies it (after the analogy of [Plato] *Clit.* 407 *a*) to passages like [Plut.] *Prov.* 116. He shows thorough acquaintance with the literature (American as well as European) and much discretion in selecting interpretations of those passages where he had nothing new of his own to present. As a result, if the chapters are read in their chronological order, this pamphlet will prove highly useful to anyone anxious to orientate himself quickly in this perplexing field. The Latin is clear and fluent.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY ROY C. FLICKINGER

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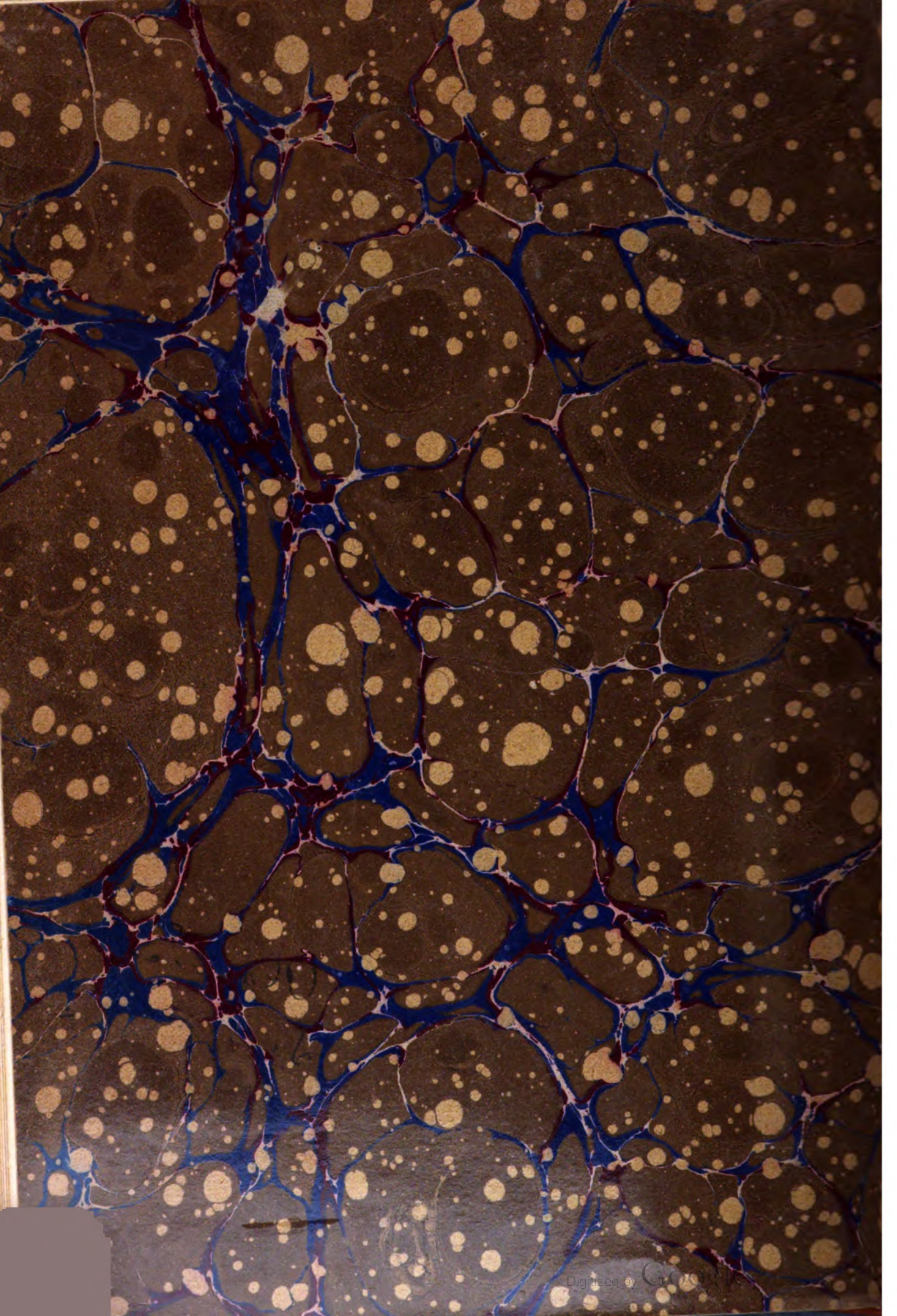
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